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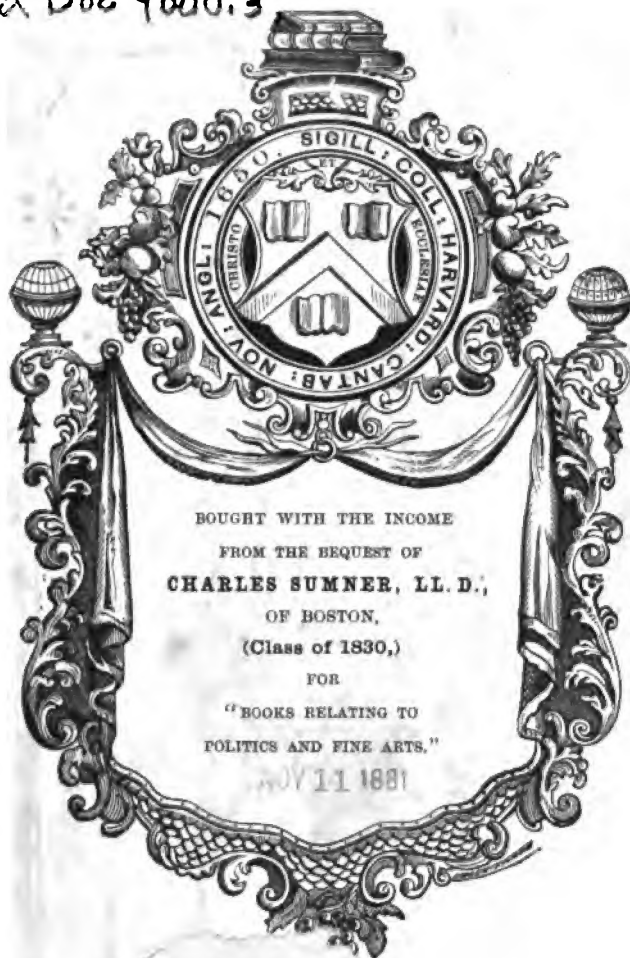
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**COBBETT'S**

**POLITICAL REGISTER.**

**VOLUME XXXVII.**

Including the Time between  
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1820.



- No. 1. A Letter to Lord Castlereagh, on the refusal of the Queen's Plan.
2. A Letter to the King on the treatment of the Queen.
3. A Letter to the Earl of Liverpool on the approaching Trial of the Queen, &c.
4. A Letter to the Queen, on the state of the King's Dominions, &c. &c.
5. A letter to the Middle Classes of People, on the Trial of the Queen.
6. To the Clergy of the Church of England, on their conduct towards the Queen.
7. A Letter to the Queen, tendering advice.
8. A Letter to the Reformers on the Cause of the Persecutions carried on against the Queen, on the manner of spending public money, and on Lord John Russel and the Whigs.
9. An Answer to the Solicitor-General's Speech against her Majesty.
10. To the Weaver Boys of Lancashire: things to laugh at and things to remember.
11. A Letter to Parson Cunningham on his letter to Mr Whitbread.
12. A Letter to Mr. Brougham, on his neglect of duty in the defence of her Majesty.
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# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 37.---No. 1.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JULY 22, 1820. [Price, 6d.

## A LETTER

TO

CASTLEREAGH,

*On the Refusal of the Plate to the Queen; and on other matters connected with the present crisis of Public Affairs.*

London, July 20, 1820.

CASTLEREAGH,

It is now about five years since I addressed my last letter to you. You were then what is vulgarly called *cock-a-hoop* with your triumphs on the Continent. You had just then been received in the Honourable House with even *clapping of hands*. The Boroughmen were then in high glee: They thought that *all was settled for ever*! Miserable miscalculation! Little did they expect that which has since come to pass; little did they imagine that five years of that *glorious peace*, which had been achieved by twenty-two years of *glorious war*, would open to them a dismal abyss instead of a paradise. They were *fools*, in-

deed, for not thinking this; for, if they had not sense enough to foresee it, I *told* it them; and, they ought to have believed me. However, let them receive the consequences.

I am now about to address you upon the subject of the *Queen's plate*; but, by way of preface, let me talk to you a little about the state, to which you and your colleagues and predecessors have brought this formerly flourishing, happy, and free country. The Queen's arrival has produced a great deal of agitation and of turmoil; but it has operated, also, as a *grand diversion*, in favour of you and your colleagues; and though your other troubles will return by and bye with redoubled force, the diversion accords with your system, which is a system built upon the maxim, that, "*sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof*;" a system which never looks beyond its nose; a system of shifts, expedients, and blunders. Such a system gains by every thing, which, though only for a moment, turns the

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public attention aside from the causes of the public suffering.

Before the arrival of her Majesty, the tables of parliament were loaded with the bitter complaints of farmers, merchants, manufacturers and every class of people, save and except those who live and thrive on taxation. Projects were on foot and openly avowed for dividing the real property of the country between the present owners and the fund-holders. The distress was so great in many parts as to be approaching to starvation. Capital was, as it still is, removing from the country, in all directions. All was misery and wretchedness; and all is still misery and wretchedness.

To this state the country has come under measures adopted by you and your colleagues. You have never been thwarted. You have done just what you pleased with the persons and purses of the nation. There has been no power to controul you; and those who have remonstrated strongly with you have been punished: they have been prosecuted with the utmost rigour, and ruin has been their mildest fate. Surely it is meant that there should be some *real responsibility* attached to mea-

sures which produce such effects! You and your colleagues have said much about the bad advice, which the *Queen* has received, and of this I will speak more fully by and bye; but what sort of advice is it that has brought the nation into this state? You are not to tell us, that you did not wish it, that you did not intend it, and the like. These excuses avail men nothing when they are arraigned for what are called radical offences. We are in such cases told, that we are to judge of the *intention* from the *act*. And we are to judge you in the same way to be sure. But, at any rate, such is the state into which you have brought this nation; and, it seems to me, that, under such circumstances, you ought to be cautious how you throw out jeers and taunts on the advisers of the *Queen*, those, I mean who have advised her to pursue that line of conduct, which has placed you and your colleagues in your present miserable situation.

It becomes you indeed to ridicule the *Queen's* advisers! you, who have brought yourselves into such difficulties that you know not which way to turn! You are a pretty person to support the dignity of the

Crown, truly ! Can you look at Westminster Hall and Westminster Abbey ; can you look at the scaffolding, the lodges, the innumerable benches, the temporary kitchens in and about Westminster Hall ; can you look at these, and not feel some little doubt, whether you be the wisest man, and the best supporter of the dignity of the Crown that ever existed in the world ? The sight of these would be quite enough as a lesson of modest behaviour to any other man in the world in your situation. I should make but a very poor minister ; for nothing upon earth would have kept me in my place long enough to advise the king to issue the proclamation that was issued on Saturday last. If I had said, on the Monday night, that it was absolutely necessary to have the Coronation on the first of August, no earthly power should have made me avoid a motion, three days afterwards, for putting it off, by saying, that I had advised the King to do precisely the contrary of that which I had said it was absolutely necessary to do.

You, truly, are a fit person to talk about mean and foolish advisers ! You, who, after having

voted with your majority, that, to open the green bags, *be the result what it might*, must be derogatory from the dignity of the Crown and injurious to the best interests of the country ; you, who, after this, approved of the opening of these same bags ! This is a pretty specimen of your ability to support the dignity of the Crown and to promote the interests of the country ! This is a fine specimen of your "*statesman-like*" wisdom ! It makes one sick to think of such a man being in any public office at all ; much more of his being the principal adviser of a king, that king being the sovereign of a great country.

But, look at the whole of the pickle that you are got into. Look at the fact of fifty thousand pounds a-year, a yacht, or a ship of war to go abroad with, an official introduction as Queen of England to a foreign court, all offered to a person, who is now proclaimed to the world by you and your colleagues, as a licentious woman and an adulteress, though only a few days before a deputation from the Honourable House had kneeled down before her, and had been graciously permitted to kiss her royal hand ! Look at this, and learn modesty when you are talking of the want of wisdom in the advisers of the Queen. You may, for a little while, endeavour to brave the matter



out; but there must come a day, and that day may not be distant, when you will be called upon to give an account of having advised the opening of the Green Bags after you had voted, that to open them must be derogatory from the dignity of the Crown and injurious to the best interests of the country.

You are a pretty person indeed to affect the *Statesman*; to put on the airs of acknowledged superiority of judgment; to flout at the understanding of the Queen's advisers, and to hold forth the notion that you are the Prince of wisdom, prudence, and correctness; you, who flounder and blunder at every step; and who, in your struggles to make yourself understood, only expose your plentiful lack of every thing, to the possession of which you put forward such pretensions.

As to Dr. Lushington, he is as much your superior in point of understanding and talent as he is in another requisite, which I shall not, because I need not, mention. The public, of which you speak, and long have spoken, in a sort of language, that that public pays you back with interest, well know what value to set upon the assertions made use of, with regard to the plate, given by the late king for the use of her Majesty. But, in the first place, what right had you to complain of the conduct of Dr. Lushington in bringing this matter of the plate forward, when you were not in the House? Just as if you were any more than a member of Parliament! Just as if no member

were to open his lips upon any subject; or, at least, just as if he were to make *no motion*, without previously informing the ministers of it! This would be reducing members of Parliament to a pretty situation indeed. If gout or any thing else keep you away from your seat, what is that to other members? It is quite shocking to see how regularly they wait for your arrival, and to those who are not up to the height of the circumstances, the thing appears wholly unaccountable. Dr. Lushington brought the matter forward as he ought to bring it forward. It was nothing to him where you were; and to all the other indignities offered to the Queen, he did not suffer her to endure that of making a complaint of her Majesty wait upon your good pleasure.

As to the merits of the case, what does your defence amount to? Why this; that the plate was not given by the late King, but *lent*; that it was not the King's property to give; and that it had not been delivered to the Queen now merely because the King had not ordered it to be delivered to her. How does this mend the matter? We know very well that, if it had been a pure gift, it could not be the Princess's property, because, being a married woman, that which was given to her was, in law, given to her husband. We, therefore, knew very well, and nobody knew it better than Dr. Lushington, that, in point of *law*, the property was the King's, in case it was a present from the late

King, and in case it was something that he had a right to give away. But, the situation of her Majesty, by her becoming *Queen*, is very different from that of other married women, in respect of the possession of property; for a Queen, though married, can *possess property of her own independent of her husband*. A married Queen, her Majesty, for instance, can purchase and hold lands; convey them away; and, in short, do all manner of things, with regard to property, that any other woman, unmarried, can do. And, *here*, I fancy, we are to find the true cause of the plate not being given up to her! For, if given up to her *now*, except with written conditions, it is *her own*! And why should it not be her own? Why should she not have plate given her by the public? You say that it did not belong to the King, because it was bought out of the Civil List money. But how many hundreds of thousands upon hundreds of thousands of pounds have been given away in plate and other things, out of the Civil List money? And why is this gift to the Queen, and this gift alone, to be called in question? You are become extremely economical and careful all of a sudden. If the plate was not the property of the last King, it is not the property of this King. If it be the property of neither, it is the property of the nation; and does the nation wish that it should be kept locked up, or used by somebody else, rather than that the Queen should have it?

In short, your explanation only tended to make the matter worse. It only shewed that you were ready to seize hold of every little occasion of doing those things which Dr. Lushington so justly described, and in describing which, he spoke precisely what every body, except the tax-eaters, think. His bringing the matter forward has done a great deal of good; for it has shewn to what extent things are intended to be carried; and it has given a new and strong motive to the people, to be upon the watch.

However, there was one reason which you gave for not giving the plate, which I must particularly notice. I shall take the passage entire; and I shall take it from the *COURIER*, who points it out, as worthy of particular attention. He calls it Lord Castlereagh's *manly, energetic, and unanswerable appeal* to the country. Here it is then!

"I am sure the feeling and good sense of the country will bear me out, when I say, that IF her Majesty had conducted herself with *that feeling* which became her sex, and *that dignity* which belonged to her station, *his Majesty's ministers would be most anxious to afford every consolation*, which a Queen, under such circumstances, can expect. But when her Majesty condescends to listen to the *meanest advisers*, when she *suffers herself to become an instrument in the hands of the basest populace of the country*, who have presumed to insult the

"palace of her Sovereign and her husband, as I had personally an opportunity of witnessing, I have no hesitation to declare, in defiance of every taunt that the honourable and learned gentleman may throw out in this House, that I should abandon the duty which I owe to the dignity and honour of the Crown, were I to advise the Sovereign to become the dupe of such artifices. If her Majesty's present residence in town is not suitable, I am persuaded that *no difficulty will be thrown in the way of an arrangement* by which her Majesty may find herself a *suitable residence.*"

This is an *unanswerable appeal* to the country, is it? This is your way; your "*statesman-like*" way of appealing to the country. This is your *dignified* manner of speaking of your Sovereign's wife, and of that industrious and laborious people that cheerfully maintain the splendour of that Sovereign! The Roman tyrant made a distinction between the *people* and the *populace*; but even he made no attempt to describe a set of creatures as being an *inferior sort of populace*. This was something left to be done by him who is well known to the nation under the name of *Castlereagh*! "*The basest populace of the country!*" So, then, according to this description, all the populace; that is to say, those whose labour feed the Treasury, and whose arms defend the country; the whole of these are *base*, but those who cheer her Majesty through the

streets, are the *basest* of this populace!

This is very pretty language to be made use of by a minister of the King, and at a time, too, when he is saying that he is urged to speak in order to support the dignity of the crown! What do you mean by populace? You must mean the *labouring classes*; you must mean these; for of what else are numerous assemblies composed? You must mean these; and then let us see what they do. In the first place, out of the fruit of their labour comes five parts out of six of the whole of the revenue of the country. I mean to say, that the labouring classes, actually *pay five parts out of six of the whole of the taxes*. This is one mode of upholding a state: another mode is the bearing of arms, and the fighting, if necessary, in defence of the state. And who do we find here again, who have fought the battles by sea and by land? Certainly amongst those who won the battles of Trafalgar and Waterloo; there were some few men, that did not belong to those whom you call the populace; but is it not notorious that *Sailors* and *Soldiers* do, necessarily, come from amongst those whom you stigmatise by bestowing on them this degrading appellation? Who is it that fill the ranks of the *militia*, the *local militia*? Who is it that is *compelled* to fill these ranks? Why, for the far greater part, those who gain their daily bread by the daily sweat of their brow; those who have no property in any thing but their labour; those who have ne-

thing of their own to defend, but their mere bodies; those who can have no motive to take up arms other than those of obedience to the law, and a love of the honour of their country. And, *who fill the ranks of the regular army now?* Are they not the sons, and brothers of the labouring classes? Are they not a part, and essentially a part, of that same mass that you call *populace*? Does the putting a red or blue coat upon their back *change their nature*? Does not the blood of their fathers and mothers still flow in their veins? If the fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters be worthy of the name of *populace*, where is the boundary to be drawn? We must all be *populace*, laborers and artisans, manufacturers and shopkeepers, soldiers and sailors; the whole mass of us must be *populace*, and *base* *populace*, too; or else, your definition of *basest* *populace* is purely a false assertion and an unwarrantable insult.

But, you say, that her Majesty suffers herself to become an *instrument* in the hands of this "*basest* *populace*," who have presumed to insult the *palace* of her Sovereign and her husband. What do you mean by this? You mean, I suppose, the people having conducted her Majesty by the King's Palace, and having thus given signs of their disapprobation. The word *husband* you should have omitted above all things; for, it is so very natural, and so perfectly proper that the wife should inhabit the same place with the husband, that

the bare circumstances of the husband being in the palace and the wife in Portman Street, would, necessarily, call forth that which you call *insulting* the palace. The question naturally arises in every mind, "Why is not the Queen in that palace?" And in the answer to this question, and not in any baseness in the people, is to be found the cause of what you, in your mock heroic style, call, *insulting* the palace of her Sovereign and her husband.

Yet, it seems, that her Majesty is to be punished for this ebullition of public feeling; for you say, that, *if* she had conducted herself with *that feeling*, which became her sex, and that dignity which belonged to her station, *then*, you would be most anxious to afford every consolation, which a Queen, under such circumstances, can expect; but that when she condescends to listen to the *meanest advisers*, and to become an instrument as before mentioned, then you would abandon your duty to the Crown if you were to advise the King to become the *dupe* of such artifices.

Now, what do you mean by this? Who can make top or tail of it? What artifices are you talking about? You had been talking before about the Queen's listening to the *meanest advisers*; and about her suffering herself to become an instrument in the hands of the *basest* *populace*. But how can you make these out to be *artifices*? They may be true or false, right or wrong; but nobody but you would have called them *arti-*

*faces.* The truth is, that, in your round-about harangues, the close of a sentence has very seldom any relation to the beginning of it. It is a parcel of words that we have before us, out of which we are to pick a meaning, if we can; but your speeches, if they do nothing else, tend to give the world a high opinion of the patience, the complaisance and the quiescent disposition of the renowned assembly in which they are delivered, and which, even without a division, rejected the motion of Dr. Lushington.

But her Majesty has, it seems, according to your notion, not conducted herself with *that feeling* which belongs to her sex, and that *dignity* which belongs to her station. To hear you complain of any one for want of *feeling* presents so strong a temptation to laughter, that one cannot treat the matter seriously; but, to hear you, who have been one of the advisers who have heaped every species of indignity upon her Majesty; you, who are one of those that refused her a yacht to come over, who refused her a palace to reside in, who presented green bags against her, who have brought in a bill, stigmatising her as a licentious woman and an adulteress, and stripping her of her title and rights as Queen; for you to complain that she had not supported her *dignity* is something more than could have been expected even from you! The fact is, however, that her Majesty has conducted herself with *that feeling*

and with that dignity which become her sex and station. She has shewn as much sensibility, judgment, and courage, as ever marked the character of woman: a great deal more than Queen Elizabeth ever had an opportunity of evincing; and, indeed, the best commentary on your accusation, and the best answer to it, are, the love and admiration of this whole people, with the exception, solely, of those who have an interest in the carrying on of measures hostile to the peace and happiness of the country.

"IF" she had conducted herself *properly*, then you would have afforded her every consolation. Yes; and I will tell you, what you would have deemed proper conduct. In the first place, it would have been proper for her to be terrified at the *threat* at St. Omers, and to have fled away and not attempted to set her foot on English ground. But, having listened to the "*meanest advisers*," and actually come to London, it would have been *proper* for her to shut herself up, yield herself wholly to the advice of those who might have betrayed her; and skulk from the light like a guilty thing. The high-blooded gentry not having visited her, it would have been proper for her to have drooped down into a state of despondency; and if the mass of the people, whom you denominate populace, attempted to approach her with congratulations, condolence, and offers of friendship and support, it would have been proper for her to

reject them with disdain, to spurn them from her presence, to condemn their sentiments and their language, as was done in the answers which absolute wisdom gave, in her injured name, to the people of Nottingham and the people of Preston. When the deputation went to her from the great House of Commons, it would have been proper for her to have dressed herself in a penitent's sheet, to have kissed the resolution as a whipped child kisses the rod, and to have prepared herself for being packed off to the Continent in that yacht which, on the very day of the deputation's going to her, the Courier informed us, was *actually come round into the River!*

This is what you would have deemed proper conduct, I dare say. Such conduct would doubtless have received the "*high approbation*" of all the *Scotch Pedlars* that ever tramped north-about till they got into the sun-shine of the South. Her Majesty, however, has chosen a line of conduct precisely the opposite of this, and in so doing, she has insured her own safety and her own honour, and has prevented this nation from being plunged into everlasting disgrace; disgrace which must have fallen upon it if she had been driven out of the country, after which event no subject of the King would have dared to own himself as such in any country in the world.

There remains to be noticed only one part of this harangue. You say, if her Majesty's present residence is not suitable,

you are persuaded that no difficulty will be thrown in the way of an arrangement by which she *may find herself a suitable residence*. What is all this parcel of words about? By the "IF" you would seem to doubt whether the house in Portman-street is suitable or not; a doubt, by the expression of which you get no addition to your popularity, though it is very possible that it will not cause any change in the public opinion with regard to you. But, what the public ask is this; "*Why is not her Majesty in a palace?*" This is the question that the public ask. If plate be not the King's property, palaces are not his property. If they be not the property of the King; they are the property of the nation; and, then, the nation has, the palace at Windsor, the palace at Hampton, the palace at Kew, the palaces of Kensington, the palace of Buckingham House, the palace of St. James's, and the palace of Carlton House. Besides these, there are the royal mansions in Bushy Park and in *Richmond Park*, the latter of which, be it observed, was built for one of his late Majesty's sisters, and is now, and long has been, occupied by that every-way-worthy colleague of yours, SIDMOUTH. Thus, then, there are three palaces in town; one no further off than Kensington; three palaces and two royal mansions in the country; and out of all these no corner can be found for the wife of the King, though one of them is occupied by a



person who was in a very humble capacity not many years ago. At Hampton Court, at Kew, at Buckingham House, (all most suitable palaces for the Queen), all amply provided with every thing requisite to Royalty, there is absolutely nobody belonging to the Royal Family residing.

This being the case, and the country being in the most distressed situation, why are the people to be called upon to pay for a place of residence for the Queen? Why are they to be taxed merely to gratify the desire of the Queen's enemies, to see her Majesty living out of a palace; and how is it to be expected that the Queen will consent to be a party to throwing this additional burthen upon the people, whose sufferings she must be well acquainted with, and whose purses, we are all well assured, she is desirous to spare, since we remember, that she so generously declined fifteen thousand pounds a-year upon her quitting the country?

In spite of all that can be said and done, we shall, I am convinced, see this courageous and injured Queen in a palace. And now I beg the public, if not you, and, particularly, I humbly beseech her Majesty, to bestow attention upon what I am going to say.

You and your colleagues are always prepared with some legal bar to whatever is asked by her Majesty. Some law, some precedent, some usage, is always conjured up in bar against her. But, against her living in

a palace you have no such bar, until you have actually dissolved her marriage with the King. Until then she has the rights of a wife, and, if you do not know it, it is time you should know it, that, amongst those rights, is the right of COHABITATION. Mark this; that, let a wife's conduct be what it may; let her be proved to be all that the bill asserts her Majesty to be; still, until the marriage be actually dissolved, the wife has at all times a right to go to and to live in the same building with her husband, and, if she choose, to sit at the same board, and sleep in the same bed! This right is perfectly INDEFEASIBLE, except solely by a dissolution of the marriage. No matter that there has been a separation; even if there exist articles of separation; the wife can, during the existence of those articles, demand admittance into, and a constant residence in the same house or place of her husband, be that house where it will, and belong to whomsoever it may; except the house be a prison, in which the husband is confined by sentence according to the due course of law, or except it be a mad-house, where he is put under the superintendence of legal guardians; and all this is perfectly well known to Dr. Lushington, though it may possibly be excluded from your surprising mass of "statesman-like" knowledge.

Here lies the real remedy of her Majesty. Buckingham House for the town, and Kew or Hampton Palace for the country, would

be sufficient for the Queen; and if these be not given up to her, her *short remedy* is, GOING TO CARLTON HOUSE; or to the Pavilion; in short, to all or any of the places where his Majesty resides; and, if you ask me my *opinion* about the fact, my opinion is, that this is the remedy that will be applied; and, if it should, we shall then have an opportunity of witnessing the consequences of your "*statesman-like*" mode of upholding the dignity of the Crown.

Nothing short of palaces ought to satisfy her Majesty. While she is out of a palace she is out of her place; she is in a state of abasement; for, though you might live in Portman-street without complaining, or even in Shoe-lane, without degradation from the circumstance of residence; the Queen cannot live banished from the palaces, without complaining; she cannot thus live without seeming to admit that there are some grounds for the accusations against her; to which I will add, that it is the universal wish that her Majesty would take the short course of redressing her wrongs; that she would make no more applications about places of residence; but go at once to the palace of her husband, and claim and enjoy her rights as his wife. The public wish that her Majesty, and the King too, should be happy. With their well-known and proverbial good nature, they do not wish to see a *ripping up of old grievances*; they make allowances for incompatibility of

temper; they have no desire that her Majesty should do any thing wantonly to hurt the feelings, or cast reflections on the character of the King; but they are resolved that, as far as they can legally prevent it, as far, at any rate, as their supplications, prayers, and legal interference can go, the Queen shall not be oppressed by the measures of his Majesty's advisers. They are not desirous of seeing a strict cohabitation, after all that has transpired; but they do desire to see the wife of the King in a Royal palace, and holding her Court as a Queen; and to this it will come; sooner or later; in spite of every thing that can be done to prevent it.

We want to know, too, why we hear any talk about *grants of money for the Queen*; and I thought it singularly improper that any one should propose a grant of money for the use of her Majesty. The means of maintaining the splendour and dignity of the Queen are amply provided for in the *Civil List*. Was it ever thought of in the late reign, to vote money for the separate maintenance of the Queen? Good God! What are we come to, at last? The Civil List is an immense grant of money for the support of the splendour and dignity of the Throne; and was it ever contemplated as possible, that a provision for the Queen could be regarded as not included in the grant? It never was; and, in whatever view of the matter we take it, the Queen is included in every grant of this description. You

may talk as long as you please about a *Queen in law* being one thing, and a *Queen by grace* and *favour* another thing: but, learn now, if you did not know before, that this distinction does not belong to *wives*. There is, thank God, no such thing as a *wife by grace and favour*. Wives are such by law, and by law only; and that law is not to be a dead letter with regard to the Queen. The Civil List is granted for her as well as for the King; her right of *cohabitation* no man will be base enough to deny; and it is in her own good pleasure and power to consent or not consent to separate residence; and, of course, it depends upon her pleasure what portion of the Civil List shall be applied to her use. Her Majesty degrades herself by condescending to apply to any of you on the subject of residence, plate, or any thing else. Her husband's residence is her residence, and the short way of settling the matter is **TO GO TO IT**. This would settle the dispute at once, and would expose you and the honourable House to no more of that laceration of your tender feelings, of which you, tender soul, make such mournful complaint! It does not become a Queen, and particularly a Queen like her Majesty, to be carrying on a chaffering correspondence with a set of toad-eating clerks. She has a husband; that husband is a King; she is descended from a family in every way equal to that of his own: appealing to his clerks for the means of existence is so much

beneath her, that I wonder her Majesty has not disdained it, long enough ago. This is the *only error* that the Queen has committed; and, when her Majesty perceives, as she very soon will, that she will get nothing by such humiliating means, I am persuaded, that she will lose not a moment in abandoning the error. She is no Queen of *grace and favour*. She is a Queen in law; and, what is a great deal more, she is a **WIFE**, in which word is combined every thing that her Majesty stands in need of to secure her all the means of upholding the dignity and splendour belonging to her rank. Against this word you have no power. You fall nerveless before it. You are unmanned in a moment. All your talk about law, and grace, and favour; all your quibbles vanish in a twinkling. That all powerful name places her in the same palace with the King, at any moment when she pleases; and being once there, she quits it, if she quit it at all, on the terms that her own good pleasure shall dictate.

Thus, you see, there are those who think very differently from you about this matter; and who understand it, too, rather better than you and your colleagues. It is earnestly hoped that her Majesty will wait for no trial, as it is called, before she assert her rights as wife. To forbear from that assertion, is tacitly to admit a doubt of acquittal; and to admit such a doubt to exist in her mind is what I am sure her Majesty does not mean. I must repeat, however, that the

public are all alive as to this point. They are indignant at seeing her not in a palace. There is no need of a trial to convince them that she is a wife; or to remind them of the *great dower that she brought to her husband*. It was not to pay the debts of her Majesty the Queen, that nearly seven hundred thousand pounds were paid by the people of this country. To pay that sum, how many of those whom you denominate the "*base populace*" had to part with a portion of their comforts! yet, they parted with it cheerfully; but FOR WHAT? Why, because his late Majesty asked for it, as being *necessary to the happy establishment of his then Royal Highness and his Spouse!* It was upon this ground that the money was asked for, and cheerfully given. And is this wife, the wife who brought this dower, to be treated by the servants of her husband as a sort of beggar, to be relieved, if relieved at all, from motives of *compassion, grace, and favour!*

Away with all your pretences about *feeling* for the Queen; about *delicacy*; about wishing not to *distress* her! Such professions are an insult, a cool and cutting insult, to her Majesty; and as such they are received by the public.

Before I conclude, I cannot help observing on the tone which has been taken by some of those, who hate, much more than they hate the devil, the bare possibility of there being in this country, any single soul of the Royal Family popular, whether as to character or deeds.

These men know very well what the effect with regard to them, of such popularity must be. There is nothing in this world which they so much dread. To make the Royal Family *suspect* the people, and to make the people entertain towards the Royal Family feelings, which I will not describe, is the ruling principle of the policy of this base, cruel, and cowardly set of men; one of *whom* has lately observed, that her Majesty took measures as it were for the purpose of *inflaming the country*. If you had called this a *mean* and *base* adviser, your words would have been appropriate enough. What has her Majesty done to inflame any body? She has, as I have just shewn, greatly erred on the side of condescension and humility; and if she had not, should we have heard from the lips of the silky gentleman, who has risen from the very lowest state since the marriage of her Majesty, and whose wife as well as himself are fastened upon us as pensioners for life: if the Queen had not condescended too far, if she had asserted her unquestionable rights, in the manner that I have described, and in the manner that I now most strenuously recommend, and which in so recommending, I only join in the universal voice; if her Majesty had asserted her rights in this manner, she never would have been insulted by the pert observations of this subtle and silky slave, who is not even now fit for any thing higher than that of handing her plate at table.

Instead of endeavouring to

inflammation. Insulted at St. Omers; threatened there with prosecution if she dared put her foot on the shore of England; accused the moment she arrived; attempted to be weeded out of the country, and when that had failed, vilified, abused, and pointed out that she ought to be made to yield as a *martyr*, if no crime could be made out against her: in the midst of all this she kept her patience. She answered coolly to the warmest addresses, lest she should be instrumental in causing agitation. But, there is a point beyond which to exercise forbearance would be criminal, or would, at least, argue a consciousness of guilt. And, accordingly, when the bill of pains and penalties proclaimed her to the world, as an abandoned adulteress, she assumed the tone that became her. Of that tone her answer to the Newbury Address is a specimen; and that specimen, together with the Address that called it forth, I here insert, for the edification of the mean and base man, to whose charge against her Majesty, I have above alluded.

“ TO THE QUEEN’S MOST EXCELLENT  
MAJESTY.

“ The humble Address of the  
“ Inhabitants of the Borough of  
“ Newbury, in the County of  
“ Berks, in Common Hall as-  
“ sembled.

“ MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

“ We, his Majesty’s dutiful

“ and loyal subjects, Inhabitants  
“ of the Borough of Newbury,  
“ in Public Hall assembled, beg  
“ leave to approach your Majes-  
“ ty, not in the language of  
“ unmeaning adulation, which  
“ would be as disgusting to the  
“ dignified mind of your Majes-  
“ ty to accept, as it would be  
“ degrading and disgraceful in  
“ us to offer, but with our  
“ warmest congratulations upon  
“ your Majesty’s safe return to  
“ this kingdom, after an absence  
“ of six eventful years, during  
“ which period so many illustri-  
“ ous personages of your Royal  
“ House have been removed  
“ from this transitory world.  
“ And we feel ourselves called  
“ upon in a particular manner  
“ to offer our sincere condolence  
“ to your Majesty, in the great  
“ loss you sustained by the  
“ death of your Majesty’s guar-  
“ dian and protector, our late vir-  
“ tuous and revered Sovereign,  
“ King George the Third, and  
“ your amiable and beloved  
“ daughter, the Princess Char-  
“ lotte, upon whom the hopes  
“ of the nation had fondly rest-  
“ ed.

“ We have never ceased to  
“ feel regret for the unrelenting  
“ persecutions and indignities  
“ your Majesty experienced  
“ while Princess of Wales, from  
“ some of the highest authori-  
“ ties in this country; but as  
“ your Majesty completely tri-  
“ umphed over a foul conspiracy  
“ in 1807, formed against your  
“ life and honour, so do we sin-  
“ cerely trust your Majesty will  
“ prove equally triumphant over  
“ renewed attempts to vilify  
“ your character.

"We admit the prompt refusal of your Majesty to compromise your honour for a pecuniary consideration; nor can we forbear expressing equal admiration at the magnanimous and decisive conduct your Majesty has displayed, by your unhesitating confidence in the loyalty and honour of the British nation, as well as the courage you have evinced in boldly meeting your accusers, protesting against all secret investigations, and demanding an open and Constitutional Tribunal.

"We sincerely hope that your Majesty will be established in all your just rights and privileges; that you will triumph over all your enemies, whomever they may be, and wherever to be found; and that you will reside amongst a people zealously attached to the House of Brunswick, and who feel deeply interested in the welfare and happiness of your Majesty."

(Signed, on behalf of the meeting,)

JOHN HASKER, Mayor,  
Chairman.

Her Majesty returned the following most gracious answer:—

"His Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, inhabitants of the Borough of Newbury, merit my grateful acknowledgements for this frank and affectionate Address. During my long absence from this country, I never ceased to remember the obligations which I owed to its high-minded ge-

nerosity. Those obligations have been greatly increased since my return; and I should be insensible to all right feeling, if I did not, hereafter, consider England as my only home.

"I have shed many tears over the early grave of the Princess Charlotte; and I am, at this moment, sensibly affected by the tribute of affection which you have paid to her memory, and by that tender recollection of her worth which is so universally cherished.

"When death removed his late revered Majesty to a happier scene, I instantly felt the magnitude of the loss I had sustained; while his sacred life was spared, it operated like a barrier against the vengeance of my persecutors. But his dear remains were hardly cold, when my enemies began to renew their persecutions, and to load me with aggravated indignities. I was almost instantly held up to the people as a criminal, unworthy of having my name inserted in their devotional formularies. The Conspiracy, which had been defeated, though only by a partial investigation of my conduct, in 1806 and 1807, again reared its vindictive head; and an attempt is now making to degrade me in rank, and to sink me in infamy, by a procedure, which is at once an outrage upon all law, and wholly incompatible with the spirit of the British Constitution. But my honour and my rights are, in fact, those of the country;



*"and every one is interested in their preservation.—The tyranny, which destroys me to-day, makes every man's liberty less secure to-morrow.—In the present alarming crisis, when I am attacked by the strong arm of overwhelming power, I rely first, as an innocent woman, upon the favour of a protecting Providence; and next, as an insulted and a persecuted Queen, upon the sympathies of the People; and upon that potent agency of public opinion, which now forms the best safeguard against the aggressions of tyranny, and the enormities of injustice."*

Nothing that ever fell from the pen of man; and, what is a great deal better, nothing that ever proceeded from the heart of woman, was more proper than this. Her Majesty does not at all over-state the matter when she says that we are all interested, equally with herself, in the preservation of her rights. That which is her lot to day, may be the lot of any of us to-morrow. If her rights can be taken away, by a process, no matter what, our rights can be taken away by that same process. Indeed, if this were not the case, the injustice of proceeding against her in this manner would be too horrible to be thought of. It would then be a thing invented for *her alone*. Well, then, every one of us is liable to such a mode of proceeding. Any man may be taken out of the ordinary tribunals, and tried and condemned by bill. What then becomes of

our security? What becomes of the security of any man who is hated by the ministers of the day? Can any man hope to plead successfully against that species of jurisdiction, to which the wife of the King has been compelled to submit!

The case of her Majesty, then, is the case of us all; and there naturally and necessarily arises a *fellow feeling*; a community of sentiment and of interest between her Majesty and the people; and especially any part of the people that may have been marked out as objects of oppression. And who has been the cause of this community of sentiment and of interest? Why, those persons who have placed her Majesty in her present situation, and with regard to whom, her Majesty must feel precisely as others feel, who have been persecuted by the same men; and, for the greater part, by precisely similar means.

Therefore, the mean and base man, to whose words I have alluded above, may, as they say in Yorkshire, keep his breath to cool his porridge. The Queen can say nothing to defend herself; she can say nothing in reprobation of her persecutors; she can make no complaint, no remonstrance; she can make no movement in order to parry the blow that is aimed at her: she must close up her lips, and go like a lamb to the slaughter; or she must make common cause with the people: to which I have only to add, that, if this be a subject of lamentation with you, you have the consolation to know that it is altogether of

your own seeking and your own creating.

One word at parting upon the subject of the intended trial, the passing of the *Alien Bill*. Notwithstanding the petitions against it; the passing of the *Alien Bill*, giving you, and your colleagues, such fearful powers; placing all the Queen's witnesses so completely at your mercy; the passing of this bill, without any clause to protect these witnesses from being sent out of the country by you, or by Sidmouth; the refusal of this clause, upon the ground, that if it passed it would reflect discredit upon you by *implying a suspicion that you were capable of not acting fairly towards the Queen!* The passing of this bill has not been overlooked by the public; and it has by no means tended to assuage the feelings that before existed.

The refusing the Queen the names of the witnesses to be brought against her, is another thing to be added to the catalogue. It is observed upon what ground this refusal was made; and the public has stood in need of no commentary to lead them to a just conclusion. But, it having been thrown out, in the House of Commons by Mr. Denman, that it might be thought proper to advise her Majesty to *decline to defend herself in the House of Lords, on account of such list of names being refused*; I must express my opinion, that such a step would be *greatly injurious to her Majesty's cause*. It would seem to say, that she wished to avoid that trial. It

would look like *hitching at something to get out of that trial*. There are many persons who would say that the names of the witnesses were asked for, knowing that they would be refused, for the sole purpose of having an excuse for declining the trial. But the most dangerous thing of all would be that, as her Majesty would go to the trial in the House of Commons, it would seem to say; nay, it would amount to a declaration that her Majesty *acknowledged before-hand*, that the decision of the House of Commons, be it what it might, **WOULD BE JUST!**

I hope her Majesty will think twice and even a thousand times, upon a step like this, before she takes it. I hope she will reflect well and long before she give her consent to the adoption of a measure like this. Nothing can be more unnecessary, to say the least of it, than to *praise one's judges before-hand*. Some gentlemen have recently found to their cost that nothing is more unnecessary, and, indeed, more imprudent than this. It is quite time enough to praise one's judges after the proceedings are all over. Her Majesty has had a little experience herself of the effects of *praising the House of Commons*. When her Majesty had, in the famous negotiation papers, so frequently declared her readiness to submit to the "*declared sense of the House of Commons*." When she had done this, she pretty quickly found, a deputation of that House at her feet, with a humi-

ble and dutiful and most affectionate resolution, that she might safely give up *her rights*, and depart in peace to foreign lands, without the smallest spot or stain upon her character!

Taught by this experience I trust that her Majesty will give no preference to the House of Commons, who, I am fully persuaded, **WILL PASS THE BILL IF THAT BILL COME DOWN TO THEM FROM THE LORDS**. As I believe that the House of Lords is as full of wisdom, of justice, of fair-play, of integrity, and of every other good quality as the House of Commons is; so I believe that if the bill pass the Upper House it will also pass the Lower House.

Oh! no! This is not the way to go to work. Let the Lords go on, and let her Majesty, as it is said to be her determination, go and face her accusers *in person*, and she need fear nothing. Her Majesty will have much better opportunities in the House of Lords than she would have in the House of Commons of suggesting questions to the accusers' witnesses. Her understanding the language of the Italians is a great advantage. In the House of Lords her Majesty will be better situated for this purpose; and, what is a great advantage, she will be present at the *opening of the Court*. She will hear her accusation read. There will be no mummerly going on. She will see the witnesses at their *first appearance*, before they get accustomed to the scene. In short, she will, by meet-

ing them at once and before the Lords, do all possible good for herself, without risking the smallest danger; but once more, I say, that, in giving a **PREFERENCE** to the House of Commons, she would actually be appealing to them from the Lords, and by this appeal she would make before-hand, an acknowledgment of the justice of their decision, *whatever might be the nature of that decision!* And again, I say, that, so help me God, I believe that the House of Lords is full as upright, full as impartial, full as independent, and full as much friends of her Majesty as the House of Commons! Amen.

WM. CORBETT.

P.S. I have just room to congratulate you on the *Glorious Revolution in Naples*. A second Revolution, effected by *Soldiers!* and not a life lost!

#### POLITICAL REGISTER.

The present number contains the Table of Contents and Index to Volume 36, of which the last number was the close. By those who think it worth while to put those numbers into volumes this table of contents and index must be taken out of the present number and put to the beginning of the last Volume.

#### CORBETT'S PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER.

The unexpected torrents of eloquence which have been poured fourth in consequence of the arrival of her Majesty the Queen, have made it necessary for us to alter our plan a little, and to bring out more than one number in a week. The remaining numbers will now be

got out as fast as possible, and the Volume will be completed, with all the possible aids of indexes and references, so that it may be ready for use before the Houses meet to proceed to the trial. We shall then start fairly with them again; and by the time that we get through the next Volume, we shall, we think, be able to present to our readers such a mass of materials for present amusement and information and for future history, as the world never before saw in so small a compass. We are thankful to Providence for casting our lot to live in these days. Every day now is a month of common days. Every year is a century. Events and not hours are the measure of life. To have enjoyed long life while one is yet young, is certainly a very great blessing; and for this blessing we of the present day have to thank, as the immediate sublunary causes of that blessing, Pitt, Addington, Grenville, Perceval, Jenkinson and Castlereagh; and we hereby beg those of these persons who happen to be still alive, to accept of our grateful thanks, while we entertain, though an inferior, yet a considerable degree of gratitude, towards the Cannings, the Hunns, the Huskissons, the Longs, the Roses, the Steels, the Bankes's, the Wilberforces, and many others too tedious to mention, who are all equally entitled to our good will, and to perpetuate whose deeds, along with those of the superior class above mentioned, has been the occupation of no inconsiderable portion of our lives.

## DOCUMENTS

### *Relating to her Majesty the QUEEN.*

Lord W. Russell and Mr. Whitbread presented the following Address to her Majesty, on Tuesday last:

TO HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY CAROLINE AMELIA ELIZABETH; QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

The dutiful and loyal Address of the householders and inhabitants of the ancient town and borough of Bedford:

"We his Majesty's faithful and loyal subjects of the town and borough of Bedford, beg leave, with every assurance of loyalty and attachment, to offer to your Majesty our most sincere and cordial congratulations on your Majesty's accession to your royal title, and on your Majesty's safe return to the British empire.

"In offering our congratulations, we cannot refrain from expressing our sincere and heartfelt condolence on the irreparable losses which your Majesty, as well as the whole nation, have sustained, by the death of your late beloved and amiable daughter, the Princess Charlotte, on whom the hopes and expectations of the country had so fondly and so affectionately rested; as well as on the death of our late most gracious sovereign, King George the Third; who ever proved himself your Majesty's most warm and steadfast friend.

" It is with feelings the most painful, and with the most genuine emotions of sympathy and grief, that we advert to the circumstances which, at present, so unhappily exist, and that we express our abhorrence of the proceedings that have hitherto been adopted against your Majesty's peace and honour, as well as of the indignities, to which your Majesty has been so peculiarly and so unwarrantably exposed; by which the whole nation has been insulted, in the person of their Queen.

The only consolation we feel on this occasion, is derived from the dignified, open, and magnanimous conduct, which your Majesty has adopted, which is at once the strongest refutation against your accusers, (although backed by a combination of secret spies and informers) as well as the strongest presumption of your Majesty's innocence.

" Your Majesty's protest against a secret tribunal, and a demand for a full, free, and open inquiry—your Majesty's refusal of a bribe so basely offered, as well as those concessions on the part of your accusers, (because they were inconsistent with either your innocence or honour) is a conduct well worthy of the Queen of England.

" The just administration of the laws of our country is a subject of such vast importance to the whole nation, that we cannot but view with the strongest feelings of jealousy and alarm, the result of the present proceedings.

" The appointment of a secret

committee, composed of your Majesty's accusers, comparing themselves to a Grand Jury, by presenting a Report, and introducing upon it a Bill of Pains and Penalties, before either witnesses have been examined or allegations proved, is a measure derogatory to the best interests of the whole nation.

" Notwithstanding these almost insurmountable obstacles to truth and justice, and the measures that have been adopted to pre-empt the question, by the most unjustifiable reports being circulated, before your Majesty is able to repel them, we sincerely trust, your Majesty may be enabled to prove your innocence to the confusion of your accusers.

" We therefore hope, shortly to hail the day, when your Majesty will be established, in full possession of all your *just rights*, and sincerely trust that the *honour, welfare, and happiness*, of your Majesty may long continue.

" Signed, on behalf of the meeting,

" JOHN GREEN, Mayor.

" Bedford, July 11, 1820."

Her Majesty returned the following gracious answer:—

" I receive, with the most cordial satisfaction and gratitude, the assurance of the affectionate attachment of the Mayor and inhabitants of the ancient town and borough of Bedford.

" The confidence and sympathy expressed for the irrepa-

nable loss which I have sustained during my absence from England, in the persons of my beloved daughter, and his late revered Majesty, is most valuable to me, and offers the only alleviation to my feelings of which the circumstances admit.

"It is no slight aggravation of the pain occasioned by these severe losses, that those enemies, who for years have been seeking my destruction, no sooner perceived that I am destitute of that protection which before shielded me, than their attacks were repewed in a form scarcely admitting resistance; boundless as are the means of overawing and corrupting possessed by these implacable foes, no less of his Majesty than of myself. But, however well calculated may have been their measures to effect my destruction, by secret machinations, followed by the most audacious and industrious circulation of slander of their own creation, I yet feel confident that that justice which has hitherto been the brightest characteristic of the British nation, will not be sacrificed or tarnished in my person. At the same time I cannot but be astonished and grieved that these slanders should have been in any respect sanctioned before I have been heard in my defence, furnished with any specific charge, or suffered to know who are the witnesses by whom I have thus been reviled.

"To whatever dangers, however, I may be exposed, from the power and malice of my enemies, I never can regret that I did not submit to purchase

security, and become party to my own degradation, by consenting to continue absent from the kingdom, under a compromise which must have equally affected the honour of all concerned. I thank you for your manly and generous expression that the insults offered to your Queen you feel as offered to the nation; and be assured, that while my honour is identified with the nation's, (from which it never can be really separated), with God's help, I will maintain it in the face of every danger, and to the last moment of my life; feeling at the same time, that no sacrifice but that of the honour of the country, can be too great to promote the prosperity and happiness of a nation to which I already owe so much."

The following Address was also presented to her Majesty on Tuesday last:

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The humble Address of the Inhabitants of the Town and Neighbourhood of Shaftesbury, in the County of Dorset.

"May it please your Majesty,

"With emotions of the deepest regret at the afflictive situation in which your Majesty has been placed, under the dispensation of Divine Providence, by the loss of your justly beloved daughter, in whom our hopes were so fondly centred, and of

your venerable protector, our late highly respected Sovereign, and with a just degree of indignation at the various injuries which your Majesty has received both in this country and on the continent of Europe, we humbly request permission to present our congratulations on your safe return to these realms, and on the firmness which your Majesty has evinced in the trying circumstances which have attended your progress through life, from the time of your first landing on the British shore, down to the present moment.

"In thus communicating our heartfelt sentiments on the present occasion, our attachment to the illustrious House of Brunswick, together with our unwillingness to revive your feelings of sorrow or of just indignation, we restrain our expressions respecting the deprivations your Majesty has suffered, or the provocations which you have received on various hands. Let it suffice to say, that viewing your Majesty as a branch of that illustrious House, we feel every attack on your Majesty's person or character as an attack upon the British nation; and we regret that the offenders, on various occasions, have not been made to incur the penalties which their base slander and truly disloyal conduct have deserved. That your Majesty's character may be delivered from the machinations of your enemies, and rise, as we trust it will, above every malignant insinuation, or open attempts to detract from its merits, is our

earnest desire and prayer; and that your Majesty may be favoured with the enjoyment of every blessing is the united wish of your Majesty's most obedient and most faithful servants."

Her Majesty returned the following gracious answer:—

"I cordially thank the Mayor of Shaftesbury, and the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood for this loyal and affectionate address. The sympathy which they evince for the melancholy losses and the reiterated persecutions which I have endured, cannot but be gratifying to the best feelings of my heart.

"To whatever trials I may have been exposed since I first set my foot on the English shore, I shall never forget that in those trials I was consoled by the tenderness, and supported by the magnanimity, of the English nation.

"Though I am well acquainted with the activity and the malignity of my adversaries, I place a firm reliance upon the protection of that great Being, from whom no secrets are hid; and while those who are no less the enemies of his Majesty than of myself, are endeavouring to ruin me by their wiles, and to crush me by their power, I am cheered by the consciousness that I possess a strong rampart of security in the good sense, good feelings, and good principles, of this enlightened people."

An address from Newcastle upon Tyne, signed by 6,000 persons, was likewise presented to the Queen, when her Majesty was pleased to return the following most gracious answer :—

“ With great satisfaction I receive this address from his Majesty’s dutiful and loyal subjects, the inhabitants of Newcastle-upon-Tyne and the vicinity.

“ I accept with thanks, and return with sincerity, the affectionate expressions of your wishes towards myself, and towards that illustrious House from which I am descended; and the true honour of which, as it never has been, so it never shall be, tarnished by me.

“ Whatever I possess of wisdom, courage, and magnanimity, has been fostered and strengthened by the example of this discerning, generous, and gallant nation; on whose unalterable attachment to the principles of justice I firmly rely, under Divine Providence, for support under all my unmerited afflictions, and for protection against the machinations and violence of all my enemies.”

During her Majesty’s long and wearisome, but interesting journey, her conduct was such as to excite the respect and veneration of the nations which she visited, in some of which she left lasting marks of her benevolent spirit. At Argos, in Sicily, she distributed with her own

hand, or caused to be distributed, large sums of money to the poor. At Tunis she obtained the liberty of several slaves, among whom were two females—one the daughter of the Governor of St. Pierre, the other a Genoese lady. This was before the arrival of Lord Exmouth. Several Roman slaves were also released on the application of her Royal Highness. She gave to the New Academy at Athens 500 pieces (colonnats), and authorized the governors to draw annually on the banker Scaramenza, at Constantinople, for 200 more. She also released all the prisoners for debt at Athens, and deposited in the hands of the governor 700 pieces, to be applied to a similar purpose after her departure. To a poor Roman Catholic family, whom she found in the same place, she gave 200 pieces. At Constantinople her benefactions were still more numerous. To the conventual fathers at Jerusalem she gave 600 pieces; in fact, at every place where she stopped her benevolence was on the alert to seek and relieve the distress of her fellow creatures.

Her Majesty, on her return to Europe, took up her residence at an agreeable villa on the shore of Lake Como, at a small distance from that town. The situation of this house, which she purchased of the Countess Pino, was particularly beautiful, surrounded on all sides by the most enchanting and romantic scenery. Her Majesty here sought amusement rather in the resources of her own mind, and



among a limited number of friends, than from an indiscriminate intercourse with the inhabitants of Como; but still she was always hospitable as well as affable to those by whom she was visited.

It was through the recommendation of the Marquis Gliislieri that the Countess of Oldi became maid of honour to her Majesty.

We now go back to that period when suspicions were first excited as to the conduct of her Majesty; and which led to the persecutions to which she has been since exposed. We stated on a former occasion, that all her Majesty's English attendants gradually quitted her previous to her departure from Europe—a circumstance, we believe, mainly attributable to their disinclination to accompany her Majesty on the long and fatiguing journey which she contemplated. Dr. Holland left her in June, 1815, and came to London to publish his travels. Among our countrymen whom her Majesty met at Milan was Mr. Wm. Burrell. He proposed to remain with her some months, and accompanied her Majesty on her journey to Mantua, Bologna, Ferrara, and Venice; from thence they returned to Como, and here Mr. Burrell took his departure, leaving her Majesty in the house of the Marquis Villani, in the Borgo Vico.

Mr. Burrell went to Brussels; and in this town one of the domestics, who had accompanied him in his travels with her Majesty, circulated reports with regard to her Majesty of the most

atrocious description. These stories reached England in a still more exaggerated shape, and in the end Lord Charles Stewart was sent to Milan to inquire into their truth. At Milan Lord Stewart became intimate with Baron d'Ompteda, Knight of Hanover, and formerly ambassador of Jerome Buonaparte, King of Westphalia, to the Court of Vienna, and engaged him to become a watch on the conduct of her Majesty. This was in September, 1815, and the Baron exerted all his ingenuity to promote the object of his employers, and to enlist persons in a more humble situation in his disgraceful commission.

When her Majesty returned to Milan, in 1816, she received intimation that she was surrounded by spies in her own house. Endeavours had been made during her absence to corrupt her servants, and to engage them in plots destructive of the honour and reputation of their mistress.

Several of her Majesty's Italian domestics resisted the temptations which were held out to estrange them from their duty. One man, however, a German, of the name of Maurice Credi, was not equally virtuous. He suffered himself to be seduced, and, for weighty considerations, agreed to introduce the Baron d'Ompteda to the apartments of her Majesty by false keys. Fortunately this happy contrivance was frustrated. Credi was discharged, with a suspension of his fidelity, for some love-intrigue with a countrywoman of his, named Annette, who was cham-

bermaid to her Majesty; and, in order to obtain re-admittance to her Majesty's favour, he confessed the infamous scheme in which he had been engaged, and his confession was made in the form of a letter to the Chevalier Tomassia, an intimate friend of her Majesty, and Prefect of Como, and was in the following terms:—

"Monsieur le Chevalier—It is to you that I address myself, Sir, to obtain the greatest of favours, for which I shall be eternally grateful to you. Yesterday I was dismissed from the service of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, for having paid my court to the chambermaid Annette. This event, which gives me great concern, has awakened in my mind a remorse which has long agitated me, and with which I felt the necessity of making you acquainted, that you may interest yourself for me, and be the means of restoring me to the service of the Princess.

"I must then acknowledge that I deserve my disgrace, since I have suffered myself to be seduced by a certain Baron, M. d'Ompèda, to betray the best of mistresses and the most generous of Princesses.

"It is a year ago, or about a month before the departure of the Princess, that this Baron was using all possible diligence, by means of a certain Ambrose Cesoti, who went to Como, to discover the place where my mistress slept, and to obtain false keys. I persisted some time in my refusal; but at last the threats of the Baron, who told

me I should be ruined if I did not listen to him, and the money which he offered me from time to time, succeeded in corrupting me, and I have been weak enough to accept this commission, though persuaded there was no foundation for the infamous suspicions of the Baron. I should, however, say, with the same sincerity, that the fault in my conduct in this respect only consists in answering the questions of Ompèda, in conferences which I had with him, and in which I was interrogated as to the situation of the rooms of the palace, as well as to the persons who often visited the Princess.

"This is my confession, Chevalier, by means of which my heart has been relieved from a burden which oppressed it. I address myself to a man already respectable by his virtues, and who must feel commiseration for human weakness; and I beg him to obtain my pardon from the Princess, and not to abandon me in this melancholy conjuncture.

"Take pity, Sir, on a wretch who, knowing his fault, will seek to repair it by repentance, hoping thus to return by your means into the path of honour. I put all my trust in you, Monsieur le Chevalier. I am your very humble servant,

"MAURICE CREDI.

"Como, November 3, 1816."

Her Majesty, upon the communication of this declaration, of course, felt extremely indignant, and her private secretary, Lieut. Hapnam, sent a personal challenge to the Baron. The

Baron, however, with a baseness but too much in accordance with the character he had assumed, declined the combat, and rendered himself still more contemptible by attempting to treat the serious call which had been made upon him, as a man of honour, with ridicule—sometimes proposing to meet his brave antagonist in Africa, at other times in Asia, and again in America. He was at length removed from the seat of his own degradation by the Governor, Count Sauran, to whom her Majesty communicated the discovery she had made.

Other persons, equally well qualified with the Baron d'Ompèda, were found to succeed him, and it was pretty well understood that every motion of her Majesty was narrowly watched, and reported with such colouring as best suited the interests of the persons who were employed. The agents of this system of espionage cared not from what class they selected their evidence, and thus they took the depositions of, and retained in their employment, the very dregs of society. Boatmen, lacqueys, mechanics, and the humblest domestics, were all received with favour, and handsomely rewarded for every story they had impudence or ingenuity enough to invent.

The ground-work for inquiry having been thus laid, and the reputation of her Majesty having been by such means assailed, the Milan commission, to which such frequent reference has been made, was de-

termined upon, and Mr. Cook and Mr. Powell set out on their important investigation, which was not confined to occurrences in Milan alone, but was extended to every place where her Majesty had resided, and in which subordinate instruments had previously been at work.

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**CORRESPONDENCE RELATIVE  
TO HER MAJESTY'S DEPARTURE FROM ENGLAND, IN  
1814.**

LETTER FROM HER ROYAL HIGHNESS  
TO LORD LIVERPOOL, FIRST MINISTER  
TO THE PRINCE REGENT, DATED  
JULY 25, 1814.

"The Princess of Wales requests Lord Liverpool to lay before the Prince Regent the contents of this letter.

"Actuated by the most urgent motive—that of restoring tranquillity to the Prince Regent, as well as to secure the peace of mind of which she has been for so many years deprived—the Princess of Wales, after mature reflection, has resolved to return to the Continent. This resolution ought not to surprise the ministers of the Prince Regent, considering the trouble and disagreeable experience of the Princess for so long a time; and still more after the indignity and mortification to which she has been exposed by being withheld from receiving her nearest relations, and the most intimate friends of the late Duke of Brunswick, her illustrious father.

"The Princess is extremely anxious that the Prince Regent

should be informed of the motives, and clearly comprehend her past conduct as politically exhibited. In exacting a justification from this noble nation, her sole protection since the unfortunate indisposition of the King, she is to be understood as solicitous only to maintain her rights and her honour, which are dearer to her than life itself.

"The Princess of Wales would have undertaken her projected tour long before, if she had not been prevented by the breaking off the projected marriage of the Princess Charlotte with the Prince of Orange. She could not resolve to leave her daughter without protection, at a period so critical. The Prince Regent having planned to establish the new-married couple at the Hague, the Princess Charlotte, on that account principally, declined the match. Unwilling to prove any obstacle to future arrangement favourable to the happiness of her daughter, the Princess of Wales has at length resolved to return to Brunswick, her native country. She may afterwards travel into Italy and Greece, where she may probably be able to select an agreeable abode, and live in it for some years. The Princess flatters herself that the Prince Regent will have no objection to this design.

"The Princess of Wales requests Lord Liverpool to represent to the Prince Regent that she resigns Montague-house, and the title of the Ranger of Greenwich Park, in favour of her daughter, as also the house

bequeathed to her by her mother. The Princess of Wales hopes the Prince Regent will grant this favour—the last she will solicit.

"The Princess embraces this opportunity to explain the motives which have induced her to decline the grant of 50,000*l.* voted to her by the nation in Parliament. She expresses her most lively acknowledgment to this liberal and generous nation for its willingness to grant her such a pension during life; but she has only taken 35,000*l.* because, as the gift was intended to support her in her proper rank, and to enable her to hold a court as became the wife of the Prince Regent, the receipt of it would interfere with her views of travelling, and her purpose to quit England for a season. Such is the substance of her present communication to Lord Liverpool, which the Princess would have made before, but for the fear of producing new debates in Parliament. She has therefore waited the rising of Parliament, and is now about to depart for Worthing, to embark, not intending previously to return to London.

"The Princess of Wales is happy to assure Lord Liverpool that she will ever be ardently solicitous for the prosperity and glory of this most generous nation."

LETTER FROM THE PRINCESS OF WALES  
TO MR. WHITEHEAD AND TO HIS  
FRIENDS, DATED 25TH JULY, 1814.

"The Princess of Wales has the pleasure to inform, and frankly to avow to Mr. Whit-

bread that she is about to take the most important step in her life. She has embraced the resolution of quitting this country for a time; and has written to Lord Liverpool to immediately inform the Prince of her intention. The Princess incloses a copy of this letter to Mr. Whitbread to inform himself and friends of the plan of conduct which she has adopted.

The Princess is so persuaded of the well-known integrity of Mr. Whitbread and Mr. Brougham, that she cannot doubt that they would have proposed such a step, if motives of delicacy had not prevented them. The Princess is deeply penetrated with gratitude for the attentions which they have shewn her at all times and on all occasions. This kindness on their part has withheld her from asking their advice on the present occasion: in every other instance she assures them she has always followed the suggestions of her advisers and friends, and conformed to their superior intelligence.

"Her conscience tells her that her conduct is worthy of her character and of her sentiments, and will always remain so. She has had sufficient leisure to reflect maturely before she adopted her present resolution. People who know not the character of the Princess may be disposed to believe that she has been induced to adopt this measure in a moment of ill humour, but she takes the Almighty to witness that she has been intending to travel ever since 1803, although reasons,

too long for explanation, have prevented her. No person possessed of pride and feeling could endure to be degraded below her rank in this kingdom, as Princess of Wales, or even, as a simple individual, bear to be so hated by the Sovereign as to be debarred from his presence both in public and in private. The Princess of Wales knows not how to support so much debasement and mortification. She cannot allow herself to be treated as a culprit by the Prince and his family, when her innocence has been acknowledged by ministers and by Parliament, after an investigation which has done away the accusations of traitors and enemies.

"The Princess, having obtained this public satisfaction, cannot in conscience remain a burden to her friends any longer. Events are continually occurring, which oblige her zealous and generous advocates to step forward in her defence, and this devotion has even proved a source of disagreement between Mr. Whitbread and a part of his family. He cannot but remember that the Princess had been the cause of this difference, and it is with a view to its removal that she takes the part which she announces.

"The Princess of Wales is deeply penetrated with the generosity of this brave nation, which, after taking so lively an interest in her misfortunes and in her sufferings, as cruel as they are unjust, so willingly affords her the means of living peaceably in future. She hopes that her gratitude, which will

only cease with her existence, will be one day renewed in the Princess Charlotte, and that her daughter will give proofs of it by her zeal for the glory and happiness of this kingdom; by defending the rights of her people; and proving by her conduct, that, great and powerful as she may be, she will not tyrannize over any one merely because they have not the good fortune to please her.

"The Princess of Wales would probably have not departed so soon had not the marriage of the Princess Charlotte with the Prince of Orange been broken off at her own instance. Dear as her daughter is to her, she could not resolve to leave her without protection in a situation so critical. The Princess, aware that the match was ardently desired by the people, wished neither to impede the happiness of the nation nor that of her daughter. On this account she is solicitous to depart at once, for it is pitiable to see a child rendered on all occasions a source of dispute between her parents. The Princess of Wales is assured that in future the Princess Charlotte will be more happy and tranquil: and she is led to make this sacrifice, that, if she remains some time longer unmarried, there may be fewer obstacles to her appearance in public. Her father, the Prince Regent, may thus choose the most suitable of her nearest relations to introduce her into society, that she may enjoy the pleasures belonging to her age, and become

acquainted with the character of the most distinguished persons of the nation, of which knowledge she has hitherto been deprived by means which I proceed to detail. The Princess Charlotte will the less feel the privation of her mother's society, as she has been deprived of it for the last two years. During that time five or six months in succession have passed away without the mother being allowed to see her daughter. She has even been refused the consolation of receiving any of her letters, and thus her regret at leaving her is lessened; for, although living in the same capital, they were not allowed to speak, even when they met in their airings. Her daughter's coachman was forbidden to stop, and directed to act as if he knew not the carriage of the Princess of Wales. Thus to quit her will be but the grief of a day, whilst to remain is to plant daggers in the bosom of both mother and child. The Princess cannot rest in a situation so unfortunate for herself, and so uneasy to others, and is sure that Mr. Whitbread and his friends will be affected by these considerations; that their sentiments will accord with her own, and that they will approve of her resolution.

"The Princess, before she ends this long letter, is solicitous to explain to her advisers the most urgent reason for her quitting England, and to show them that delicacy has obliged her to put herself under the protection of this great and gene-

rous nation, having no other refuge since the indisposition of the King.

"That which renders her situation still more embarrassing is, that this generous nation has shown more devotion towards herself than to its ruler, who ought to be the blessing and glory of his people. The Princess hopes that, when she has quitted England, the Prince Regent will make public his conviction that her conduct and character have not merited reproach; and thereby regain that popularity which is due to him on the part of this noble nation.

"The Princess cannot end this letter without assuring Mr. Whitbread and his friends of the unalterable sentiments of lively gratitude and perfect esteem, that can end only with her life."

LETTER OF MR. WHITBREAD TO THE PRINCESS OF WALES, DATED 1ST OF AUGUST, 1814.

"Mr. Whitbread assures her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, that he has not been at all surprised at the resolution with which she has been pleased to acquaint him; it cannot but give him much pain to think that he will not be able to enjoy the amiable society of the Princess for some time. In her absence his utmost zeal shall be exerted for her future happiness; and his unalterable attachment shall be evinced by his efforts to promote the well-being of the Princess Charlotte, the integrity of whose character would of itself suffice to com-

mand his esteem and veneration.

"In concluding this letter, Mr. Whitbread only wishes to reiterate his sentiments of devotion to her Royal Highness, and of zeal for her re-establishment in all the rights of the empire over which she is one day to reign. "S. WHITBREAD."

LETTER OF LORD LIVERPOOL TO THE PRINCESS OF WALES, DATED THE 28TH OF JULY, 1814.

"Lord Liverpool has had the honour to receive the letter of her Royal Highness. Having communicated it to the Prince Regent, he has ordered him to inform her Royal Highness that he can have no objection to the intentions of her Royal Highness to effect the design which she announces to the Prince Regent, of returning to her native country, to visit her brother, the Duke of Brunswick, assuring her that the Prince Regent will never throw any obstacle in the way of her present or future intentions as to the place where she may wish to reside.

"The Prince Regent leaves her Royal Highness at liberty to exercise her own discretion as to her abode in this country or on the continent, as it may be convenient to her.

"Lord Liverpool is also commanded, on the part of the Prince Regent, to inform her Royal Highness, that he will not throw any obstacles in the way of the arrangements of her Royal Highness, whatever they may be, respecting the House

at Blackheath, which belonged to the late Duchess of Brunswick, or the rest of the private property of her Royal Highness; but that, for reasons rather too long to explain, the Prince Regent will not permit the Princess Charlotte to be Ranger of Greenwich-park, nor to occupy any of the houses at Blackheath which her Royal Highness has hitherto occupied.

Lord Liverpool has also been enjoined, on the part of the Prince Regent, before he closes the letter which he has the honour to send to her Royal Highness, to tell her, in relation to the two articles which her Royal Highness has put in her letter concerning the rupture of the marriage of the Princess Charlotte with the hereditary Prince of Orange, as well as to the reason for which the allied Sovereigns did not, previously to their departure from England, pay their visit to her Royal Highness, that, as to the first article, Lord Liverpool is commanded by the Prince Regent to inform her Royal Highness, that the Prince Regent is not persuaded that the private considerations of the circumstances in which the Princess is placed can have been an obstacle to the marriage of the Princess Charlotte. As to the second article, Lord Liverpool is also enjoined, on the part of the Prince Regent, to signify to her Royal Highness, that the Prince Regent never opposed himself to the allied Sovereigns making a visit to her Royal Highness during their stay in London.

" Lord Liverpool has the honour to be with all esteem and the highest consideration.

" P. S.—The Prince Regent can make no difficulties on the subject of the directions which the Princess has the intention of giving as to the house at Blackheath; neither will the Prince Regent oppose her Royal Highness's retaining the apartments in the palace of Kensington, in the same manner as she possessed them while in London, for the convenience of herself and suite."

By the KING.

#### A PROCLAMATION,

For adjourning the Solemnity of the Coronation of his Majesty.

GEORGE R.

Whereas by our royal proclamation, bearing date the 6th day of May last, we did (amongst other things) publish and declare our royal intention to celebrate the solemnity of our royal coronation upon Tuesday the 1st day of August next, at our palace at Westminster; and whereas, for divers weighty reasons as thereunto moving, we have thought fit to adjourn the said solemnity until our royal will and pleasure shall be further signified thereon, we do by this our royal proclamation give notice thereof; and we do hereby further signify to all our loving subjects whom it may concern, that all persons, of what quality or rank soever they be, who either upon our letters to them directed, or by reason of their offices or tenures, or otherwise, are to do any service at the time of such coronation, are discharged from their attendance on Tuesday the 1st day of August next.

Given at our Court at Carlton-house, this 12th day of July, 1820, and in the first year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING,



Documents recently published, to prove M. Olive Serres to be the legitimate daughter of Henry Frederick, the late Duke of Cumberland:—

GEORGE R.—Whereas it is our royal command that the birth of Olive, the Duke of Cumberland's daughter, is not to be made known to the nation during our reign: but from a sense of religious duty, we will that she be acknowledged by the Royal Family after our death, should she survive ourselves, in return for confidential services rendered ourselves by Dr. Wilmot in the year 1739.

Dated Kew Palace, May 2, 1773.

Witness, CHATHAM.

This is to certify that the marriage of the Duke of Cumberland and Olive Wilmot was duly solemnized according to the established laws of the Church of England, by myself,

J. WILMOT.

March 4, 1767.

Present at the marriage of the above parties,

BROOKE,  
J. ADDEE.

This is to certify that Olive, the only child of the above parties, was born April 3, 1772.

J. WILMOT,  
R. WILMOT.  
WARWICK.

London, March 4, 1816.

I solemnly declare Mrs. Olive Serres to be the daughter of the late Duke of Cumberland.

WARWICK.

I consider it just to state, that the marriage of the Duke of Cumberland and Olive Wilmot was solemnized in my presence by banns.

London, May 2, 1815.

I consider it proper that I should declare, that a sacred obligation pre-

vented the late Dr. James Wilmot and myself from disclosing Mrs. Olivia Wilmot Serres's birth during the King's life.

WARWICK.

Green-street, April 2, 1816.

I solemnly promise my protection to my cousin, Olivia Serres; should the Earl of Warwick depart this life before the King.

EDWARD WARWICK.

June 3, 1815.

London, May 5, 1777.

MEMORANDUM.—That Lord Chatham hereby promises his future protection to Olive, the infant daughter of the Duke of Cumberland, and Olive, his wife; and also undertakes to see paid to the said Olive 500*l.* yearly, until a suitable provision is settled upon her, in consideration of my promising to observe a sacred secrecy as to her birth during the King's life.

J. WILMOT, CHATHAM.

MEMORANDUM.—That the Earl of Warwick hereby acknowledges having received from his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland the sum of 2000*l.* on account of Olive his daughter, which sum the Earl of Warwick holds himself answerable for to myself.—Witness the signature of his Lordship,

J. WILMOT, WARWICK.

OLIVE WILMOT,

The only child of H. F. Duke of Cumberland, by Olive Wilmot, his lawful wife, begotten on her body 1771; born April 2, 1772, but baptized by her two Christian names only, to ensure privacy, as the supposed infant of my brother Robert.

J. WILMOT.

December 1, 1819.

At my return from Devonshire, I solemnly promise to acquaint the Regent with the birth of Mrs. Olivia Serres.

EDWARD.

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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## A LETTER

TO

HIS MAJESTY THE KING,

*On the Treatment of his Royal Consort; with a Preface, taking a View of the Revolutionary Prospects of the Continent.*

London, July 27, 1820.

*May it please your Majesty,*

At last the times are growing so serious, as to make even power begin to think. It is my intention to address your Majesty on the subject of the *treatment of your Royal Consort*. But, before I do that, let me beseech your attention to some observations on the *revolutionary prospects on the Continent*, leaving you to judge of the time and manner, when and how that which is now taking place abroad may affect your Majesty and your dominions.

"How vain!" some one will

exclaim. "How silly! to suppose that *the King* will ever "even see, much less attend to, "what you are writing!" True, if it were a sealed packet, sent through Sidmouth. But, it is not; and, if you never see it, half a million of people may. It is possible, too, that you may see it; and, in that case, the circumstance of its being addressed to yourself, may, perhaps, induce you to bestow a half a minute's attention upon it more than you otherwise would have done.

That Kings, and even ministers, in a government like ours, very seldom hear any *useful truth*, until too late, is pretty certain. There is a very sufficient reason for this in the *immediate interest* of all those who surround them, and whose chief object is to raise themselves in riches and in rank; an object which is to be attained only by the favour of the powerful, which favour was never yet secured by the relating of *disagreeable truths*. Your Majesty

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may be an exception; but kings and ministers generally say to their underlings, as the Israelites are reported to have said to their prophets; "prophecy to us *smooth things*: prophecy to us *lies*."

Those underlings seem to have constantly before them the example of *Gil Blas*, when confidant of the Count-Duke of OLIVAREZ. "When," says he, "I perceived that the minister liked to hear what the people thought and said of him, I went out myself in the evenings, and mixed in conversation with the people. When they talked about the government, I listened with great attention; and when I heard any thing worthy of being repeated to his Excellence, I took care to let him know it. But, it must be observed, that I never reported any thing that was not favourable to him."

This is the grand secret of rising at court! There needs nothing more. No knowledge: no talent: no industry: simply to flatter, and to flatter, in this particular manner, is all that is required. And, in past ages, kings and ministers went on very well with this.

But, in *this age*, it will not do. There must now be *truth* at the tables of rulers; or their sway cannot last long.

In addressing your Majesty, upon the present occasion, I may appeal to past addresses with some degree of confidence. In 1812, I took great pains to dissuade you from suffering your ministers (though supported by both factions) to plunge us into a war with the American States. I then, before the war began, clearly pointed out the impossibility of its succeeding; and I as clearly showed, that the war must be attended with enormous *pecuniary loss*, and with *deep disgrace* to our fleets and armies. That war was, however, begun and persevered in. It cost this nation *seventy millions of money*; and, in its result as well as in its progress, it affixed such disgrace upon our arms, by sea as well as by land, as those arms had never before sustained; besides absolutely *creating a navy* to brave us upon the ocean, in every part of the world. Nevertheless, all those of us, who were not content to live and die slaves, were compelled to pray for such a result! For, if that war had succeeded: if that last resort of freedom

had been destroyed, what hope could have remained to the then oppressed millions of Europe! It was truly said, at that time, by the advocates of that war, that, while the *example of America remained*, there was no safety for what Castlereagh called the SOCIAL SYSTEM. It does remain. The glorious example lives. And there is no safety for Castlereagh's System.

In other letters, addressed to your Majesty soon afterwards, I pointed out the delusiveness of those hopes, which had been founded on the *fall of Napoleon*; and, when your grand Negotiator, Castlereagh, came home from the Continent, flushed with success, I observed, that he and his associates of Austria and Prussia and Russia had really *over-reached themselves*: that *their policy*, even according to their own views and wishes, was the *foolishest* that could be imagined: that, having a desire to put a final stop to revolutions, they ought, by all means, to have left *Napoleon on the throne of France*: that he was a *protector of kings*: that he was beloved and admired by the most powerful nation on the Con-

“*continent*: that his vanity and ambition were a safe guarantee against his ever attempting any thing for the freedom of mankind: that his fame, that his personal character and his deeds, threw a splendour round his throne, and made his people in love with, or, at least, not ashamed of, their chains. Whereas, to place the Old Bourbons and their Old Noblesse in France and in Naples and Spain, would be sure to lead to new revolutions; it being impossible that the people of these countries, after having such men as NAPOLEON at their head, could ever submit patiently to the Old Bourbon sway: and that, therefore, new revolutions would break out; and that, too, without resistance; seeing, that our government, from its beggared state, would be wholly unable to enter on another crusade against freedom; and that, though the boroughmongers might curse, they might, like SHIMER, curse on; for, that they would be able to do nothing to prevent the second series of revolutions from being crowned with success.”

This was, Sir, addressed to you, not very distant from the day, when the grand Negotiator, that "*statesman-like*" Castlereagh, was received in the House of Commons with *clapping of hands*! I have not forgotten the empty boasts; the at once empty and malignant language of that day. I had a reliance on the *Debt*; and, that alone would now be sufficient; but, the *new series* is begun from without; all the schemes of the Holy Alliance are blown into air, or, at least, they shortly will be; the time and manner of the *close* being a matter of *curiosity* rather than of interest. The Boroughmongers *do curse*, I warrant them. But, they confine their curses *within their teeth this time*. Oh! that Burke were still alive! I dare say he would still bellow away. But for this once, his bellowing would be unavailing. "*Representative Government*" is the order of the day; and it will prevail in spite of all that can be done to prevent its spread and its establishment.

It will be useless for me to endeavour to turn your Majesty's attention to the influence, which the glorious revolutions of Spain and Naples may have in *other*

parts of the world; for, if that influence be not *already* a subject of your *constant meditation*, nothing that I can say will be of any avail with you or your advisers. Nevertheless, I cannot refrain from just stating the case of the *Radicals* to your Majesty. If you do not deign to read it, or, reading it, do not deign to pay attention to it, the fault will not be mine.

The word *Radical* has, by Corruption's press, been made use of to point out men, who ought not only to be held in abhorrence and to be punished with the utmost severity; but who ought to be considered as *out of the protection of the law*; as being upon a footing with *mad dogs*, or *wild beasts*, to destroy whom, no matter in what way, is a *laudable act*! Thus, this press (including that of the *Whigs*, the base Whigs!) give accounts of men taken up and committed to *jail*, on a *charge of Radicalism*; of others being apprehended *on suspicion of Radicalism*; of others being shot or scabred as *Radicals*!

Who would not imagine, then, that *Radical* and *Traitor* meant the same thing? The fact is, however, that the *Radicals* ask for nothing that is not

strictly according to the laws and constitution of their country. They are injured and oppressed men, who ask for *legal redress*. The laws of England say, that *no man shall be taxed without his own consent*; that no man shall be bound by laws, *to which he, by his representative, does not give his assent*. It is notorious, that comparatively very few of us have liberty to vote for representatives; and we wish to have that liberty. The law strictly forbids peers to *interfere in elections*. The law strictly forbids the *selling of seats*. We wish the law to be strictly observed. And, are we *traitors* for this? Shall we be out-lawed for this wish? Shall we be killed, or banished, because we wish for such a Reform as would insure the *due execution of the laws*?

A *Radical* is a man who thinks, that he ought not to be taxed without his own consent; who thinks that he ought to be amenable to no law to which he has not, by himself or his representative, given his assent; who knows that he gives a large part of his earnings in taxes, that he is liable to be forced to take up arms and venture his life in defence of the country,

and who thinks, therefore, that he is entitled to a vote in the choosing of those who make the laws; who thinks that the Duke of Richmond's Bill, giving a vote to every man, including *soldiers and sailors*, was a just and wise proposition; who wishes for a Reform upon the principles of that Bill; and who has never proposed to trench upon any one of the privileges of the peers or prerogatives of the king. This is a *Radical*! And yet, this man is spoken of as a *monster*! And we are coolly told; that such and such have been sent to *jail* on a charge of *Radicalism*!

Your Majesty may be assured, that these things; that what we have been beholding and feeling for three years and a half last past; that the Dungeon Bill, Sidmouth's Circular, the Imprisonments under the Dungeon Bill, the Manchester affair, the Oldham Inquest, the Six Acts, and numerous other things, will never be rooted out of our minds. And, if your Majesty had wise ministers, they would, with all possible dispatch, advise you to adopt such measures of *conciliation* as would tend to remove the *stings of recollection*. Your Majesty do not, you

cannot, know what is passing in the minds of your people. If you knew only a fiftieth part of it, it must produce a *change*; not of your ministers for the selfish and stupid old Whigs; that is not what I mean; but a change in the mode of treating the great mass of the people; and, above all things, a change in the mode of choosing the Members of the House of Commons.

This is the *grand and ever-present object*. All other objects are *incidental*. To be sure the case of her Majesty, the Queen, is great in itself. It takes fast hold of every heart. When we trace her Majesty through her unparalleled persecutions, we, for a moment, forget our own sufferings and wrongs. But, still, the *Men in Dungeons* return soon to our recollection; nor do we overlook the *dreadful preparations now going on*. When I look at these things, I really am wonder-stricken, that there can be found men, who appear to suppose, that all this is, at last, to blow over like a summer cloud! who appear to suppose, that human passions as well as human reason are to yield to their interest and humour! And who are as deaf to the warnings

of danger as to the cries of humanity!

In order to avoid coming too close, is there any one, in his senses, who thinks, that *France* can remain for a year without a *Second Revolution*? Such a thing is the most likely in the world. It is a thing that appears *inevitable*. The effect of that revolution I dare not describe. But its *bare probability* is enough to suggest measures in the way of *preparation*. A man, in whose breast *revenge* is boiling, must wish for no such measures. He must wish to see the elements of destruction go on collecting themselves together; augmenting their mass; and remaining undiminished to the day of explosion.

The state of your Majesty's dominions is such as to *insure* a *great change* of some sort or other. Things cannot go on in the present way. To produce a change there needs *no incidental*. The regular undeviating progress is towards a *great change*, and that change must include a *Reform of the House of Commons*. If, then, *this* progress be accelerated by *incidental events*, whether without or within, what *madness* is it not to anticipate events, and to

prevent, by timely conciliation, the effects of the triumph of the injured!

Amongst these incidental events is that which now agitates the country, and which has been rendered formidable by predisposing causes. Her Majesty, the Queen, has been accused of *making common cause with the Radicals*, than which nothing can in itself be more ridiculous. For, amongst the imputed sins of the Radicals, that of wishing to *degrade Royalty* has always been one. It is ludicrous enough, therefore, now to accuse them of the crime of thinking, that the Queen *ought not to be degraded*. But, the fact is, that the Queen's cause *naturally allies itself* with that of the Radicals. They are *complainants*, and so is the Queen. They have had and have their dungeonings; and the Queen has her prosecution. They are threatened, and her Majesty has been threatened. They have had their petitions rejected, so has the Queen her's. The Queen has demanded open trial, so did they when sent to dungeons by Sidmouth. They have had spies set upon them, and the Queen has had spies set upon her. Green Bags and

Secret Committees were their lot, these, too, have been the lot of her Majesty. Corruption's press applauds the chopping of them down by the swords of Yeomanry, and the same press calls for the Queen being made a *martyr* even if she be no criminal. That press represents the Radicals as beings to be kicked and thumped, and it exhibits the Queen as worthy of Bridewell and the whip!

Besides all these circumstances of similarity, those who appear as the prosecutors of the Queen, have also been the prosecutors of the Radicals; and, which is the *great thing of all*, it is as clear as day-light, *that the Boroughmongers to a man, are enemies of the Queen*. Their motives for enmity to her are plain enough. CANNING explained that matter, when he described her Majesty's *gracious, affable, unaffected and winning manners and deportment!* The Boroughmongers know well what are the feelings which their haughtiness, insolence and cruelty have created. They know, that they are, and always will be, detested and abhorred; or, at least, that, if the detestation and abhorrence cease, contempt must



supply the place of them. These things they know well; and, therefore, they cannot endure the thought of seeing *popular Royalty*. CANNING says, that he advised the Queen to quit the country, because he saw, that "*faction had marked her as its own*"! That is to say, he saw, that the cities of London and Westminster, upon the developement of the persecutions against her, and, upon the publication of *proofs of her innocence*, had presented *affectionate addresses to her*! Was there ever before such a reason given for advising a person to *quit a country*? What a disposition must this man have had? "*Faction*"! What does he mean by *faction*? Faction is a combination of men, whose object it is to thwart, for their own selfish purpose, the regular powers of the state. What *faction*, then, had the Queen any thing to do with?

But, what he really meant, was, that he saw, that the Queen was calculated to become *popular*; and, that was then seen by the *Boroughmongers*, and it is also *seen by them now*. Accordingly *they* have taken good care *not to go near her Majesty*; and also to *forbid*

*their understrappers to go near her*. They thought, that, by thus acting, they should *disgust* the Queen with the country; that they should *terrify* her also; that they should *frown her away*; and that they should thus get rid of this cause of fear. But, her Majesty has, *this time*, got into society with *truth and honesty and real wisdom*. She has appealed to the hearts of the people; and she has found safety. The Boroughmongers are ready to gnaw their hands off. *Their Lawyer* has been counteracted by her Majesty's discernment and resolution. All the budget of tricks have failed. All the sarcasms cast, upon the "*absolute wisdom*" that brought her Majesty to London by *day-light*, have been turned into jests on the wise men who put forth those sarcasms.

The Queen, may it please your Majesty, has now had an opportunity of knowing what the people *really are*. I would to God, that your Majesty could be as well and truly and honestly advised, in this case, as your Royal Consort has been! What might we not then expect from your excellent understanding and your naturally mild

and generous disposition! Her Majesty now knows what Boroughmongers *really are*. What interests they have; what it is that makes them hate all popular Royalty; why they hate her; and why they want her *fairly out of the country*, and with all convenient speed! Her Majesty knows by this time what is meant by the word *Radical*; why the Boroughmongers hate the Radicals; why Boroughmongers love to be Boroughmongers; and, knowing all these things, her Majesty has, I dare say, been able to trace out, with great accuracy, all the motives of the Honourable and Learned Member for *Winchelsea*, of which *Winchelsea* and all its independent electors her Majesty has, I dare say, become acquainted with the real history.

This is truly useful knowledge! It is "under the circumstances of her Majesty's position," to use a Protocol-phrase, worth all other kinds of knowledge put together. It enables her Majesty to know *who is who*; to know how far she can place reliance; to know what are the motives of men; to know what she has to expect from them; to see the springs

of action; to see how men are held, bound, turned, twisted, and managed. It will enable her Majesty to account, in a most satisfactory manner, for many things that must otherwise appear wholly mysterious. It will serve her Majesty as a sort of *second-sight*. It will give her a view of the strings, pegs, wires, and springes; and will enable her, at last, to escape being caught.

There is one thing, which has shocked the whole nation; and I am sure, that your Majesty has participated in the feeling; namely, that neither House of Parliament should have produced, or, rather, brought forward, one single man to *volunteer* his talents in defence of the Queen! Doctor Lushington's conduct has been manly and able; General Ferguson, Mr. Creevey, and Sir Francis Burdett, have spoken boldly: but, surely, it was a case to call forth some one gallant man to go to her Majesty, to offer his services to her, to assist her with his counsels, and to devote his whole time and all his talents and energy to her cause. But; really, Sir, in this huckstering, stock-jobbing age, the love of fame seems to have been obli-

terated from the human heart! There are *young* men; officers of the *army*; officers of the *navy*: and not one, even of these, has stepped forward! In such men, and in such a case, even indiscretion and temerity are right, and the want of them almost a crime. Miserable indeed is that state of society when, in such a case, men are under the sway of cold calculation!

If this appeared shocking to the people, it has, doubtless, not been overlooked by her Majesty; and, when turning her eyes towards the *people*, she has seen such ardent zeal and such disinterested exertions in her cause; so much warmth of affection towards herself, and so much indignation against her enemies; when her Majesty has had this comparison pressed upon her; and has seen, withal, so much and such superiority of talent range itself voluntarily on her side "*out of doors*," is it any wonder that her Majesty, with that frankness, sincerity and courage that belongs to her character, should have openly avowed her reliance upon the people?

Let those, therefore, who *complain*, that her Majesty relies on the people, ask themselves the

*cause*; and, if they find that *cause* in their own conduct, let them no longer complain of any body but themselves. That conduct, however, will, at last, have been found to be fortunate for her Majesty. For, if a yacht had been sent to meet her at Calais; if a Palace had been provided for her reception; if she had been received with military honours; and if a suitable proportion of Boroughmongers had visited her: if this had been the plan adopted, her Majesty's security would not have been what it is at this moment. It was impossible for the nation to behold the treatment of the Queen without *feeling for her*; and, when it found, that rank and wealth keep aloof, it involuntarily stepped forward. Some of the first reports gave her *Countess Fitzwilliam* for a visitor; and, it was observed, that Countess Fitzwilliam, or some one for her, *contradicted this*; than which a grosser insult never was offered to any human being. These circumstances, trifling as they were in themselves, went very far in deciding the nation: and, when it saw, that the sole object was *to drive her Majesty from England*, its mind became unalterably fixed.

It is for the interest of your Majesty and of us all, that this matter should be terminated justly and tranquilly; and my opinion is, that, even now, the safest and best course to pursue would be to put her Majesty in full and entire and quiet possession of all her rights. My reasons for believing this are founded on that state of the public mind and the state of the country. And I do most sincerely believe, that if your Majesty were truly informed of what is thought, what is said, and what is expected, we should soon be relieved from all further agitation on this melancholy subject.

There is, in the bare facts of her Majesty's history, enough deeply to interest a people of much less sensibility than the people of this kingdom are well known to be. A deficiency in politeness has, and with some shew of justice, been ascribed to us. We have been called rude and arrogant; but whatever other faults we may have, a want of humanity, a want of kindness, a want of the warmest affection, certainly do not belong to the inhabitants of this island, or of any part of the kingdom; and, of all the people in the whole world, none so de-

cidedly and so instantaneously take part with the weak against the strong, with the oppressed against the oppressor. The *fears* of the funding and borough systems have gone far in hardening the hearts of those who depend thereon, and have induced them to give their tacit consent, at least, to acts, which, formerly, would have excited universal horror; but, in a case like that of her Majesty, where these fears have no weight, the native character breaks forth in all its humanity and all its justice:—and, therefore, those were but poor philosophers, who thought that, because Green Bags had been so successful against the Radicals, they must also be successful against the Queen.

Her Majesty became an object of *compassion* with the people almost from the moment of her marriage. A great sacrifice had been made, and cheerfully made, to render her marriage happy. When, therefore, she, with her infant daughter, had to quit her home, and that, too, without any misconduct on her part, without even any *alleged* misconduct, the nation felt most deeply for her as for an *injured wife*, and it also complained, on its own part, that

its reasonable expectations had been disappointed.

The people well knew the causes of the separation; and, in whatever way they viewed the matter, the Queen was still the injured party. It was clear that she was treated in a way, that even the *law* did not allow of; and, while such pains were taken to inculcate amongst the people the obligations of the marriage tie, it shocked every one, that so little was thought about *example*. Surely *inclination* ought not to have been too strong for all other considerations in a case like this! But, without imputing blame any where, it is certain, that the nation, from this time forward regarded her Majesty as an *injured wife*, who had a well known legal right to *live with* her husband.

There is nothing surer than injury to beget friends, in a case like this. Mankind have the justice to bear in mind what enormous sacrifices every woman makes in giving herself up to a husband, and how little she receives in return. Indeed, it is agreed by common consent, that she is to enjoy by *influence* something to balance against the husband's *authority*; and,

if this were not really to take place, the lot of a wife would be worse than that of a negro slave. The *law* is all on the side of the husband; and this is one reason, and a very good reason too, that every body is, in all disputes between man and wife, on the side of the latter, until it be *clearly proved* that she is in the wrong.

Women, though almost slaves *by law*, have, in this country, (and, thank God, they have) a great deal of *influence*. Not *corrupt influence*, but legitimate, wholesome, enlivening, and ennobling influence. They are, too, a *sisterhood*. They resent every affront offered to them as a *sex*. Men are so many detached individuals. But women are a body corporate. Touch one and you touch the whole. Coquettes, who hate each other as rivals, will defend each other as *women*. Every husband should bear this in mind. It is one of the indirect checks upon his husbandish authority; and woe be to the man that sets it at defiance.—The whole weight of this corporation was thrown into the Queen's scale, the moment she quitted Carleton House without any offence even alledged

against her. And, the whole of this immense weight she has had on her side *from that day to this*.

This fact, of such vast importance in the case, your Majesty's ministers, who are, I believe, all *married* men, ought to have well considered, before they filled their Green Bags. If, upon this occasion, their *wives* had been consulted, the measures would, I imagine, have been very different from what they have been. Had I been a minister, I should have made a hasty retreat, the moment it was determined on to leave the *Queen's name out of the Liturgy*. I should have been sure that all the *women* would be displeased; that they would make the cause *their own*; and that, in the *end*, they would, by one means or another, make me repent of my share of the measure. If your Majesty could have seen, as I did, a group of women, the other day, standing at the corner of Westminster Bridge, with one, as spokeswoman, saying to the rest:—"Why, is it not our *own Queen*;" "and, shall we not have her *crowned*?" If your Majesty could have seen this group, and observed the determined aspect

of the parties, I am inclined to think, that we should hear no more of the cause of agitation.

The strong feeling favourable towards the Queen, which existed from the moment of the separation, was never weakened by the tales of 1806 and 1807: The *women*, who had always supposed that she had been calumniated previous to the separation, either regarded the tales as arising from new calumnies, or, worst come to worst, apologized for her beforehand, upon the ground of her being neglected, ill-used, and abandoned; but, which was her great protection, the late king showed her *his countenance* all the while. And, when the *real facts* came fully out in 1813, they were filled with indignation. They had supposed, that lies enough had been invented; but, when they found, that the wife of the heir apparent, and the mother of her whom all the young people hoped to see Queen of England; when they found this wife and mother had been accused, on *oath*, of having been *pregnant*, of having had a son, and of having *suckled him*; when they found, that all this was *false*; and, moreover, that the *perjured witnesses* had been shel-

tered from punishment; when they found this, their feeling in favour of the injured and insulted Princess met with an equal in their detestation of her base and execrable accusers, whom they have never forgotten or forgiven to the present hour.

But, "*there was a child*," said the vile calumniators, loath to let loose their hold. "*There was a child*; and, it was *very strange*, that the "*Princess should take the child of a poor man, and breed it up*." This argues great perverseness; most malignant wickedness; or profound ignorance of the characters of women. There are some women, whose very nature impels them to fondness for babies; who actually are miserable, till they arrive at a certain age, unless they have little children about them, and even to be nursing and dandling. Every man knows this; but, the proof of it may be found in the records of the Foundling Hospital, where little babies are put out to be kept for a time by poor men's wives, and where it will be found, that hundreds of the children have been kept and brought up by the poor people *as their own children and at their own expence*, rather than let them be

taken from them. I myself have known three instances of this kind. And, indeed, it is notorious, that there are many women so fond of little children, that nothing can restrain their desire to have them in their arms or about their persons. In the course of a day, we see scores of women in the public walks quitting their companions to go up to a baby in arms, though never seen before, to chirrup to it and caress it. Nothing is a greater treat to a company of women than to get round a baby and talk about it, and to it, though it be not a month old. The fondness of women for young children is perfectly a *passion*; it makes a part of their *nature*; and a very *amiable* part of it too. In proportion, also, as this passion exists in them, they are kind-hearted, ardent in all their feelings, generous and brave. Unfortunate is the man, who does not know how to prize this endearing propensity in woman; and, of all the amiable and excellent things that I have heard of her Majesty, the Queen, nothing does, in my eyes, do her more honour than this very trait, which her enemies have made use of for the purposes of calumnious insinuation.

The peculiarity of her Majesty's then situation rendered the taking of this little boy the more natural. She was a young woman ; a young wife without a husband. Her only child was upon the point of being taken from her, if not then actually gone. What more rational, what more benevolent occupation, than to take a poor man's child, to bestow on him a mother's cares, and to rear him up to manhood ? What more inoffensive and what more consoling, in her situation, than the hope that she was raising up one being, at least, that would be grateful to her through life ? Greatly to her honour, the taunts of the wretched villains, who have been hired to calumniate her Majesty, have not induced her to abandon this child, now become a man ; and all that we have to hope is, that he may, both in conduct and endowments, be worthy of the care and kindness that have been bestowed upon him ; and, above all things, that he may be a consolation to, and, if necessary, be ready to lay down his life for her to whom he has, though innocently, been the cause of so much persecution.

The subsequent treatment of

her Majesty, in her exclusion from Court and in a prohibition to visit or to see her daughter, was extremely well calculated to add to the public feeling in her favour. All the circumstances considered, there would have been sufficient apology for attachments, which are not allowable under other circumstances. There were many persons who thought, that, if the charges against her had been true, she rendered herself liable to no very great degree of censure. An injured wife may be permitted to do many things not to be tolerated in a wife that has received no injury. For her Majesty to have *pipecd* away her time ; for her to have sitten moping like a forlorn creature worthy of rejection, would, in my opinion, have greatly lowered her in claim to public regard. Like a woman of spirit and of merit, she sustained her cheerfulness and gaiety ; and, if she had gone a step further the opinion of the world would have been, that she had still a title to be judged of with the greatest indulgence. Speaking for myself, upon this subject, I can see no reason why a woman of thirty is to lock up her heart, to know nothing more of those



feelings which are a compensation for the numerous ills of life ; to become a piece of wood or of marble, merely because a husband's capricious inclination has rejected her. The wife promises fidelity ; but the husband promises all sorts of goodness towards her ; and the common sense of mankind rejects, with scorn, the idea, that the contract is to be binding on one side only. Those Holy Scriptures, on a charge of having spoken irreverently of which, so many Englishmen are now wasting away their bodies in dungeons ; those Holy Scriptures tell us, that we are not to put away our wives for any cause, *save that of adultery* ; and they add, that he who putteth away his wife without this provocation, *causeth her to commit fornication*. So that, if her Majesty really had had a son, as was alleged, the fault, according to these Holy Scriptures, would not have been that of her Majesty. Hard, indeed, would be the lot of woman, if to all the other hardships and privations which the law compels her to submit to, if the husband chose to exercise them, they were also to be bound to abandon their very nature as females, the mo-

ment the husband chose to decline an intercourse with them. For my part, I cannot conceive how such a thought ever found its way into the mind of man ; and, thank God, there are very few men, into whose minds the thought ever did find its way.

Ninety-nine hundredths of the nation, and, indeed, of the whole of mankind, entertain a similar way of thinking upon this subject ; and, therefore, if her Majesty really had been justly charged, in 1806, no very harsh sentence would have been passed upon her by the public ; and though they might have been silent upon the subject of her exclusion from court and from intercourse with her only child, they would have thought such treatment a great deal too severe, and especially when they recollected, and had so fully in their minds the causes which had produced her calamity. What then must they necessarily have thought, when the charges were proved to have been *groundless* ; when the informers were openly acknowledged to have been perjured ; and when the circumstances, out of which the allegations had arisen were shewn to be such as to do her the greatest honour !

When her Majesty left England to travel on the Continent, she left behind her the compassion and the warmest good wishes of the nation. She left behind her also very different feelings towards those who had been the advisers of the treatment which she had experienced. The death of her child during her absence ; the circumstances of that death ; every thing tended to keep alive the feelings which existed at her Majesty's departure. No wonder, then, that the people in London, while the heralds were proclaiming your Majesty King ; no wonder that their voices drowned the noise of the trumpets with the cry of "*God bless the Queen!*" No wonder, that, at that very moment they crowded round Mr. ALDERMAN WOOD, and besought him, with an earnestness not to be described, to promise to protect the Queen ! No wonder that, when they heard of her heroic conduct at St. Omers, and when they saw her throw herself upon their protection, they should feel a resolution to defend her by all the lawful means in their power ! While her Majesty was entering London, with her deplorable and dust-covered equi-

page ; at that very moment CASTLEREAGH had laid the Green Bags upon the Table, and was coolly proceeding to propose a vote of thanks to your Majesty ; and at that very moment, a shout from the top of Westminster Bridge ; a shout of "*God save the Queen,*" told the assembly what the nation thought of the contents of those Bags !

Every occurrence from that day to this has tended to strengthen and confirm what the nation then thought. Evidence conveyed in sealed bags. Secret Committees to examine that evidence and report upon it, while the Queen prayed for open trial. A refusal to furnish her with the names of the witnesses to be brought against her. A refusal to give her the names of the places where the alleged acts had been committed ; and, a suspension of the opening of the trial for five weeks, while a document charging her with the foulest offences was promulgated throughout the world. Treated in every respect as criminal, and not permitted to take any one step to prove her innocence. All these things the people have well observed ; and, above all things,

they have observed the insolent deportment of the Boroughmongers towards her Majesty.

The press, that part of it, I mean, which is, upon all occasions, praising the ministers, has assailed the Queen with a degree of bitterness and foulness, which, if employed against the wife of any Boroughmonger, would have brought down upon the offender, a punishment little short of death. And these atrocious offences have been committed with perfect impunity. But, amongst all the incidents, none has been better calculated to excite disgust and resentment than the conduct of the Members for Yorkshire, in refusing to be the beaters of an address to her Majesty from a great town in that county. The excuse of one of those members was, that it would be *inconvenient* to him to wait upon her Majesty. His own affairs took him another way! This "*Corinthian Pillar*," as his teacher, BURKE, called him, had something else to do! And, as to the other, he regarded the address as prejudging the question, forgetting, apparently, that the Bill of Pains and Penalties, which calls the Queen an adulteress, and which divorces her

from her husband, had been promulgated without the Queen having been suffered to offer a word in her defence.

Upon all these things the public have remarked; and the result has been a decided conviction which nothing now will be able to shake. CASTLE-REACH now alleges that the Queen's cause is made a handle of, by *those who wish for a revolution!* If this were true, it would be wise in him to give way at once, and let the revolution quietly take place; for, even excisemen, custom-house officers, clerks in office, and other numerous persons who are paid out of the public money, and to name whom, in a manner more particular, would be something more than unnecessary: all these are for the Queen; so that, if the Queen's friends are *Revolutionists*, the thing is as good as settled.

But, Sir, this is not true. The Queen's cause is by no means connected with any hostility to the Throne, or to any part of the *Constitutional Establishments*. It is connected with a desire to see measures adopted that would give stability to the Throne and to those establishments: and the attempt to make

it be believed that those who object to this course of proceeding against the Queen, are enemies of the Throne, is much about upon a level with the assertion that, to uphold the Throne, we must approve of the selling of seats in the Parliament.

This is, however, an old, stale, disgusting trick. If we complain that sixty, eighty or ninety thousand a-year, is voted as money for *secret services*, we are, at once, accused of wanting a revolution. If we complain that a hundred thousand a-year is given out of the taxes to a clergy who already receive a tenth part of the produce of the earth, many of whom have two livings, and reside upon neither, and the dignitaries of which church have, many of them, palaces to reside in, and incomes allowed to them far greater than those allowed to your Royal Brothers; if we complain that, in addition to all this, a hundred thousand a-year is taken out of the fruits of our labour to be given to the members of this church, our complaint can be accounted for in no other way than by asserting that we want a revolution! If, now that the Bourbons are

restored, we complain that more than fifty thousand pounds a-year are taken from us to be given to the French, and other foreign emigrants, and that, too, at a time when documents are before Parliament, to show that, in whole districts, our own people are starving, and while we are actually paying other taxes to ship off half starving creatures to dwell on the sands of the Cape of Good Hope; if, under these circumstances we complain of these enormous benevolences to French and other emigrants, we are charged with wanting a revolution! If we complain that pensions have been settled on foreigners, in direct breach of that very law which placed your Majesty's family on the Throne, we are silenced by being told that we want a revolution! In short, we can complain of nothing; we can pray for nothing; we must subscribe to every thing; we must be as silent as the grave, or we must crawl like spaniels, or, we are charged with wanting a revolution!

If, however, there are dangers of revolution, whom has your Majesty to thank but this very CASTLEREAGH and his

colleagues? Those men who have plunged the country in irredeemable debt; who have rendered the country the most distressed that ever was known in the world: who have stripped it of all its fair and legitimate means of maintaining its honour among nations; who have divided its people, shaken all confidence, and destroyed the very hope of gradual and peaceable return to prosperity. If revolution be dreaded, who has your Majesty to blame but the men who, to all the other causes of danger that they had brought upon us, have now added this new subject of agitation, of alarm, and of peril?

Let them, therefore, hold their peace about revolutions; and not seek to throw the burden of responsibility from their own shoulders to those of men who have always deprecated and protested against the measures that have brought them into their present situation. Who, but themselves, kept the Queen's name from the Liturgy? Who, but themselves, caused the Queen to be insulted at St. Omers? It was they who sent a deputation to kiss her hand one day, and who brought in a Bill of Pains and Penalties

against her the next. It is they, and their supporters and abettors, who, even now, carry on that which is agitating the country; and, therefore, if they see danger of revolution, let them take the merit of it exclusively to themselves.

However, let what will become of them, your Majesty and your people ought to love one another. This is what ought to be, and this is what would be, at all times, were it not for the advice of wicked and interested men, who are constantly endeavouring to make the King believe that *hatred of them is hatred of him*; and this is what I had the honour of fully explaining to your Majesty, during the last year. The contrary of this is so true and so evident, that one wonders how any Sovereign can be imposed upon by such an artifice. But, if proof had been wanted that hatred of ministers, even to the highest degree, can exist without any hatred to the King, what striking proof has been furnished within the last three months. The five men whose heads were severed from their bodies for having designed and prepared to *kill your ministers*, repelled, with indignation, the charge of

disloyalty. Five bolder and braver men never existed in this world. They faced death with a calmness that never was surpassed. They justified their intention; but they scorned the appellation of *traitor*. One of them said, with the certainty of death before his eyes; that, so far from having harboured any evil intention towards the King, he had always been a loyal man, and had never even suffered any one to speak disrespectfully of the King in his presence. Another of them, when he was mounting the scaffold, used the glass of wine that was offered him to *drink the King's health, and to wish him a happy reign!*

If, amongst any description of persons, revolutionists were to be found, they might certainly be looked for amongst men like these; yet, even amongst those men, who harboured the most deadly designs against your ministers, we find unshaken loyalty towards yourself. And this is the feeling of the whole nation. The people have no designs, which are inconsistent with the exercise of your Majesty's kingly power. They want no change inconsistent with the exercise of that power.

And all the endeavours which are made to induce your Majesty to ascribe the discontents of your people to a want of loyalty towards yourself, and to a desire to overthrow your family and throne, are a pure invention for the purpose of closing your ears against the just complaints of your people, and for securing and perpetuating the ill-gotten influence of your own and your people's enemies.

To what this course, which has been so long pursued, may finally lead, it is impossible for any one to say; but, this we all know, that whatever evils may happen to the Throne and Royal family of this kingdom, if, contrary to all our wishes, such evil should arise, no part of them will be ascribable to any body except those councillors, under whose advice Reform has been refused, and her Majesty the Queen has been so cruelly persecuted.

With all the sentiments that become an Englishman who understands his own rights and his duty towards his Sovereign, I am your Majesty's faithful and devoted subject and servant,

WM. COBBETT.

## Mr. PERRY.

This gentleman, in his paper of Thursday, has applauded the Lord Mayor of London for pulling down what Mr. PERRY calls "*infamous and inflammatory Placards*." One of these Placards contained an extract, and nothing else, from Mr. PERRY's own paper! As to its being *infamous*, the accusation is foolish. It might be calculated to *in-flame*; but, that was its merit! We write and speak, sometimes to inform, and sometimes to *in-flame*: sometimes for both together. Seldom have the writings of Mr. PERRY a tendency to produce either of these effects; and he ought, it seems to me, to be greatly obliged to the person who has taken the trouble to select and give currency to one of the very few articles of Mr. PERRY's writing worthy of the public attention. The truth is, that Mr. PERRY, if he has any good disposition, is kept in check by the old hang-dog faction to whom his vanity binds him. They do not know what to be at; and he is acting a sort of non-descript part, undoing to-morrow what he does to-day. The Edinburgh Reviewers are much about in the same state.

They have so long been looking for place in vain, that their natural sourness is turned into a species of fury; and their fury is not the less on account of their perceiving that turning the ministers out will not put them in. The possibility of seeing that horde quartered upon us has, until of late, been a constant dread with me for more than fifteen years. CASTLEREAGH and his set have pretty well drained the pockets of the nation; they have sweated us down to a reasonable bulk; but if these Edinburgh Reviewers had been permitted to fall upon us, they would not have left us the skin to cover our wretched bones.—However, thank God, there is no fear of them now! These are times when such lumber makes little shift. They are too dull for the events that are passing. Read one of their Reviews and it brings to your mind the gallop of a cart-horse along a race course.—As to the Lord Mayor of London pulling down Placards, he knows his business best, but whether he be friend or foe to the cause he espouses, he may take my word for it that he is doing that cause a great deal of good: every one is eager to see, or to know the

contents of, that which he is so anxious to keep out of sight. Let him take a lesson from what has happened, to his brother of Rochester, and he will see reason, perhaps, to confine his hostility in future to his wishes, which, though very impotent, cannot be more so than his acts.

#### THE EXAMINER.

No wonder that this paper has excited the rancour of persons whom I need not name. Its conduct with regard to the cause of the Queen has been most laudable. Truth, energy, elegance, ability, have here been employed with a degree of fearlessness which the cause demands: and if they are worth the Editor's acceptance, I beg him to accept of my best thanks for the great delight which the article alluded to has given me. I am aware that it may be said that memory assisted his pen upon this occasion. So much the better. It is not in such a case vindictiveness, it is justice; and miserable, indeed, would be the lot of man were he not allowed to take justice when placed within his reach. I concur in every one of his sentiments uttered upon this occa-

sion. They were all just, all well expressed. They did great honour to the writer, and the publishing of them was no mean compliment to his readers.

#### MR. WOOLER'S PAPERS.

Here also the cause has been ably sustained. The author has not suffered himself to be warped in his politics, nor has he neglected them. He has taken up the cause of the Queen upon the same principle that he has maintained, with so much ability, the cause of the people; and, indeed, how can a man, with the means in his hands, and with a heart in his body, refrain from espousing that cause?

#### THE TRAVELLER.

This Evening Paper has devoted a considerable part of its columns to the cause of the Queen. Excellent reasoning; great ability all through, and a complete refuter of the columns of the Courier, the Morning Post and the New Times. I have not seen the other evening papers; but I have heard that all, except the Courier, act an honest part. The Traveller is careful in collecting



the addresses to the Queen and her answers; full as careful as Mr. PERRY is negligent; and, with the exception of the *Times* newspaper, the Queen's cause is, perhaps, most indebted to the Traveller. The truth is, however, that the press would carry on it marks of everlasting infamy if it were not to espouse this cause. It is perfectly unnatural not to do it. Not to espouse this cause, being able to do it, a man must be bad in his very disposition. There is no room for balancing. The man that can balance here must have "said unto corruption, thou art my father." The time will come, and that shortly, when every writer, who shall have taken the other side, will be regarded as a monster; and he must either get the fact disguised, or, with ruffians, like Edwards, contrive to disguise himself. There will always be somebody to excuse men for want of principle and feeling in cases that admit of doubt; but this case is so clear, it is so obvious to every eye; the wickedness of taking a wrong course is of so diabolical a nature, that the offender cannot possibly escape execration. There is no merit in espousing the cause of

the Queen. A man must believe himself not to be a man. He must not only have lost all the feelings connected with the consciousness of being, or of wishing to be, a husband; he must not only know nothing about the feelings of brother for sister, or father for a daughter. He must believe himself not to have had a mother before he can be destitute of feeling for the cause of her Majesty.—What those monsters are, who have made use of the press against her Majesty, I will give a sort of specimen in the history of two of them; and I beg my readers to mark well the facts I am going to state.—One of these writers turned his wife out of doors; allowed her a miserable pittance to exist on for several years, while he lived in splendour with another woman. The poor wife died in this state of separation, and the ruffian now lives with that other woman.—The other did not turn his wife out of doors; but compelled her to go out herself, or witness an intercourse of a nature too foul to be described between him and a relation of her own, an intercourse forbidden by the laws of *consanguinity*, as well as by the

marriage tie, by conscience and by honour.—Such is a specimen of those who have made use of the press against her Majesty the Queen; and my opinion is, that, if the truth could be come at, we should find that her Majesty has very few active enemies who are not of this odious and detestable description.—There appears to be *innate cruelty* absolutely necessary to induce a man to take up his pen against her Majesty. All cruelty is odious, even towards dumb animals; but cruelty towards a woman, and one that has never offended us, too, must spring from a heart that is hard, unfeeling and ferocious in its very nature.

Luckily there are very few persons of this description in any country; and it would be strange, indeed, if they were numerous in this. However, I, for my part, am for ransacking the history of these ruffians: I am not for suffering them to go dressed up in the character of gentlemen to call for the more than half murdering of Mr. and Mrs. Carlile upon the ground of their publishing things injurious to morality and religion. I am for stripping the mask from them, that they may be know

and detested.—It will be useful, in all parts of the country, to sift well into the history of those who take part against the Queen; in order that we may have the history at hand to be used for the benefit of truth and of justice.

#### RESTRICTIONS ON THE PRESS.

Men like those that I have just mentioned are strenuously recommending *further restrictions upon the press!* And what would that do without a Bourbon censorship? And what would the Bourbon censorship do? Just nothing at all. It could not retard events one single moment. Nay, my opinion is, it would accelerate them. However, that it could do no good to those who talk of it, I am very certain; and, therefore, they will do well to hold their tongues; for, by speaking they only show the greatness of their rage and its impotence at the same time.

#### SHAM PUBLICATIONS.

One way of attacking her Majesty is that of putting forth publications, *as if they came from herself or her friends; as if they were published by*

authority. A thing of this sort, entitled **SIX YEARS IN ITALY**, and dedicated, by way of puff, to **MR. ALDENMAN WOOD**, has made its appearance. This is a mass of falsehoods, coming from a source such as will shock the public when it shall be informed of that source.

There is preparing for publication a little manual, under the following title, which, it is hoped, may be of great use to his Majesty's loyal subjects in general. An endeavour will be made to bring the whole into a compass of one sheet of paper, and to sell it at the price of **ONE PENNY**.

#### A PEEP AT THE PEERS,

OR,

A complete List of the House of Peers, showing their titles, their family names, their offices, places, commissions, preferments, sinecures, pensions, grants, and other emoluments, which they hold and enjoy by favour of the King; and also, the offices, places, commissions, preferments, sinecures, pensions, grants, and other emoluments, which are held and enjoyed by their sons, daughters, brothers, uncles,

aunts, cousins, and other relations: as nearly as the said several matters can be ascertained.

To which there may be a companion-piece, entitled

THE

#### LINKS OF THE LOWER-HOUSE;

Or, a complete List of the Members of the House of Commons, showing, in the first place, every thing as above; and, besides, showing the connections between the Upper and the Lower House.

#### REVOLUTION IN NAPLES.

Extract of a letter dated Naples, July 6th; to which the writer has added—"a day to be for ever remembered in history:"—

"This letter announces to you no less an event than a change in the Government of this country. You were before aware of the discontent existing in the provinces, on account of the imposition of the *Fundaria*, and of the little encouragement given to the exports of native productions; but you were not aware to what a degree this discontent had infected all classes, and even the ranks

of the army. The organization of the camp at Sessa may be reckoned the immediate cause of all that has occurred, as it appears that it not only gave to the troops an opportunity of concerting their measures, but brought them into contact with the provinces, and assured them of the community of sentiment in the great mass of the population. The whole thing has been so sudden that it is difficult to ascertain exactly how it began, or who took the lead in the operation. According to the best accounts, there is reason for believing that the first movement was made by a body of cavalry stationed at Nola, to the number of about 150 men, who suddenly, and without orders, quitted their post, and marched in a body to the mountains of Avellino. Whether the result of previous understanding or not, is unknown; but the alarm of this march spread with the rapidity of lightning; detachments of infantry marched out to join them, and every peasant who could muster a firelock or an offensive weapon of any description, followed their example. This mixed assemblage then proceeded towards the pass leading to Apulia, of

which they took possession. They found there a military chest containing 22,000 ducats, which they appropriated to their own use, but gave an acknowledgment in due form to the party from whom they took it. The news of this insurrection having reached Naples caused the greatest alarm, and some Generals were sent off by the King to parley with the mutineers, and learn what objects they had in view. A Council was immediately called at the Palace, to deliberate on the mode of proceeding; while they were in the act of deliberating (this was yesterday afternoon), two regiments, one of infantry, the other of dragoons, quartered about a mile from the town, marched off with arms and baggage, but in the most perfect order, to join the insurrectionary troops. An intimation was then brought to the King from the head-quarters of the insurgents, that they demanded a free Constitution, similar to that which had been adopted in Spain.—Preparations were made to oppose and to refuse this spirit; but it was discovered, on sounding the disposition of those troops who had not yet declared against the

Government, that they all at heart were imbued with the same sentiments, and that they could not with safety be led against their comrades. This state of things was reported to the King, on which he gave way, and declared his assent to the condition proposed. Couriers were sent off to the troops early this morning, to announce this change; and papers were exhibited on the walls of the city, declaring the King's intention to publish a Constitution or form of free Government in seven days. Where this would have ended but for the timely concession that has been made, it is impossible to say; for the spirit spread through the soldiery with such rapidity that even St. Elmo was deserted by its garrison. The general appearance of the city, during the interval between the parley with the troops and the King's resolution to accede to their wishes, was most singular. Every face was marked by anxiety, and denoted the expectation of some dreadful event. When the joyful change was known, nothing was to be seen or heard but the most lively testimonies of pleasure. Groups paraded the streets with shouts of *Viva! Viva!*

and these were by no means of the lowest or lower classes. I saw two officers in the uniform of Generals who joined in the exultation. There was a very general cry for the appearance of the King on the balcony of the Palace, but he did not show himself. This is the birth-day of the hereditary Prince, and to-night we shall have a grand illumination."

*Extract of another letter, same date.*

"It is now about a week ago, since a very general spirit of fermentation and discontent was observed in the province of Salerno; and last Sunday we heard that a whole regiment of cavalry had deserted, and posted themselves near Nola. Shortly after, all the troops were put in motion against them, but it was discovered that disaffection prevailed, and that no reliance could be placed upon them, which made it evident that coercive measures would be of no use, but that every means must be tried to conciliate matters; the more so, as it was believed that discontent, more or less, prevailed in all the provinces. Things were carried on this way till yesterday, when the King having been told that a free

Constitution was the universal wish of the people, declared that he would give it to them voluntarily, and immediately issued a proclamation, promising to publish it in a week. It is said that an affecting scene has taken place at the Palace. When the King declared his intention, the hereditary Prince, who is just arrived from Sicily, fell at the feet of the King, and in tears thanked him in the name of the people, exclaiming, "You have saved the country." It only remains for the Insurgent troops, so they were then called, but now the Patriots, to return to their duty, which they will do as soon as they know the terms of the Constitution, which they wish to be as near as possible to that of Spain. The city has been for some days past in extreme agitation. The Civica (city volunteers) have been continually on duty. At this moment there are thousands and tens of thousands parading the streets near the Palace, and shouting *Vivas!* to the King and Constitution. We think that all will proceed quietly, and end safely."

## SPAIN.

### MEETING OF THE CORTES.

*From the Madrid Gazette Extraordinary of the 10th July.*

The memorable epoch is arrived in which the wishes of the Spanish nation were to be fulfilled—the happy day, in which a people determined to preserve the liberty and the dignity of the throne, have seen their adored King giving another decisive and irrefragable proof of his paternal views, of the love which he bears to his subjects, and of the earnest desire which animates him to concur, in concert with the Cortes, in founding and consolidating the public happiness by means of a constitution essentially directed to the welfare of all—the happy hour, in which Ferdinand the Seventh, uniting his sentiments with those of the Spanish people, presented himself before the august national congress in the solemn act of swearing to the constitution of the monarchy. All the necessary arrangements for the celebration of this solemn ceremony had been previously made. The King having appointed the hour of 10 in the morning of yesterday, Sunday, the 9th of July, for proceeding to the hall of the Cortes, his Ma-

Majesty left his palace, accompanied by his august spouse and the Infantas, attended by his suite, in state coaches.

On reaching the hall of the Cortes they were received by two grand deputations of the national representatives. One, consisting of 22 members, accompanied the Queen to the tribune which had been prepared for her, that she might, in company with the Infantas, enjoy the spectacle of so solemn a ceremony. The other deputation, consisting of 22 members, including two of the secretaries, was appointed to attend on the King.

When his Majesty entered, all the members stood up, as well as the diplomatic corps in the tribune on the right of the throne. The councillors of state, generals, and magistrates, occupied the other tribunes; the immense multitude which filled the galleries could not restrain themselves from bursting into loud acclamations and *Vivas!* The King took his seat on a magnificent throne, on the sides of which were displayed the royal insignia. As soon as the King had seated himself, the Infantas, the President of the Cortes, and all the Deputies, also sat down. After a short pause, the President rose, and, with the Secretaries, proceeded to receive the King's oath, which was taken in the manner prescribed by the Constitution.

Don Joseph Espiga, Archbishop, Elect of Seville, as President of the Cortes, then addressing himself to the King, delivered the following speech:—

"The Cortes, at a less enlightened period, but of great and sublime virtues, preserved the fundamental laws of the kingdom, the glory and splendour of the throne, and the national prosperity; but that wise institution which united the King and the nation by the great and noble sentiments of affection and loyalty, gradually declined, fell at last into oblivion, and the nation became the theatre of ambition, and the King an instrument of bad passions. But the day of your Majesty's birth was the Aurora of the restoration of Spain; and more than twenty millions of inhabitants view in their young Prince the worthy successor of St. Ferdinand. They were congratulating themselves with these flattering hopes, when, at the same time that the sacrilegious project of extinguishing your sacred rights was conceived in the bosom of the nation, a vile impostor perfidiously introduced his hostile legions, and wrested from the arms of the faithful Spaniards their beloved monarch, at the very moment when he had just been placed on the throne of his glorious progenitors. The Spanish lion was then roused, and a general and uniform cry gave spirit and vigour to the valorous sons of Pelayo; and while the brave warriors advanced with their breasts of bronze, and expelled the tyrant's hosts from their native land, the fathers of the country, who had been called upon by the general voice of the provinces, re-established the constitution of the Spanish mo-

narchy, which, by solemnly declaring the person of the King sacred and inviolable, has more firmly fixed the Crown on your Majesty's royal head, has secured you against the artifices of any favourite, and thus enables your Majesty to act more freely for the benefit of your people, and the welfare of the state.

"The worthy sons of the country conceived that they could not make a better return to the confidence with which the provinces honoured them, nor offer to their King a more acceptable tribute, than to consolidate a vacillating throne, by placing it on the broad basis of a fundamental law, which, being the legacy of our ancestors, and the expression of wisdom, justice, and the public will, closed the door equally against vile flattery and unjust aggression. It secured the administration of justice, established a just system of public economy, and sanctioned the respect, obedience, and veneration, due to the laws and the royal authority. Thus felt the representatives of the nation in Cadiz. I saw them, Sir, send up deep sighs to Heaven for the cruel captivity of their King: I saw them, like orphans, shedding tears of sorrow and anguish, and, humbled before the Lamb of God, praying for the return of so amiable a father to his numerous and disconsolate family. I saw them, overwhelmed with joy and delight, give vent to their oppressed hearts when they learned that the Almighty had listened to their fervent supplications, and that the tutelary angel of

Spain had descended to break the chains imposed by tyranny. Such were their generous sentiments when sordid Interest, crafty Ambition, atrocious Calumny, and insatiable Vengeance, after meditating in obscurity their detestable plots, dared to approach the throne, and sacrilegiously profane the sanctuary of majesty. But, Sirs, let us spread a veil over those melancholy proofs of human weakness.

"At length the happy day arrived when a bright star arose on the Spanish horizon, which dissipated the thick clouds formed by intrigue and malevolence, and sacred truth shone forth with a brilliancy which excited the admiration of some, the respect of others, the confusion of many, and the conviction of all. Happy Spain again sees assembled those Cortes which rendered the names of her Alphonso and her Ferdinando so glorious; and the most virtuous of nations—forgetting wrongs, pardoning injuries—is solely employed in re-establishing a constitutional government, in preserving the purity of her holy religion, and in giving testimonies of gratitude and veneration to her King, now seated on his august throne amidst the national congress, after having taken a solemn oath, by which he is made greater than the son of Philip was by the conquest of Oriental kingdoms. O magnanimous King! the noble and loyal Spaniards are sensible of the numerous evils from which you have saved them by this generous act, by which the genius of



Evil, prepared to light up the flame of discord among us, is crushed. All hope, that every pernicious germ will be extinguished, and that eternal peace and concord will take root in their stead. Let the fears, jealousies, and distrusts, which criminal souls have excited in the heart of the best of Kings, for ever disappear, and all unite in surrounding the throne with that fraternal alliance which secures order, produces plenty, maintains justice, and preserves peace. And permit me, Sire, the faithful organ of this congress, and of the nation it represents, to present to you the due homage of its fidelity, and of the honourable sentiments by which it is animated.

"As our illustrious ancestors always were the firmest support of the throne and the monarch, so the same Spain, always ready to give brilliant testimonies of loyalty and love to her Kings, solemnly promises you that her sons, who have displayed in war more sanguinary examples of fidelity than were known to past generations, will make sacrifices worthy of Spanish heroes, and the admiration of future ages."

His Majesty replied in the following terms:—

"I accept the expressions and sentiments of love and loyalty which the Cortes manifest towards me through the organ of its President; and I hope, through its assistance, to see the nation I have the glory to govern free and happy."

Immediately after his Majesty read with a clear intelligible voice, and with all the dignity

becoming his character, the following speech:—

"Gentlemen Deputies,  
"At length has arrived the day, the object of my ardent wishes, on which I see myself surrounded by the representatives of the heroic and generous Spanish nation, and in which a solemn oath has completely identified my interests and those of my family with the interests of my people.

"When excess of evils produced the clear manifestation of the voice of the nation, formerly obscured by lamentable circumstances which ought to be erased from our memories, I immediately determined to embrace the desired system, and to take the oath to the political constitution of the monarchy sanctioned by the general and extraordinary Cortes in the year of 1812. Then did the Crown as well as the nation receive its legitimate rights, my resolution being no less spontaneous and free than conformable to my own interests and those of the Spanish people, whose happiness has never ceased to be the object of my sincerest wishes. My heart thus undissolubly united with the hearts of my subjects, who are also my children, the future presents to me only agreeable images of confidence, love, and prosperity.

"With what satisfaction must the grand spectacle be contemplated, hitherto unexampled in history, of a magnanimous nation, which has passed from one political state to another without convulsion or violence, subjecting her enthusiasm to the

guidance of reason, under circumstances which have covered with mourning, and inundated with tears, other less fortunate countries!

"The general attention of Europe is now directed to the proceedings of the Congress which represents this highly-favoured nation. From it are expected prudent indulgence for the past, and enlightened firmness for the future, and that at the moment which confirms the happiness of the present and succeeding generations, the errors of the preceding epoch may be buried in oblivion. It is also hoped that multiplied examples will be displayed of justice, beneficence, and generosity—virtues which always distinguished Spaniards—which the Constitution recommends, and which, having been religiously observed during the effervescence among the people, ought to be still more strictly practised in the Congress of their representatives, invested with the circumspect and tranquil character of legislators.

"It is now time to undertake the examination of the state of the nation; and to commence those labours indispensable for the application of remedies suitable to the evils produced by ancient causes, and augmented both by the invasion of the enemy, and by the erroneous system of the succeeding period.

"The account of the public revenue, which the Secretary of State to whom that department belongs will present, will shew its diminution and embarrass-

ment, and will excite the zeal of the Cortes to seek and select, among the resources still possessed by the nation, those best suited for meeting the engagements and indispensable charges of the state. This inquiry will serve more and more to confirm the opinion, that it is essential and urgent to establish public credit on the immutable bases of justice and good faith, and the scrupulous observance and fulfilment of all engagements which give satisfaction and tranquillity to creditors and capitalists, native and foreign, and relief to the treasury. I fulfil one of the most sacred duties which the royal dignity and the love of my people impose on me in earnestly recommending this important object to the serious consideration of the Cortes.

"The administration of justice, without which no society can exist, has hitherto depended almost exclusively on the honour and probity of the judges; but, now made subject to known and established principles, it affords to the citizens new and stronger grounds of security; and still greater improvements are to be expected when our codes, carefully improved, shall attain that simplicity and perfection which the knowledge and experience of the age in which we live are capable of giving.

"In the interior administration difficulties are experienced which proceed from old abuses, aggravated during these latter times. The persevering application of the government, and

the zeal with which its agents and the provincial authorities, labour to establish the simple and beneficent municipal system adopted by the constitution, are lessening the obstacles, and will, in time, perfect a department of the state, which has an essential influence over the public welfare and prosperity.

"The army and the navy call more particularly for my attention and solicitude. It will be one of my first cares to promote their organization, and establish them in the manner most convenient for the nation, as far as possible, the advantages of forces so important with that economy which is indispensable, and relying on the patriotism and good will of the people, and the wisdom of their representatives, to whom I shall always have recourse with entire confidence.

"It is to be expected that the re-establishment of the constitutional system, and the flattering prospect which that event presents for the future, may, by removing the pretexts of which malignity has been able to take advantage in the ultra-marine provinces, smooth the path to the pacification of those which are in a state of agitation or disturbance, and render unnecessary the employment of any other means. The examples of moderation and the love of order given by peninsular Spain, the just pride belonging to so worthy and generous a nation, and the wise laws which are promulgated conformable to the constitution, will contribute to

this object, to the oblivion of past evils, and will draw closer all Spaniards around my throne—sacrificing to the love of their common country all the recollections which might break or weaken those fraternal ties by which they ought to be united.

"In our relations with foreign countries the most perfect harmony in general prevails, with the exception of some few differences, which, though they have not disturbed the existing peace, have given rise to discussions which cannot be terminated without the concurrence and intervention of the Cortes of the kingdom. Such are the differences pending with the United States of America respecting the Floridas, and the marking out the boundaries of Louisiana. Contests likewise exist, occasioned by the occupation of Monte-Video, and other Spanish possessions on the left bank of the river Plata; but, though a complication of various circumstances has hitherto prevented the adjustment of these differences, I hope that the justice and moderation of the principles which guide our diplomatic operations, will produce a result suitable to the nation, and conformable to the pacific system, the preservation of which is now the general and decided maxim of European policy. The Regency of Algiers has given indications of a wish to renew its old system of restlessness and aggression. To avoid the consequences which may arise from this want of respect to existing

stipulations, the defensive treaty entered into in the year 1816 with the King of the Netherlands stipulated the union of the respective maritime forces in the Mediterranean, destined to maintain and secure the freedom of navigation and commerce.

"Thus, as it is the duty of the Cortes to consolidate general happiness through the medium of wise and just laws, and thereby to protect religion, the rights of the Crown, and of the citizens; so also it belongs to my office to watch over the execution and fulfilment of those laws, and especially of the fundamental law of the monarchy, in which the hopes and wishes of the Spanish people are centred. This will be my most grateful and most constant duty. To the establishment, and to the entire and inviolable preservation of the constitution, the power which that constitution grants to the royal authority will be devoted, and in that will also consist my duty, my delight, and glory. To fulfil and bring to perfection this great and salutary enterprise, after humbly imploring the aid and guidance of the Author of all good, I require the active co-operation of the Cortes, whose zeal, intelligence, patriotism, and love to my royal person, lead me to hope that they will concur in all the necessary measures for the attainment of such important ends, thus justifying the confidence of the heroic nation by which they have been elected."

The President replied:—

"The Cortes has heard with singular satisfaction the wise address in which your Majesty has expressed your noble and generous sentiments, and described the state of the nation. The Cortes presents to your Majesty its most respectful thanks for the ardent zeal with which you promote the general prosperity, and promises to co-operate with your Majesty's intelligence, and to contribute by all possible means to the attainment of the important objects for which it has been convoked."

The ceremonies of this august solemnity being ended, their Majesties and the Infantas withdrew from the Cortes with the same retinue with which they had entered, repeated cries of *Viva el Rey y las Cortes!* resounding through the hall, and all returned to the palace.

The streets through which the procession passed were lined with the different corps of the garrison of Madrid, and the national militia, both cavalry and infantry. The presence of their Majesties and the Infantas—the splendour of the retinue—the brilliancy of the equipages—the taste displayed in the tapestry (which ornamented the balconies of the windows)—the numerous concourse of people, which almost impeded the course of the procession—the repeated applause of all classes of persons, enthusiastically exclaiming *Viva el Rey; viva la Constitucion! viva el Rey constitucional,* &c.—and, above all, the recol-

lection of the object of the magnificent ceremony,—all concurred to render this day most glorious to the Spanish nation, and to present a spectacle which will be the eternal admiration of future ages.

The tranquillity and order which prevailed in the hall of the Cortes, as well as throughout the streets, served to confirm more than ever the good opinion that is entertained of the character of the inhabitants of this capital, who, on the *great day of Spain*, gave the most convincing proofs of their noble sentiments, their loyalty and

love of the King, and their adherence, to those constitutional laws in which the happiness of all is centred.

The sitting of the Cortes was continued after his Majesty's departure; and, on the proposition of the deputy Count de Torreno, a committee was appointed to draw up an address in answer to his Majesty's speech; and for this purpose were elected the deputies Count de Torreno, Torrero, Martinez de la Rosa, Tapia, Temes, and General Quiroga. With this the solemn acts of the opening of the Cortes concluded.

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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TO  
THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL,  
ON

*The approaching Trial of the  
Queen, and also on other  
Events which appear to be  
fast approaching.*

London, August 3, 1820.

MY LORD,

I have not yet brought myself to consider you in precisely the same light that I consider Castlereagh, Sidmouth, and Canning; but, I remember, nevertheless, that, at the time when Sidmouth expressed his sorrow, that his Law Officers could find nothing to prosecute in my writings, you said that you were resolved to pursue the stern path of duty; and that, that stern path was to shut up in dungeons a great number of

men, having seized them by force, and conveyed them about in Irons like malefactors, keeping them in dungeons for nearly a year; then turning them out with the instant demand of recognizances to keep the peace and be of good behaviour; all this without furnishing them with any charge, without letting them know who were their accusers, without affording them any opportunity of defending themselves or their characters; and, after all this, procuring to be passed a Bill to protect against the operation of the laws all those, who had violated that act under which those deeds had been perpetrated. I cannot forget this. I never can suffer these things to depart from my memory so completely as not to be recalled whenever your name is mentioned.

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Therefore, it is impossible for me not to see with pleasure the state of embarrassment and alarm in which you are now placed; or, rather, in which you and your colleagues, your supporters and abettors have now placed yourselves, by persevering in your project for degrading her Majesty the Queen, for stripping her of her rights and dignities, and for driving her from the shores of England; all which are intended to be effected by that *Trial*, the time for which is approaching, and with regard to which, it is my intention now to make some observations.

The word *Trial* is, in this country, understood to include, or express, several things. First, that there shall be a *judge* to preside appointed by a *third* party, and wholly independent of both the parties. Second, that there shall be a *Jury*, selected by neither party, that it shall consist of persons of fair character, promiscuously taken out of the mass of the community. Third, that the accused person shall have a *specific charge* preferred against him, stating his offences with great precision; stating the times and places of committing those

offences; and, accompanying the charge, there shall be a list of those, who, upon their oaths, have declared the charge to be true. Fourth, that when things are thus prepared, due notice shall be given of the time of trial, and that the accused shall come into the Court and take his trial. Lastly, that the trial shall be open; that no doors shall be closed; that the whole of the public shall have access to the spot; and that, in short, the transaction shall be in the face of the people.

Now, I will not here repeat observations that have already been made on the threat, made use of to keep her Majesty from the scene of accusation; I will not dwell on the already exposed sophistry, which would compare a *secret committee* to a *grand jury*, seeing that the *Secret Committee* was afterwards to become a part of the Judges to sit upon the Trial, or a part of the petit jurors, call them which you will; neither will I dwell on the mode of collecting the evidence, on the persons by whom it was collected, or stop to inquire whether it was got together and laid before this strange grand jury by a part of the grand jury them-

selves: I will merely, upon the present occasion, look at the approaching Trial under the heads above enumerated, and see how it squares with our settled notions of a Trial.

First, the House of Lords are the Judges, and, secondly, they are the Jurors also. Now, have they been appointed by a *third party*? Have they been taken promiscuously out of the mass of the community? To find guilt must they be *unanimous*? None of these. Then, a Jury can neither be *augmented nor diminished in number*, during the Trial. Is this the case with the House of Lords? May not any number of new Peers be created during the Trial? May not a considerable portion of them be commanded to quit the House, and to go to their respective governments or regiments, or other employments, and which commands they are bound to obey? And are these circumstances consistent with an Englishman's ideas of a Trial?

These things are so plain, that they strike every mind; and they compel us, for our own safety's sake, to cling to her Majesty; because, we clearly see that what is done to her

to-day, may be done to any of us to-morrow.

A *specific charge* is absolutely necessary to give the accused party even a chance of justice; and so sensible have our ancestors always been of this, that they have taken care that none of us shall be brought to Trial without an *indictment*. And an indictment must state the *person*, the *time*, and the *place* and the *fact*; and must be in a *certain form* of words. If it be deficient in any of those points, it is then regarded as good for nothing. It must be grounded on the *oaths* of persons that have appeared and sworn to the fact; and the names of these persons must be subjoined to the indictment; and, before the Trial come on, the accused party must be furnished with a copy of this document.

Now, the Queen is going to trial without any specific charge. Her Majesty is to be tried for she knows not what. She is to be tried for offences said to have been committed by her, but *when* or *where* she is not told. She has requested of those who are to try her, to give her the *names* of *witnesses*; she has also requested the names of the *places*



where her crimes are said to have been committed. Both have been refused her, and that, too, by the persons who are to be her Judges and Jurors!

Thus, then, the Queen is to go to Trial in a way that no human being ever went to Trial before in England. And, I beg the public to bear in mind, that, every man of us is liable to the same mode of proceeding, which is now adopted against her Majesty. Her cause is, therefore, our cause as far, at least, as relates to this mode of proceeding.

Mr. Wooler, Mr. Leigh Hunt, Mr. Walter, or myself; any man of us who may have rendered himself obnoxious to you and your colleagues, may be taken out of the ordinary course of law and justice, and proceeded against by bill of pains and penalties, without any specific charge, without names of witnesses, times or places; and may be imprisoned, fined, banished, transported or hanged by such bill. If this proceeding in the case of the Queen be just and proper, how can any man plead an exemption from liability to such proceeding?

There remains but one thing to cap the climax, namely, to carry on the Trial in secret;

that is to say, to shut out the public, and to prevent the publication of the proceedings during the Trial! Some of the newspapers have had the temerity to say, that *even this is intended!* However, notwithstanding all that we have seen, this is what I cannot bring myself to believe. The pretence for a prohibition of publication, during the late Trials at the Old Bailey, was, that the future Juries might be apt to be influenced by such publications; that is to say, the juries which would come to try other of the prisoners. It was very hard to perceive how such influence should operate injuriously; but, at any rate, such a pretence cannot exist here. It will be impossible for the minds of those who are to try this cause to be unduly influenced by a publication of the proceedings. However, if the public be not admitted; if no one be suffered to enter the Court, except by express and nominal permission of a Peer or Peers; and if the proceedings be not permitted to be published during the Trial, no man upon earth will have the impudence to say that such a thing is an open Trial.

It has given great pleasure to

the public to hear that her Majesty is resolved to be present in person. To shut her out of the Court would, indeed, be something; but this is a something which we shall not see. She will be there to look her accusers in the face; and this is so necessary to her defense, as well as so becoming in all respects, that the public are rejoiced at her Royal resolution to have, at least, this privilege of an accused person. To shut her out of the Court, while her trial is going on, would be an act to fill every bosom with indignation. However, it is useless to talk of this; for the thing is impossible. If such a precedent were once set, no man's life would be safe for a moment.

And, now, pray take a look at the work of your own hands, and consider whether those who have been writhing, for the last three years and a half under the lash, are not, after all, not only the most loyal but the wisest of the politicians of the day. If, in 1847, their prayer had been listened to instead of the impositions of their hope and magnificent persecutors, never should we have seen any of the excesses of those abuses, which now haunt your pillow. I have had my

share of the persecutions; the lash has fallen upon me with uncommon severity; and I have lived to see the day, when I can, with some hope of being attended to, desire you to look at those very papers, at not being able to prosecute men for which your colleague, Sidmouth, expressed his terror. If the measures recommended in those papers had been adopted, the measures now adopted against the Queen would never have entered into the mind of man; the people and the king would have been cordially united. The former would have been free and happy, and the latter would have been secure.

We, who have so long, so respectfully, and so humbly sought a legal and constitutional reform, cannot help at this time feeling great satisfaction, that our persecutors, under whose rod we have so severely suffered, are, at last, taught that they are not omnipotent; that there is a point beyond which their power cannot go; and that they are unable to sweep us from the face of the earth. It is impossible for us to recollect their disdainful, their insolent, taunts; it is impossible for us to forget their cowardly and inhuman acts

without feeling satisfaction at every thing that annoys them. All their pretensions to superior understanding; all their contempt of us and of our qualifications; all these now rise up before us; and we feel avenged in their embarrassments, confusion, and dismay.

The possession of power is by no means a sign of wisdom or of talent; and of any proof of this had been wanted, it would be furnished in the present state of this country. During the last thirty years this country has suffered from various causes, but from nothing so much as from ignorance, from want of capacity, from want of sound judgment—and from a total want of foresight in the several acts of ministers, their abettors and supporters; who taking the whole together have discovered a want of every thing necessary to lead us in the paths of peace and prosperity. If a digest could be made of all their measures, with an exhibition could be made of the natural effects of those measures, and the measures could be contrasted with each other, if the sentiments of the opposition delivered at various times, could be put in direct opposition to each

other; if the arguments of one day could be contrasted with those of another day; if the events could be compared with the predictions; if we could have all these before us at a single view; they would present a mine sufficient to disgrace Bedlam. But, what do we want further back than the month of May last? What do we want more than the measures adopted against the Queen? Who in his senses would not have stopped, when he found the proposition and the threat of St. Oners to fail? At every stage of the proceeding, the impossibility of success has become more and more apparent; and yet you go on!

My opinion is that the Trial will not take place, and that it will take place, and go quietly on to the end; my opinion is, that even then you will have gained nothing by the proceeding. You yourself say that you wish the Queen to be acquitted. Now, if the Trial do not take place at all, or if the Queen be acquitted, what will be the situation of you and your colleagues, your supporters and abettors? I dare say that this question has presented itself to your mind before; and I want

assure you that it has not escaped the public, who are too deeply interested in this matter, to overlook the circumstance, that responsibility ought to rest somewhere.

Before I proceed to make any remarks of a more general nature, I must notice a publication in *The Courier* of yesterday, which would seem to be intended, by the writer of that paper, to prepare the public mind for some measure like that of keeping the Queen out of the Court during her Trial.—The whole of the article is as follows:—

“The works here are rapidly proceeding, and it is expected that they will be ready for the raising of the galleries by Friday or Saturday next, when an extra number of workmen will be introduced to complete the works with rapidity. The gradually raised flooring on which the Peers’ benches are placed, on each side of the House, in an oblong direction, is being restored on an improved plan; but the seats will be adjusted according to the previous mode. The framework and flooring of the galleries are being prepared in a yard near the House. They

“will be so constructed and supported, as to be wholly independent of the walls: the breaking of the sides of the House, or the removal or damage of any portion of the tapestry, will thus be rendered unnecessary. To guard the tapestry from risk of injury, there will be back-boards or temporary wainscoting reaching above the height that might be affected by the passing and repassing of the Peers to their seats. The fronts of the galleries will be open, with light cross-barred iron-work, surmounted by a hand-rail, covered with scarlet cloth, to accord with the other decorations of the House. At each end of the galleries, there will be a light staircase, to enable the Lords to proceed to their seats. It has already been stated that no instructions have been given to make any peculiar arrangements for the accommodation of any parties to the Bill, except an enclosed space below the Bar, for the counsel, witnesses, &c.; but that the Queen and her advisers may have every possible accommodation, rapid and private interviews with each other, facilities for the

"ingress, egress, and comfort of  
 "her Majesty's witnesses and  
 "agents of every description,  
 "and suitable apartments for  
 "the Queen herself. It has been  
 "mentioned that the house of  
 "Sir T. Tyrwhitt, in Cotton-  
 "garden, an open space behind  
 "the House of Lords, will be  
 "set apart for the exclusive use  
 "of her Majesty. There is a  
 "carriage entrance to this house  
 "along Parliament-place, and  
 "just above the Royal entrance  
 "to the House of Lords; and  
 "while it is close to their lord-  
 "ships' House, it has the addi-  
 "tional advantage of being  
 "completely separated from the  
 "general thoroughfare of Old  
 "Palace-yard."

"As to the silly stuff here about  
 the pretty galleries and the ta-  
 pistry, it appears to be merely  
 an introduction to what follows.  
 "We are told that no instruc-  
 "tions have been given to make  
 "particular accommodations for  
 "ANY of the PARTIES to the  
 "Bill." Now, the only parties  
 to the Bill are the King and the  
 Queen. That the King will  
 not be there is a clear case;  
 and that the Queen will be  
 there, if she be alive, is equally  
 clear; so that if we could be-  
 lieve this calumniator of the

Queen, no accommodations are  
 preparing for her Majesty in the  
 court. But, it is added, that her  
 Majesty is to have suitable  
 apartments in the house of Sir  
 Thomas Tyrwhitt; which, ac-  
 cording to the description of  
 this writer, is so situated as that  
 when her Majesty is once in it,  
 she will be cooped up and com-  
 pletely separated from every liv-  
 ing soul out of doors.

This would be a very pretty  
 trick indeed; and such I am very  
 sure as the Right Honourable  
 and Noble House of Lords will  
 never suffer to be played. It is  
 in Court that her Majesty will  
 want to be. She will want no  
 secret interviews. She will  
 want to be in Court. Her safe-  
 ty will in great measure depend  
 upon her being in Court during  
 the whole of the Trial. This  
 foolish fellow seems to imagine  
 that the Queen asks as a favour  
 to be permitted to be in the  
 Court. This would be a pretty  
 thing indeed! No other person  
 can be tried in his absence, un-  
 less in bailable cases he choose  
 to be absent; and in cases not  
 bailable, unless he cannot be  
 found. It is the undoubted  
 right of every person put upon  
 Trial to be personally present  
 at that Trial. Nothing so mon-

strada ever was heard of as the denial of this right. No person even in the Inquisition was ever condemned without being brought into the presence of the Inquisitors.

Her Majesty will go to the Court to be sure. She will ask no leave. She will go down, and enter at the Royal entrance to be sure. It will be time enough for her to complain on this subject, when the officers of the House come and thrust her back with their staves; but besides that this is a thing too horrible to be thought of, such a proceeding would at once produce a protest on the part of her Majesty; who never could allow for one moment of the legality of a Trial going on against her in a court, into which she was not permitted to enter. Her Counsel would be instructed, without doubt, to say that they could have nothing to do with such a proceeding; and then what would be the use of the Trial; or, rather, of the thing which would be carried on under that name? The calumniators of her Majesty are making very strenuous efforts to represent the court before which her Majesty is to be tried as a *Court of Justice*. They speak of a

solemn Trial before the *High Court of Parliament*. Well, then, it being a court of Justice, the accused party has a right to appear in it in person; and if this right be denied her, how can it be said that she has Justice?

I have returned to and dwell upon this topic, because, if there be any authority belonging to the above passage from the Courier, there is reason to believe that a very serious difficulty will arise even before the Trial shall begin; and of this difficulty it is right that the public should be fully apprised before-hand.

Let me now turn to another subject; namely, the language made use of in the answers given by her Majesty to the addresses which have been presented to her; and which answers, with the exception of those to Preston and Nottingham, are entitled to the approbation of the public; and certain it is that they have received that approbation. That they have been efficacious is very certain, from the language of her Majesty's enemies. Those who had the baseness to say that her Majesty ought to be whipped, and who had the diabolical

infamy to say that she ought to be made a *Martyr*, if she could not be proved to be criminal; these men reprobate the answers of the Queen; and who can doubt that that reprobation is a proof of their merit?

It is said, by the Courier, that these answers are calculated to produce *mischief* amongst the people. This is the old accusation, which has been preferred against every thing that has been published in order to prevent those calamities under which the people are now struggling for existence. Her Majesty thanks the people for their attachment to her, she declares that she is innocent; she declares that she will maintain her rights; she complains of being prosecuted upon evidence collected in the dark, conveyed in sealed bags, examined by a secret committee, coming from witnesses whose names she cannot obtain, relating to pretended acts a knowledge of the scenes of which is denied her, and giving rise to a Bill which, upon a loose accusation, but a positive sentence, of divorce in the first place, and then of everlasting infamy. Her Majesty expresses her indignation at this. She calls it arbitrary.

She calls it tyrannical. Oh! wicked Queen! She has, says the Courier, "been induced to abandon the *decorous humility* of an accused female." Impudent hireling! "Decorous humility!" What! are none but the guilty to be bold? Is the Queen to endure every thing? Is she humbly to crawl before her accusers? Is she not to dare to echo the sentiments of those who feel indignation at her treatment?

This same writer has observed that the Queen ought not to vilify the court *before the Trial*. But that court, let it be remembered, is also her accuser now, and it has *before the Trial*, proclaimed her to the world as an *abandoned adulteress*; at the same time that it has refused her all knowledge of the witnesses that are to prove the adultery, and also the knowledge of the places where it is said to have been committed. All this is before Trial; and, therefore, her Majesty is compelled to speak before Trial. The people express their disapprobation of all this; and surely her Majesty has a right to join them in sentiment. Her case would be hard indeed if she were compelled to hold her tongue, while

her judges proclaim her an adulteress; and also proclaim against her a sentence of degradation and infamy.

Since there was such a love of secrecy, why could not the bill, if bill there must be, have been kept secret too? Why could this not have been kept secret as well as the rest? It might have been brought in with closed doors. It might have been kept out of print. It might have been kept secret till the Trial began, at any rate. What was the motive for making the Bill public, for blazoning the charge of adultery all over the world, I shall not pretend to say; but it was very evident that the effect would be utterly to destroy her Majesty's reputation; before the Trial, if the allegations of the Bill were believed by the people at large. This effect has not been produced; the people have not believed the allegations; but, that circumstance by no means deprives her Majesty of the right of expressing her resentment against those who have brought forward the Bill, and her indignation at the statements which the Bill contains. To have been silent while this Bill lay before the world, the

Courier would have called the *decorous humility of an accused female*, but every body else would have called it, the cowardice of conscious guilt! This her Majesty saw, to be sure. In her answers to the Addresses she is paying back the framers of the Bill. Her Majesty pays them *honestly*; but they having called her a licentious woman and an adulteress, she has yet great scope before she will have paid them in full.

Let it be observed, too, that what her Majesty says upon the subject is actually drawn from her by strong invitations from the people. These Addresses are not things cooked up by the lick-spittles of Boroughmongers; by the wretched creatures who live by public extortion; but they come spontaneously from the people, and in almost every case in opposition to the creatures of her enemies. Her Majesty has no toad-eaters to send about the country. She has no commissioners, collectors, or any other of the tribe of tax-eaters, at her command. She has the people; the unbiassed people. And it would be hard indeed if she had not a right to echo the sentiments of those who feel an interest for her, and a detestation for her enemies.



Amongst all the passages in the Queen's answers (which by the by will make a book before her Majesty has done) the following appears, to me the best suited to the occasion: "The machinations of my enemies are supported by a faction that has long operated like a canker-worm upon the noble trunk of the national prosperity. If I would have stooped to become an instrument in their hands, or to have lent myself to their evil purposes, I might have averted their vengeance, or have neutralized their hostility. In 1807, this faction were eager to make use of my power as the means of gratifying their ambition; and when their ambition could be gratified by other means, they immediately sacrificed my honour and my rights upon the altar of their selfishness.—That calm wisdom which is the result of age of reflection and of experience teaches me that I ought never to give my sanction to the narrow views of any sect, or to the interested projects of any party. That comprehensive charity which kindles in my heart shall be visible in my conduct; and I will never forget that the Queen of a faction is only *half a Queen*.

The good of a faction is only the good of a few; but the good which I cherish is that of the community."

These sentiments are becoming in a Queen; and happy would it have been for this country if they had long ago been the sentiments of the king; or, rather, the principles of his actions; for, I have not the smallest doubt that the king entertains precisely the same sentiments, with regard to the faction, to which her Majesty here alludes.

It is perfectly true that this faction, which supports the enemies of the Queen, has long operated like a canker-worm upon the noble trunk of national prosperity; and in a few days, a work will appear, which will show the manner, in which this voracious canker-worm operates. It is this canker-worm that has been at work against the Queen. It is this ever gnawing, and never-satisfied, this tormenting, persecuting, villainous worm that is eating out the heart of the nation, impeding all its efforts for restoration, stealing away its very heart's blood, and killing it by inches. It is this worm that has been striving to reject her

Majesty from her country, only because it saw in her something that it was afraid the nation would look to with a hope of relief.

True, indeed, it is that her Majesty, if she had been willing to become an instrument in the hands of this sordid worm, might have shared with the worm in the fruits of its gnawings; but with her it has acted upon its old principle, that is, to say, to destroy every thing that would not be the partner of its dissipations. Her Majesty says she will not be *half a Queen*; and the people say, *Amen*.

Her enemies accuse her of "*flying from the nobility and gentry of England*." She must be near them before she fly from them; and scarcely a man of them has placed himself in a situation for her Majesty to fly from him. Scarcely a man of them has approached her. They have kept from her as the herd keeps from the wounded deer. They looked upon her as marked out for ruin and destruction. They saw that her Majesty, like the traveller of old, had fallen amongst thieves, and they, like the haughty Levite, turned up their nose and kept on their stately step on the other

side of the way. But the people, like the good Samaritan, bound up her wounds, pouring in oil and wine. Does the Gospel tell her that she ought to love the haughty Levite, or, does it not tell her that they who are typified by the good Samaritan ought not to be the objects of her affection? The frothy Canning professed his *ardent affection for her Majesty*; there is not one common labourer in England, who ought not, and who does not, stand higher in her Majesty's estimation, than that frothy man.

This was a great mistake on the part of the Nobility and Gentry, as this wretched fellow calls them. They made themselves too sure of what was to take place. They had seen themselves so long completely masters, that they apprehended no possible resistance; and when Castlereagh called upon Parliament to take what he called a *high tone*, they thought that her Majesty's doom was sealed. They have found that this was rushing too swiftly to conclusions. They have found, that that division which unhappily prevailed upon another subject, did not prevail upon this subject; and they soon will find

that the parties cordially uniting as to the latter, has produced a cordial union as to the former. They have found, that that which used to be their support; and which made them laugh to scorn our statements, our arguments, our complaints and our prayers; they have found, that even that will fall them.

When her Majesty first arrived, it was a subject of lamentation with many, that the nobility and gentry kept aloof from her, as if she had been infected with the Oriental plague. With me it never was a subject of regret. I knew that, for her own sake, as well as for the sake of the people, it was fortunate that her Majesty remained in a state of complete separation from that description of persons; who while they never would have been friends themselves, would have prevented her most effectually from having friends in the people, and from having men to espouse her cause of far greater zeal, wisdom, talent, and influence than the whole body of nobility and gentry, all taken together. And, it is truly honourable to the country to perceive the mass of energy and of talent that has disinterestedly sprung forth in her Majesty's

cause; and without which, she would long before now have been driven from our shores. What in comparison with this had the nobility and gentry to offer her? What energy, what talent have they compared to those which have been displayed in defence of the Queen?

It was, therefore, fortunate for her Majesty that she was shunned by that nobility and gentry, of flying from whom she is so falsely accused. It was fortunate in all respects; but most fortunate because by exciting feeling in that class which had been dormant as to politics, it collected round her the whole body of the people. If her cause had been espoused by the whigs, her ruin would have been certain. The people would not have stirred an inch. They would have looked upon her as making common cause with that faction, which had so often betrayed the people, and which are it's bitterest enemies. And they would have felt very little concern about her.

I was, therefore, very happy to see, that both parties kept aloof from her with the greatest care. Even the worthy Alderman, I was quite sure that she would neither be bold nor betrayed; and I was also sure that a few weeks in England would make a person of her great experience and understanding clearly comprehend the situation and circumstances of the country. And that she would soon discover that she had no reliance on any thing but the public opinion and the public feeling, on which latter all the circumstances of her case were so well calculated to take a powerful hold.

If her Majesty had attached herself to the Place-hunting faction, she would have been banded about to serve the purposes of that faction; and then when, at last, she had served all their purposes, her honour would have been again sacrificed at the shrine of their selfishness. As long as she was in the hands of

lawyers; I mean exclusively in their hands, she was never safe for a moment. I remember with what solicitude it was sought to keep her at a distance from all communication with those who were called "improper persons." I remember that curious conversation between Castle-reagh, Brougham, and Sirsomethings (I have forgot what) Ridley, about observing a profound secrecy, while those curious eggs, the Protocols, I were hatching. What great anxiety was expressed about profound secrecy. What a dread there was lest "persons out of doors" should get access to her Majesty! Just as if it were in the power of these men to shut up her eyes, or make her deaf! This uncommon anxiety, however, had its good effect; for it made the "persons out of doors" the more eager to communicate their thoughts and suspicions; and, as in most cases of a similar

kind, this over-stained and de-  
feated its own object.

Just at that time there was  
an enormous apprehension enter-  
tained by the public; and if  
you could have been fairly made  
acquainted with the joy that  
burst forth when it was as-  
sured that her Majesty had  
never given her consent to a  
proposition to go abroad, you  
would at once have desisted  
from further proceeding against  
her Majesty. Luckily her Ma-  
jesty had as great an enemy in  
the one faction as in the other.  
The faction out of place took  
care to do nothing that should  
look like friendship towards  
her. It was observed that while  
the people of Westminster were  
assembled to agree upon an  
address to her, Lord John Rus-  
sell stood back in Covent Gar-  
den amongst the cabbage stalls.  
I observed all through that that  
gallant old Veteran, Mr. Tier-  
ney, said much for the King;  
more against the Ministers; and  
still more by implication against

the Queen. Even the chival-  
rous Mr. Bennett, who sends  
forth his very soul in behalf of  
unhappy, the weak and gossamer,  
took special guard not to say  
anything from which one might  
understand that he espoused  
the cause of the Queen. Gen-  
Ferguson, Mr. Croomey, and Sir  
Francis Boddett, were the only  
three men that said any thing  
that seemed to commit them to  
her cause. Lord Archibald Ha-  
milton was too timid, and in-  
lected topics of the least inter-  
est. Yet this was all fortunate  
for her Majesty. It made her  
cause the cause of the people.  
It left her to the talents of able  
and disinterested men, and to  
the honest feelings of the coun-  
try.

Even Mr. Lambton, whom re-  
port gave to me as the boldest  
and most disinterested of men,  
was as silent as a mouse as to the  
cause of the Queen. He has  
recently, I perceive, been called  
upon to join in an address to her  
Majesty; and has declined, up-  
on the ground, that the invita-

tion did not come from persons of sufficient respectability. It was the same sort of persons, I believe, that are called forth and compelled to serve in the militia, and who have fought in our armies and navies, for the defence of that very property, the possession of which he looks upon, I suppose, as the foundation of his title to respectability. Were not these respectable men, ten or a dozen thousand of whom lay dead, or bleeding and groaning on the field of Waterloo? Or were those of them only respectable who had bunches of gold or silver upon their shoulders?—This distinction Mr. Lambton will do well to lay aside pretty quickly; for he and you, and all of you, may be assured that the times are not such as to tolerate such distinctions.

The truth is, however, that Mr. Lambton had better reasons than this for declining to be amongst the addressers of the Queen; and again, I say that it is

fortunate for her Majesty, that there have been no such persons to address her, or to go near her. Nevertheless, this mark of disrespect to her Majesty, which we of the "*lower orders*" regard as a mark of disrespect to our wives, sisters, and daughters; this mark of disrespect on the part of the Courier's Nobility and Gentry, has awakened a spirit of enquiry, and has induced the people to ask, who and what these Nobility and Gentry are, and how they acquire and whence they derive the means of exhibiting so much splendour and magnificence? This question is a very natural one; and since an answer is called for by the people, and demanded, too, by the cause of her Majesty, it is right that it should receive an answer.

This answer is, I am told, actually preparing by some gentlemen, doubtless well qualified for the task, who mean to exhibit a list of the Peers, including the

Right Reverend the Bishops, and shewing (as far as human industry can ascertain it) all the offices and other things of a similar nature and tendency of every Peer and his family. This is to be called, I am told, "A Peep at the Peers; or, the People's Green Bag." It is said that this useful little work will be forthcoming in the course of next week; and that it will be sold at a price which, in obedience, or rather without disobeying, the famous Six Acts, will enable the "lower orders" to possess knowledge quite sufficient of the grounds of the superiority of the higher orders; and this you will allow is a very useful species of knowledge. This little work, which I will venture to say will be co-extensive in sale to the almanack, will be useful in various ways. Out of evil comes good. And this is amongst the good things, which will have been produced by the prosecution of the Queen, and by her Majesty having been treated

with insolent disdain by those whose duty it was to flock around her and to protect her at the risk of their fortunes and their lives.

This work will be followed, if necessary, by another, giving an account, somewhat similar to the one before-mentioned, of the Honourable Gentlemen "within doors." And when the public are in possession of both, we may say to the press, "thou hast done thy duty!"

There remains one subject of congratulation, and that is, that her Majesty has rescued herself from the controul of lawyers. This is very manifest, from the change in the language of her answers to addresses. The answer which was given to the people of Preston; and that which was given to the people of Nottingham, were the fruit of that advice, which would have packed her off to the Continent in a yacht, covered with gold, and a reputation covered with infamy. Lawyers are and always

have been bad politicians. There are a thousand reasons why they should be so in *all* cases, and particularly in a case where political power is a contingent prize of their pursuit. England has been brought to it's present state by the constant prevalence of Lawyers, whose very habits are hostile to freedom. Their remedies are always of the coercive sort. They never depend in the smallest degree upon the love of the people. Positive commands they tender, and obedience is to find its reward, with them; only in the absence of punishment. They are alike unfit to call forth energy and to prevent disaffection. They are fit for nothing but to punish; and all their schemes of policy, rest upon the extent to which they are able to carry punishment. There are exceptions amongst them, as amongst all other classes; but, for the far greater part they are, in their politics destitute of all feeling; they are hard in their acts as

well as in their words; compulsion is their motto; and when that fails them, they drop as in an apoplexy.

In a case like that of the Queen they were the most unfit of all mankind to give advice.

In this case every thing depended upon feeling. The people cared not a straw about technicalities and forms. Substantial justice was what was wanted; and, in such a case, a grain of common sense was worth all the disquisition in the world. Who did not see that if the Queen had gone from this country she was ruined for ever, and that the advisers of her ruin would have been enormously rewarded? Yet it is not for me to judge very decidedly of the motives of those whose policy would have sent her back to the continent; and, I do not say that the same persons would not ably defend her as lawyers; but, I must say and repeat, that I am happy to perceive that her Majesty's affairs are no longer under the exclu-



sive management of lawyers. To the advice of lawyers we have to ascribe every unwise step that she has taken, at any time of her life; and certain it is that at every stage heretofore, her advisers have risen in precisely the same degree that she has fallen. In 1818, that critical period of her Majesty's life, I entertained the same opinion, with regard to her having lawyers for her advisers, that I entertain now; and in speaking of the danger to which she was then exposed, and which danger was anticipated by me with but too much correctness, I made use of the following words, which I now repeat in the hope that they still may be of some use to her Majesty:—"I cannot refrain from expressing my hope, that the Princess will not resort to lawyers as advisers. Her case is too plain to require, or to admit of the use of, subtlety. I am far from supposing, that the gentlemen of the bar are, in the smallest degree, less honest, and they must necessarily be more acute and discriminating than the mass of men. But with full as much honesty as other men, and with greater facilities of judging rightly, than fall to the lot of men in general, they are by no means to be preferred where politics, or political power, may intermix themselves with the matter in question. Other men are exposed to but the one old, vulgar species of temptation, the yielding to which becomes visible at once to all eyes; but, the Devil has, in this country, such a choice of baits, when fishing for a lawyer; he has them of so many sizes, adapted to such a variety of swallows and of tastes, and has, in every case, such ready means of neatly hiding his hook, that, when he chooses to set in earnest about it, I am much afraid, that very few of these gentlemen escape him."

I shall conclude by observing, that I by no means suppose that Lawyers are not wanted in her Majesty's case; that I perceive with great pleasure that she has a very zealous as well as able advocate in Dr. Lushington; and that I have no doubt that, as far as law goes, all her Lawyers will do their duty like men of honour, and with that great ability which some of them, at least, are well known to possess; to which I will just add, that your Lordship and your colleagues must be blind as moles, if you look at the Northern Circuit and derive no useful lesson from the fact, that Mr. Brougham's being known to be the *Queen's Lawyer* has given him more fame and more profit than it was in the power of you and your colleagues to give him, by any titles or distinctions that you had it in your power to bestow. We find that ladies travelled many miles from home to see the *Lawyer of the Queen*. What would they do if her Majesty herself were to take a tour, as I hope she will, through the kingdom? Leaving you and your colleagues to answer this question, at your next grand cabinet dinner, I remain without further ceremony,

WM. COBBETT.

## TO ADDRESSERS.

I perceive that obstacles are thrown in the way in many of the towns and cities where the people wish to address the Queen. The Six Acts forbid you to meet out of doors; but you may draw up addresses; sign them from house to house on sheets of paper, which may at last be tacked on to each other, and forwarded to the Queen, through the hands of any friend in London. If you wait till Magistrates, Sheriffs, Lord Lieutenants, or Parsons, call you together, you may wait long enough. You need not consult Members of Parliament, or waste your time in letters to them. Any of you can forward an address to some trusty person in London; or to Mr. Alderman Wood himself, and it would be sure to be presented. If it should be regarded as *sedition* or *blasphemy*, to draw up or sign an address to the Queen, it may be dangerous; but you have the comfort to know, that you cannot be *banished* for the first offence. However, I advise you to write and sign and send addresses. Do you your duty to your Queen; and you have in her

heroic conduct a sufficient proof that your Queen will do her duty towards you. They may banish me for blasphemy, if they will; but I declare distinctly that I believe that God Almighty has sent her here expressly for our good, and that we ought to pray for her life and health with all possible sincerity and fervency. Great are the deeds which have been performed by women; but I am greatly deceived if any deed ever surpassed the deeds that have been and will be performed by her Majesty.

## THE ARMY.

I do not think it prudent to say any thing upon this subject, though it is become very interesting.

## PLATE FOR THE QUEEN.

There is a letter of a Lady, in the Times Newspaper, proposing to raise, by subscription, money to buy a *Service of Plate for the Queen*. This is a most laudable proposition. The *Women* ought to take it in hand; and, if they do, I will engage for its success.

## THE BASE AND INSOLENT WHIGS.

[FROM MR. WOOLER'S  
ADDRESS TO THE WHIGS]

Newcastle upon Tyne,  
July 20, 1820.

The Whig party, in point of numbers, energy, and influence, is nearly extinct. This consequence necessarily results from the accelerated progress of political knowledge. It is impossible that an enlightened people should continue the dupes of a few proud, selfish, arrogant men, whose only aim is personal aggrandisement. Yes, the delusion has been dissipated; and every rational man's risibility is now provoked when the sincerity of a Whig is mentioned. The people have detected the hollowiness of their pretensions. They are disgusted with their cant about expediency, and despite their mean evasions of fundamental principles. Englishmen have shown that they can think without their instructions, and act without their assistance. They are firmly convinced that a Whig cares not a straw how far the principles of humanity and justice may be violated, provided that his own

personal conveniende, or the views of his party, are not affected. No one not labouring under the most deplorable infirmity of mind, will now give this feeble party any credit for either public virtue or public spirit.

This characteristic want of feeling and honesty has been eminently displayed by the North Country Whigs. When the horrid and appalling butchery of a peaceable and legal assembly at Manchester, aroused the indignation of every uncorrupted and unhardened Englishman, the people of Newcastle and the neighbourhood, waited with impregnable surprise and impatience, six long weeks, hoping that the Whigs, these respectable monopolizers of intelligence and virtue, would congregate, and give vent to the general feeling; but they waited in vain. Disappointed, though not discouraged, the people met without their respectable sanction, and upwards of SEVENTY THOUSAND men expressed their abhorrence of the unprecedented outrage, with a decorum and ability never surpassed by any county meeting of the "nobility, clergy, gentry and freeholders." This

grand exhibition of popular feeling was viewed by the real patriot with joy and exultation, but it filled the Whigs with rage indescribable. Some vented their anger in scurrilous language, others flew to arms; and Lambton complained bitterly that the people were seduced from their "natural leaders." And, further, to evince the sincerity and deepness of their displeasure, not one leading Whig in those parts would subscribe a single penny towards alleviating the miseries of the Manchester sufferers, or to bring the cruel violators of the laws to justice. Humanity was of no importance when put in competition with Whiggery.

Again, when a fatherless child—a childless mother—a widowed wife—a persecuted woman—an injured Queen, bold in conscious innocence, appeared in the midst of her powerful, enraged and inveterate enemies, and stretched forth her arms imploring the protection of her people. When her cause evidently involved the right of every subject, the sanctity of marriage, and the interests of morality, it would naturally be concluded that the veriest slave of power would indignantly

spurn the influence which attempted to seat his lips on this subject—that no man could repress the spontaneous effusions of nature and of feeling—that no man would basely forfeit the love and esteem of his wife, his daughters, his sisters, or his mistress, by calmly suffering the violation of every female right in the person of his Queen. Well, perhaps, the corruptionists had their feelings and consciences seared—they may be beyond redemption. But the Whigs—aye, the prating Whigs, will surely save themselves from everlasting infamy.—Oh! no. What care they for their noble-hearted Queen? What interest have they in the pure administration of justice? What regard have they for the approving smiles of the virtuous part of the fair sex? What is loyalty, humanity, and national character to them? No, all these are as nothing to them, if they would not open the portals to office, place the public purse in their hands, and gratify their insatiable lust for power and dominion.

Notwithstanding the courtly silence of Mr. Lambton, and the ridiculous shiftings of Sir M. W. Ridley in Parliament, with

the significant noddings and shruggings of the Whigs at home, the people of Newcastle and Gateshead again ventured to express their honest and manly feelings and sentiments, and nearly six thousand subscribed to the address which has been presented to the illustrious sufferer. During this free expression of public opinion, this cautious party stood afar off.— When accosted, "Oh!" said they, "we would have no objection to sign an address to her Majesty, had it proceeded from a *respectable* quarter." The vile slaves! And they would justify coldness and indifference on a subject that warms every honest heart in Europe, because virtue has become unfashionable amongst the ignorant, the proud, and the interested. They, noble fellows! would not even do good, except in *respectable* company. They can feel no regard for their unfortunate Queen, unless commanded to do so by their *respectable* leaders. They are sheets of blank paper until some *respectable* knave is moved to make an impression upon them. Can any thing be conceived so utterly low and degraded as those sucklers for *respectability* or

can any thing be imagined as superlatively abominable as the *respectability* to which they bow. It comprises neither public honesty, however, nor spirit. I wonder how women, possessed of virtue, wisdom, and chastity, can suffer the approach of such servile wretches. Were England peopled with such ignoble beings as these *respectable* Whigs, it would not be worth saving.

But notwithstanding the pitiful sneers of our Whigs, the address contains more names than there are houses in this town; and embraces the most intelligent, industrious, patriotic and valuable parts of the population. Many who have been long deluded with the sophistries of Whiggery, joined their spirited townsmen, officers in the army, gentlemen of the profession of law and medicine, and ministers of the gospel,\* pressed forward to prove that the times of Whiggish controul were passed away.

At Morpeth, a chosen band of public patriots who have not bowed the knee to the borough-

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\* Of course, the clergy of the establishment are excluded.

mongering Babel, or fallen down before the mammon of unrighteousness, have also expressed their attachment to the wife of their Whig, though this place is one of the most flagrantly corrupt boroughs in England. At Sunderland, likewise, upwards of three thousand brave men have recorded their love of justice and morality in a proper address to the Queen, in spite of the petty vindictive hostility of the Whigs. Mr. B. Ogden, a Quaker, and Whig orator, was grossly scandalized at the assurance which offered an appeal to the people, through an irregular channel. It should, he observed, have originated at a public meeting, where of course he and his friends would preside, though it was clearly manifest that they never intended to controvert one, or to make so dangerous an attempt under the new laws. Addison Fenwick, Esq., another leading Whig, and guardian of Lambton's electioneering interest, treated the project of addressing her Majesty with the most superfluous contempt.

This, one would suppose, was not a party question. Yet so it is; both parties seem agreed to permit her Majesty to be un-

justly sacrificed, while the people are unanimous in her cause. The Tories are sold to iniquity; and the Whigs (particularly those here, who are confessedly of the worst description), care nothing about great public questions. They are only active in contending with some paltry tool of office, or at election dinners. Away then with the dangerous and unmeaning cant of conciliating the Whigs, and of uniting the friends of Reform. The Whigs are not real Reformers; and hence their unmixed hatred is directed against the Radicals, because they are sincere. But this is an ample field, and I will occupy it again in order to review the political conduct of our leading Whigs in the north. Z.

#### DOCUMENTS RELATING TO HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

The following Address to the Queen has been presented from the Female Inhabitants of Nottingham.

TO HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY,  
QUEEN CAROLINE.

"The Humble Address of the Female Inhabitants of the town of Nottingham, and its vicinity.

"We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the

Female Inhabitants of Nottingham, beg leave to congratulate you on your safe arrival in this country, after so long an absence, and to hail you Queen of these Kingdoms!

"Beloved as you are by a great people, who have long preserved for you a faith unshaken, we dare not boast an unrivalled attachment; but we can truly say, that amidst this general glow of beating hearts, none are more loyal, none love you better, and none pray oftener for your present and future happiness, than the females of Nottingham. When you were far distant we remembered the unhappy exile; and when the accusers of your honour rung in our ears (as they fondly hoped) the death-bell of your innocence, we never for a moment believed their slanders, but felt at every charge, as we are sure we shall always feel, a more than common indignation.

"You bring with you such powerful recommendations to protection, as no generous bosom can resist—your father is no more—your brother fell in battle—the chief solace of your cares, your amiable daughter, was soon, too soon snatched away!—and your great protector, our late venerable monarch, soon followed her.

"All in whom the spirit of the days of chivalry are not utterly extinct, all who would not immolate the best impulses of our nature on the altar of modern policy, will rally round their Queen, and save her alike from foreign emissaries and spies, and domestic persecutors.

"We desire to assure you of our continued fidelity, and to express a hope that ere long, you will have defeated the machinations of your enemies, be restored to all the honours of your illustrious station, and that neither sea nor land will again separate you from an admiring people."—(Signed by 7,800 females.)

To which her Majesty returned the following most gracious answer:—

"I should be deficient in sensibility if I had not felt the warmest gratitude, and more than ordinary delight when I received from the Female Inhabitants of the town of Nottingham and its vicinity, an Address which is remarkable for the amiable spirit which it breathes, and for the fervour of attachment to my person and rights which it displays. I am proud of being the Queen of women of such generous sentiments; and I am happy to remark that such sentiments indicate an increased and increasing cultivation of the female mind.

"To be conscious that the hearts of so large a portion of my own sex are vibrating with emotions of affection for his Majesty's Royal Consort, that they are sympathising with her sorrows, and deprecating her wrongs, and that her happiness is the object of their pious supplications, cannot but awaken in my breast the most pleasurable sensations. The same spirit of devotedness to the fair fame, to the lawful rights, and to the general interests of a persecuted



Queen, which animates the female inhabitants of Nottingham, is, I trust, diffused through a large majority of their countrywomen. They will consider the honour of her Majesty as reflected upon themselves---they will best know how to appreciate the slanders by which I have been assailed, and the indignities by which I have been oppressed.

"With the most gentle delicacy the female inhabitants of the town of Nottingham and its vicinity have touched those springs of grief in my heart which will ever continue painfully to vibrate at the recollection of the near and dear relatives of whom I have been bereaved, and particularly of that departed saint in whose talents and whose virtues the women have lost a model of the most estimable excellence, and the nation in general a future sovereign, under whose fostering care that liberty would have flourished which gives happiness to the people and security to the Throne."

The following Address has also been presented to her Majesty:—

"TO HER MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY CAROLINE, QUEEN CONSORT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

"May it please your Majesty, We, the undersigned loyal subjects, inhabitants of Sunderland and its vicinity, humbly beg permission to congratulate your Majesty upon your return to

England, to claim your legal and constitutional right and title of Queen of England. Deeply interested in every event that affects the principles of justice, the dignity of the crown, and the interests of the country, we cannot but view the foul and artful conspiracy which has been carried on against the life, the honour, and the happiness of your Majesty, with indignation and abhorrence; whilst your Majesty's discernment, frankness, and magnanimity, under the violent and unprecedented proceedings, demand our unbounded applause. We do, however, most fervently hope that your Majesty's persecutors will be ultimately covered with shame and confusion, and that your Majesty may live long in the enjoyment of the esteem and affection of an enlightened, generous, and brave people."

Her Majesty returned the following most gracious answer:—

"I am greatly obliged to the loyal inhabitants of Sunderland and its vicinity, for their cordial congratulations upon my accession to the high dignity of Queen Consort of these realms; and for the generous zeal which they express in favour of my lawful rights and my personal happiness.

"A foul conspiracy against my honour and my life has been prosecuted for many years, and seems at present to be reaching the very climax of iniquity. Originating in this country, it long endeavoured to effect its purpose by all the fraud and falsehood it could procure here; and when that failed it determined to over-

whom we with infamy by bringing a mass of perjury from the Continent.

"Every person who can reflect upon the consequences of passing events, or who can read the danger of the future in the dark aspect of the present, must be convinced that the public welfare is at this moment intimately identified with the preservation of my rights and dignities as the Royal Consort of his Majesty. General tyranny usually begins with individual oppression. If the highest subject in the realm can be deprived of her rank and title—can be divorced, dethroned, and deposed, by an act of arbitrary power, in the form of a Bill of Pains and Penalties—the constitutional liberty of the kingdom will be shaken to its very base; the rights of the nation will be only a scattered wreck; and this once free people, like the meanest of slaves, must submit to the lash of an insolent domination."

The deputation from the Borough of Ilchester, accompanied by Dr. Lushington and Mr. Alderman Wood, waited upon her Majesty with the following Address:—

"TO HER EXCELLENT MAJESTY CAROLINE, QUEEN OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

"The dutiful and loyal Address of the Inhabitants of the Borough of Ilchester and its vicinity, legally assembled in the Town-hall, this 24th day of July, 1820.

"We your Majesty's dutiful and affectionate subjects, the loyal inhabitants of the borough of Ilchester and its vicinity, beg leave to approach your Majesty to offer you our heartfelt congratulations on your Majesty's safe return to your own country, to meet your accusers face to face in the presence of the British Public, in defiance of the threats to induce your Majesty to renounce your Crown, and in spite of the disgraceful bribes which were tendered to your Majesty to purchase your absence with the nation's money, at the expense of your character and your honour; which bribes, had your Majesty unfortunately accepted, your treacherous seducers would never have ceased to urge against your Majesty as a proof of your guilt, and as a justification for their own malevolent aspersions and unfounded calumnies.

"We beg most seriously and sincerely, to condole with your Majesty upon the loss of your amiable and lovely daughter, rendered still more amiable, and much more lovely, in the estimation of a gallant, generous, and free people, from the firm and unalterable attachment she always evinced, both in public and private, for her cruelly persecuted, grossly-insulted, much-injured, though amiable and noble-minded mother. We also deplore the great loss which your Majesty sustained in the death of our late Most Gracious Sovereign; a loss that must have been severely felt by your Majesty, from the moment he was excluded from the world, by

that dreadful affliction, which rendered him incapable of shielding your Majesty any longer with theegis of his fostering hand, from the unrelenting blows which were aimed against your Majesty, and which are now repeated and aimed at once against your Majesty's honour, and the last surviving liberties of the people of England.

"We, the loyal inhabitants of Leicester and its vicinity, therefore, cannot refrain from expressing our deep-rooted abhorrence of the attempts to vilify and traduce your Majesty, by secret evidence obtained from the most unprincipled witnesses, collected by spies, which evidence is so low that it will not bear the light, and which has therefore been thrust into a Green Bag, and submitted to a secret tribunal appointed by your Majesty's accusers themselves. This departure from the open course of justice, unknown to the laws, would of itself be sufficient proof to every disinterested man in the country, not only of your Majesty's complete innocence, but also the strongest presumptive evidence that your Majesty's accusers know it.

"We, your Majesty's loyal subjects, therefore, in common with the whole united, unpaid portion of the community, beg most earnestly to assure your Majesty not only of our sympathy, but our zealous attachment and warm support. And we flatter ourselves that the day is far distant when a brave and loyal people shall stand silently by and witness the degradation and dishonour of their Queen,

without endeavouring, by every fair and legitimate means, to procure for her, at least, a fair and honourable trial, and verdict by an impartial jury of her Peers, before they permit her, with impunity, to be proclaimed guilty by her calumniators."

Signed, on behalf of the Meeting, by

THE IRISH BAILIFF.

Her Majesty returned the following gracious Answer:

"I return my grateful thanks to the Inhabitants of the Borough of Leicester and its vicinity, for an Address in which so much affection is manifested for my person, so much zeal for my rights, and so much sympathy for my sufferings.

"My late beloved daughter well knew her mother's injuries, and her noble nature made them her own. Over her untimely end, if I wept as a parent, the whole nation mourned like an individual. The grief was one and the same in all. Every man felt as if he had lost a friend; and that friend his solace in the passing day, and his hope in the time that was to come.

"When I call to mind the form of his late Majesty, oppressed with afflictions, and bending with age, I ought not, perhaps, to lament over that event which put an end to his sufferings, and made him exchange his earthly crown for a crown more permanent. But my gratitude will not suffer me to forget that his Majesty was my protector in adversity; and my heart, still sorrowing, tells me that that protector is no more.

"I should, even according to their confession of my accusers, have been guilty of no sin if I have never revisited this country; that was my great transgression, and that has been rendered more inexpressible by this circumstance—that I no sooner came than the affections of the people all circled round their Queen."

"If to possess the affections of the people be a proof of guilt, how can I ever show that I am innocent? Could I prevent, or would I try to prevent, the stream of popular sympathy from running forcibly in favour of Majesty insulted, and of integrity reviled? If the nation could have contemplated the many wrongs I have experienced, and the greater wrongs with which I am threatened, with severe indifference, or with sluggish apathy, it would not have been composed of men and women; it would have been constituted of beings without sensibility or intelligence. But the British people are made of better materials. No nation has more right reason or more good feeling; and this is a truth of which I can never be unconscious as long as one particle of life is streaming in my veins."

After the Deputation withdrew, her Majesty went to North-street, Finsbury-square, to view the School, called the Royal Institution, for 1000 boys and 300 girls, of which the Duke and Duchess of Kent were patrons. Her Majesty expressed the most lively satisfaction at the order and regularity which pervaded the establishment, and

the interesting appearance of the children, for whom she left a liberal donation.

There was a meeting of the inhabitants of Lewes, for the purpose of presenting an Address to her Majesty the Queen. It was numerously attended. The Address was carried and ordered to be signed by the High Constables, in the name of the meeting.

*"Lewes, July 29."*

"You will herewith receive the result of the application of the Constables to the Representatives of the Borough Address to her Majesty. Sir George Shiffner declined presenting the Address, on the ground that it was prejudging the case. He read his refusal to the Constables, and then put it in his pocket. Sir J. Shelley forwarded a written communication to E. Verrall, Esq. Town Clerk, of which the following is a correct copy:—

*"Maresfield Park, July 27."*

"SIR,—I was in hopes I should, ere this, have been able to have answered your note, respecting the Resolutions passed at the meeting of the 24th, in person; but have been prevented by indisposition, and as you require an early answer, will no longer defer it."

"I do not consider it consistent with my duty, as a member of that branch of the Legislature which may ultimately be called upon to decide upon the Queen's case, now in a course of trial before the Upper House, to take any step which may appear like prejudging the case. I must, therefore, decline presenting the Address, and I feel less scruple in doing so, as it is not signed by a majority of my Constituents."

"I shall be obliged to you if you

will communicate my decision to the Constables."

"I remain, Sir,

"Your most obedient and humble Servant,

"J. SHELLEY.

"To Edward Verrall, Esq. Solicitor."

"The hon. Baronet could not have read the Resolutions, or could not have *understood* them; for it was *unanimously* resolved that the Address should be signed by the *Constables* in *behalf* of the *WHOLE* meeting, and there were upwards of 500 persons present; the Address must, therefore, be considered as expressing the sense of the *majority* of Sir John's Constituents.—The conduct of these hon. Baronets will probably be remembered on a future occasion."—(*Brighton Herald*.)

Wednesday the Address from Lewes was presented to the Queen. Her Majesty returned the following gracious answer:

"The High Constable, Burgees, and other inhabitants of the ancient borough of Lewes, are requested to accept my cordial thanks for this loyal and affectionate Address. My heart is in perfect unison with the expressions which they use in their topics of condolence. I felt the loss of his late venerable Majesty to be, indeed, irreparable: for he stood like the Angel of Mercy between me and persecuting cruelty. The untimely end of the late beloved Princess Charlotte seemed, for a moment, to throw the shadow of death over the land. The

voice of merriment was mute in our streets; and the gaiety of the nation suffered a temporary eclipse. It was the unbought tribute of loyalty, the spontaneous offering of love in thousands—nay, in millions, to those bright properties of the mind, and those tender qualities of the heart, in which the people read a cheering presage of her glory; and of the public happiness.

"The machinations of my enemies are supported by a faction, that has long operated like a canker-worm upon the noble trunk of the national prosperity. If I would have stooped to become an instrument in their hands, or to have lent myself to their sordid purposes, I might have averted their vengeance, or have neutralized their hostility. In the year 1807, this faction were eager to make use of my power as the means of gratifying their ambition; and when their ambition could be gratified by other means, they immediately sacrificed my honour and my rights upon the altar of their selfishness.

"That calm wisdom which is the result at once of reflection and experience, teaches me that I ought never to give my sanction to the narrow views of any sect, or to the interested projects of any party. That comprehensive charity, which kindles in my heart shall be visible in my conduct, and I will never forget that the Queen of a faction is only half a Queen. The good of a faction is only the good of a few; but the good which I cherish is that of the community."

Lord Duncannon waited on her Majesty with the Address from the town of Wakefield and its vicinity, to which her Majesty was pleased to return the following most gracious answer:—

“ I receive with heartfelt satisfaction this loyal and affectionate address from his Majesty’s subjects, Inhabitants of the town of Wakefield and its vicinity.— Their sentiments of congratulation on my accession to the high dignity of Queen of these realms, are a proof that their minds have not been unduly influenced by the flagitious calumnies of my persecutors; and I am at the same time feelingly alive to their expressions of kind condolence upon the melancholy losses of those near and dear relatives which I experienced while on the continent.

“ I am sensible of the indignities with which I have been assailed, not so much because they are disrespectful to myself as because they are insulting to the nation; for the nation has been insulted in the late outrages upon the character of its lawful Queen. Though I am attacked by that malice which hesitates at no falsehood, and by an assumption of power which seems to spurn at all limitation, I feel

a cheering confidence of present support and of eventual triumph in the affections of the people.

“ I have been accused of appealing to popular clamour, but I appeal to nothing but to the good sense and good feeling—to the reason—the morality—and the patriotism of the most enlightened and most respectable portion of the community. If I am condemned without justice, and dethroned against all law, the liberties of every individual will receive a fatal stab, and the character of the highest judicature will be blasted to the latest posterity.

“ My own personal welfare is of little moment; but I do feel as a Queen for the public welfare, which is deeply implicated in the vindication of my violated rights.

“ The power which the House of Lords are assuming in their Bill of Pains and Penalties, not only of divorcing his Majesty’s Royal Consort, but of dethroning their lawful Queen, may prove, in the result, productive of an age of misery to the nation.— The child that is now at the breast may live to rue its consequences.

“ The consciousness of rectitude, of which no Bill of Pains

and Penalties, can ever deprive me, will support me through all trials: and, even though the force of my enemies should, in the end, prove commensurate with their malignity, the people shall never have occasion to reproach me with neglecting their happiness—with betraying their rights, or with relinquishing, for one moment, the patriotic magnanimity of the Queen."

An animated correspondence has taken place between Sam. Thompson, jun. the constable of Wakefield, and the York County Members, on the subject of the presentation of the above Address. Mr. Thompson having expressed by letter to Lord Milton and Mr. Wortley, the wish of the Meeting that they should present the Address to the Queen, he received from each of the Members letters, of which the following are copies:

"Milton, July 13, 1820.

"Sir,—I am sorry it will be absolutely out of my power to present the Wakefield Address to the Queen, as I am going into Yorkshire to-morrow, and have no thoughts of returning to town till my return is rendered necessary by Parliamentary business. I trust, I need not assure you, that I lament this circumstance deeply, as I

should most, willingly have waited on her Majesty with such a document.

I remain, Sir,

"Your most faithful Servant,

"MILTON."

"Samuel Thompson."

"Curzon-street, July 13, 1820.

"Sir,—I have to acknowledge the reception of your letter of the 10th instant, informing me of your having sent to Lord Milton an Address to the Queen, voted by the Inhabitants of Wakefield, and requesting me to assist in presenting it to her Majesty.

"The only copy I have seen of this Address, is contained in the account of the Meeting, as inserted in *The Leeds Independent*, of July 6th, and if that be a correct copy, I hope I shall not be considered as acting disrespectfully to my constituents at Wakefield, if I request of them to dispense with my personal attendance upon her Majesty for the purpose of presenting it. I cannot, consistently with what I feel to be my duty, as one of that body who will have to decide upon the truth and falsehood of the charges against the Queen, do any thing which may appear in any degree to concur in a public expression of an opinion upon those charges. Lord Milton being out of town, I shall, in case he forwards the Address to me, send it to Lady Ann Hamilton, the Queen's Lady in Waiting, in order that she may lay it before her Majesty.

I am, Sir,

"Your very humble Servant,

"J. A. STUART WORTLEY."

"Samuel Thompson."

To which were returned the following answers:—



TO LORD MILTON.

*Wakefield, July 15, 1820.*

"MY LORD,—I am favoured with yours of the 13th this morning. The Committee for the management of the Wakefield Address to the Queen regret that you cannot present it personally to her Majesty, particularly so, as we have received the following letter from Mr. Stuart Wortley, viz. r—

[See Mr. Wortley's letter above.]

"As it is the particular wish of the Committee that the Address should be presented by a member or members of Parliament, they will feel greatly obliged to your lordship if you will take the trouble of forwarding it to some member whom you can confide in, to present it to her Majesty.—For the Committee,

"I have the honour to be,

"Your Lordship's very humble Servant,

"S. THOMPSON, jun.

"Constable."

"Right Hon. Lord Milton."

TO MR. WORTLEY.

*Wakefield, July 15, 1820.*

"SIR,—Yours of the 13th I received this morning, and have communicated its contents to the Committee; who think your excuse extremely frivolous, and that instead of representing the freeholders of Yorkshire, you only represent your own political principles. If you have the Address in your possession, you will have the goodness to retain it till application be made for it, as we have written to Lord Milton upon the subject. How you can be our very humble servant and refuse our undoubted right as our Represent-

atives, when you had no sacrifice to make, is a paradox to—

Your's very respectfully,

"S. THOMPSON.

"J. A. S. Wortley, Esq."

MR WORTLEY'S ANSWER.

*Curzon-street, July 16, 1820.*

"SIR,—I have this morning received yours of the 15th, and cannot avoid expressing my surprise at the terms and tone in which you have thought fit to address me.

"I shall, however, say nothing in answer to so extraordinary a letter, except that I shall obey the direction it contains, as to retaining the Address, if it comes to my hands, and that I utterly deny the assertion it contains, of my having, 'as your Representative, refused your undoubted right.'

"I am, Sir, your very humble servant;

"J. A. STUART WORTLEY:

"To Samuel Thompson, jun."

LORD MILTON'S ANSWER.

*Wentworth, July 18, 1820.*

"SIR,—In compliance with your letter, which I received this morning I have written to Lord Duncannon, to beg that he will either present the Wakefield Address to her Majesty, or put it in the hands of some other member of Parliament for that purpose. Had I been in town, I should most readily have presented it, even if I had felt that I could not make myself responsible for its sentiments.

"I remain, Sir,

"Your very faithful Servant,

"MILTON.

"To Samuel Thompson, jun."



An Address from Berwick was on Wednesday presented to the Queen, by Lord Ossulston.

Her Majesty returned the following gracious Answer:—

"For this loyal and affectionate Address, I feel deeply indebted to the Mayor, Bailiffs, and Burgesses of the Borough of Berwick-upon-Tweed. The rage which death has made amongst my nearest and most beloved relatives, since I left England, has furnished many arduous trials for my resignation and my fortitude. It is my duty to submit, without fretfulness or impatience, to these and to heavier afflictions, if I have still heavier to endure.

"My many sorrows have been mingled with an infusion of joy by the enthusiastic delight with which the people hailed my arrival from the Continent. I had been so long absent from England, and so artfully reviled in my absence, that it was supposed I should never return. My return operated like a flash of lightning upon the public mind. Those whom the accumulated slanders of my enemies had caused to hesitate about my rectitude, were instantly struck with a conviction of my integrity. But while my friends exulted with joy, my enemies turned pale with apprehension. The consciousness of their own guilt was aggravated by the irresistible feeling of my innocence. They exhibited a singular picture of malice rendered impotent, and of rage becoming desperate.

"When my enemies found

that they could not operate upon my disinterestedness by a bribe, they attempted to shake my courage by a threat. But I derive from the bounty of Heaven, a mind that is at once superior to the calculations of avarice, and to the impressions of fear.

"If I am a subject, I am a subject in a state of immediate proximity to the Sovereign; and certainly I ought not to be placed in a less favourable situation than that of the most humble individual. Every subject, whatever may be his condition or his rank, is entitled to a fair and open trial, by which his guilt or his innocence may be legally established. To me such a trial is refused. My demand for it has hitherto been answered only by Green Bags, which perjury has filled, or by Secret Inquisitions, over which malice presides.—Every other subject has the benefit of an impartial jury; and he may object to a certain number of jurors, whom he may know, or believe to be hostile to himself or partial to his adversary. Can I object to any of my numerous judges and jurors? What individual is there who could expect an impartial trial where his adversary could influence the majority of his judges, either by the fear of loss, or the hope of gain; either by good in possession, or in expectancy? But are my judges alone without human infirmities? I leave the question to be answered by those, who know what man is, or who have calmly observed the late proceedings in the House of Lords."

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 37.---No. 4.] LONDON, SATURDAY, August 12, 1820. [Price, 6d.

TO HER

MAJESTY THE QUEEN,

ON

*The state of the King's Dominions, produced by Measures adopted during her Majesty's absence—On the Designs of her Majesty's Enemies—On the Conduct of the Nobility towards her: not forgetting the Conduct of the Prince of Saxe Cobourg.*

London, 10th Aug. 1820.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

The measures pursued by your Majesty at St. Omer, and since that time, so clearly indicate surprising strength of mind, that the humble individual, who most respectfully tenders this paper for the perusal of your Majesty, may well fear, that the public, may deem it presumptuous to offer any thing in the way of advice to your Majesty. Yet there are certain

things, intimately connected with your Majesty's own affairs, of which things, from the nature of your Majesty's late situation, it is scarcely possible that you can have been accurately informed. To give your Majesty some information with regard to these, to give you also a faithful account of what the public think of the designs of your enemies; and, moreover, to offer you some remarks on the conduct of the nobility and that of the Prince of Saxe Cobourg, with regard to your Majesty; to do this the writer of this paper looks upon as his duty; and, in the performance of this duty, he feels a satisfaction great as it is possible for man to experience.

When we find a great mass of enmity at work against us, and a manifest desire to effect our destruction; and when, at the same time, we are convinced that we have given no just cause for such enmity, it becomes us to seek for the real motive by which our enemies are actuated, and thereby to know

how to arm ourselves in a way to secure our defence. The proceedings against your Majesty; I mean the long series of the proceedings from 1813 to the present day, are of so extraordinary a nature; so apparently hostile to the interests of the established order of things; so completely unprovoked in outward appearance; the charges against you are so loose, so improbable in point of fact, and even of time, so wholly unnecessary to be produced; in short, the whole of the persecution of your Majesty presents a tissue of such apparent inconsistencies and follies, as well as of cruelties, that there must be some cause at work which is not discoverable to the naked eye. We know that personal hatreds, and especially in certain cases, are very strong, very powerful motives of action; but still, it is very seldom that they proceed so far as to set at nought considerations connected with our own safety. We must look much farther for motives sufficient to induce measures obviously likely to convulse the nation for the sake of ejecting your Majesty from our shores. Plainly to describe these motives; to mention the parties by name; these

are more than I dare do; but it may be sufficient, or it may, at any rate, be of use to your Majesty, for me to lay with all humility before you, a brief account of what has taken place in this kingdom since your Majesty's departure from it in 1814.

At that time nothing but sounds of exultation and joy were heard in our courts and palaces; and the nation, deluded by the sounds, gave itself up to all the wildness and madness of intoxication. In those brilliant and delusive scenes your Majesty was not permitted to be a partaker. The maddening joy was of short duration; and why should we not believe that it was the act of Providence to preserve your Majesty from a participation in those scenes of jay and revelry? The great experience of your Majesty will have taught you, that affliction ought frequently to be a subject of congratulation with the sufferer; and that the very things which we are sometimes deploring, are the things most necessary to our good, to our final success, if not to the preservation of our lives. At the time to which I am referring, and at which time your Majesty most

justly and most feelingly complained of your exclusion from the drawing-rooms of the late Queen; at that time there was not a just person in the whole kingdom, who did not feel sorrow for your Majesty, and indignation against your persecutors. But, now, having seen what has been the result; having seen how delusive were those joys; having beheld the ruin and misery produced by the events which were at that time the subject of drunken exaltation; where is the man who does not now in his heart congratulate your Majesty upon having been excluded from all share in that exaltation! Where is the man who can view your Majesty's present situation, without feeling his heart sink within him, at the idea of your being abandoned to the fury of your foes; and who can look at the manifold miseries of the nation, without exclaiming, "in the producing of these this persecuted Queen has never participated in the smallest degree."

The peace which had been effected in a manner fresh in your Majesty's recollection, was held forth by those same ministers, who are now your Majesty's accusers, as fraught with a long

series of uninterrupted happiness and prosperity to the nation. But, scarcely were the ratifications exchanged when the delusive hope became apparent. At first it was pretended that the ruin which began to spread itself around had been produced merely by a sudden transition from war to peace. This notion, which was broached by Lord Castlereagh, was echoed and re-echoed by the tongues of the servile and the foolish from one end of the kingdom to the other. Time, which tries all things, has, at last, set the stamp of folly upon this doctrine. Five years of Peace have seen nothing but an increasing augmentation of the ruin; till, at last, no man is found bold enough to say that there is any possibility of rescuing the nation from general bankruptcy; or of saving it from the horrors of some great convulsion.

Before your Majesty's arrival more than a thousand petitions, coming from every class in the community, represented to the parliament that ruin had laid its hands on agriculture, on commerce, on manufactures, on trade of every description, and that actual starvation was at work in the destruction of thousands

of the people of this once happy community. The parliament had unequivocally declared its utter incapacity to afford a remedy. It had declared that it could do nothing in the way of yielding relief, and that the sufferers must be left to find a remedy in their capacity for suffering.

This was the general state of the nation at the time of your Majesty's arrival. In this state of the nation there was quite enough to make us doubt of the wisdom of the men by whom its affairs had been conducted; and quite enough to make us rejoice in the thought, that, since your Majesty was doomed to have enemies, your enemies should be found amongst men of that description. But, not only of the nation's sufferings of the description above given, is it necessary that your Majesty should be informed, the diminution of its liberties; the alterations that have been made in its laws, and the causes of this diminution and of these alterations; these are things worthy of the attention of your Majesty, and some account of which I will endeavour to lay before you.

Your Majesty must have heard

something of the many acts, which I shall not attempt to describe, committed against the people, under the name of *radicals*. Your Majesty must have seen, that they are spoken of as worthless, base, turbulent, and rebellious wretches. Before I close my account of the proceedings just alluded to, I shall explain to your Majesty the meaning of this word radical; for, as your Majesty will clearly perceive, you are as deeply interested in this matter as the people themselves.

For more than fifty years there has been a struggle going on on the part of the people to obtain a *reform* in the House of Commons. The Constitution of this country is, that the power of making laws shall exist in a King, a House of Peers, and a House of Commons, the latter of which shall consist of persons freely chosen *by the people*, and in such a way too, that the Peers and the King shall not at all *interfere* in, or attempt to influence, the election of the members of the House of Commons. But, various circumstances have given rise to such a mode of election as has, in fact, very much changed the effect of these provisions.

The real state of the House of

Commons I shall not attempt to describe. But, it may be necessary to state, that a petition, laid before the House of Commons itself in 1793, by the present Lord Grey, and signed by the present Duke of Bedford and many others, avowed that a majority of that house was returned to it by Peers, by a few other opulent men, and by the King's treasury. The petitioners tendered proof of the facts at the bar of the house. The petition was received. It is now amongst the records of parliament. But no proceeding ever took place upon it; and the House of Commons has remained unreformed.

The members of the House of Commons are called the *representatives of the people*. The law says that men are punished legally, upon the ground that they have, by their representatives, given their assent, to the laws by which they are punished. But, it is very clear that if the Peers, a few opulent men, and the treasury, return a majority of the members, the grounds above stated are undermined, and become nothing. The law says that no man shall be taxed without his own consent; but it is impossible that he can give his consent to a tax,

unless he has some voice in the choosing of the persons by whom the taxes are imposed.

It is very notorious that all the people of this kingdom are taxed; and, therefore, the reformers contend that every man, being of sane mind and mature age, and free from all legal disqualifications on account of infamy of character, should participate in the choosing of those, whose business it is to impose the taxes and to determine on the mode of expending them.

It is further urged by the reformers, that no man (with the above exceptions) ought to be excluded from this right, seeing that no man is exempted from the duty of coming forth, upon command of the King, to serve as a soldier in defence of the country. The law compels, and justly compels, every man to perform this duty. The reason of this is, that every man is benefitted by the safety of the country. He is benefitted by that safety in a greater or less degree, according to the extent of his possessions. The poor man has a property in his labour; but, if it be denied to him that his labour is property; if it be denied to him to give his voice in the choosing of

those who tax him; if he have nothing to do with the laws but to obey them; if this be his situation, it is very difficult to discover what he possesses, what he has to preserve, and upon what ground it is that he is called upon to abandon his home and hazard his life.

The light, which has burst forth upon so many other countries, and which has broken the bands of despotism and superstition; which has raised the humble and laid the mighty in the dust: this light was not wanted in England, where the true principles of liberty had been understood for so many ages, and where the principles upon which the reformers have proceeded, are inscribed in every page of the laws. But, while reformations were taking place in other countries, it was not to be supposed that Englishmen would not endeavour to recover that portion of their rights of which time and their own inadvertence had deprived them. Accordingly, within the last fifty years, a continual struggle has been going on, on the part of the people, in order to bring into practice the principles of the constitution and the laws. These struggles have naturally

become strong in proportion to the increase of the nation's burdens and sufferings. No tax can be laid without the assent of the House of Commons, no sum of public money can be expended without the same consent. To the weight of the taxes all men now ascribe the sufferings of the nation. And, as the shadow follows the substance, so it follows that the House of Commons have been the cause of the nation's sufferings.

There then arises the question, whether a House of Commons, chosen by the people at large, would have laid taxes and produced sufferings in as great a degree. The reformers are of opinion that it would not. They think, that a House of Commons chosen by the people at large would never have granted money to carry on a war, the result of which was the restoration of the Bourbons, the Pope, the Inquisition, and the Jesuits, and the bartering away of the republics of Genoa and of Venice. They think that a House of Commons chosen by the people at large would discover no reason for granting many millions of English money for the support of French and other

emigrants, during the late wars; and for still granting fifty thousand pounds a-year for that purpose, while so wretched is the situation of the people at home, that they are shipped off to find their doom as emigrants to Canada or Africa. We have, may it please your Majesty, lived to see Englishmen petition to be transported; and at the same time to see immense sums of our money granted for the support of French and other emigrants; and we do most religiously believe that we never should have seen these things if the people at large had had the choosing of the Members of the House of Commons.

The reformers believe, that eighty thousand pounds a-year, to be expended in secret services, would never have been granted by a reformed House of Commons; and they take permission to believe also that such a House of Commons would never have been persuaded to grant out of the taxes, and that too in times of the deepest acknowledged distress, a hundred thousand pounds a-year as a gift to the clergy of the immensely rich Church of England.

To enumerate the grants in sinecures, pensions, and in va-

rious other ways, would render my statement too tedious. Suffice it to say that to such a situation have things been brought, that all hope is abandoned of a liquidation of the debts in which the nation is involved; that compounding or bankruptcy is inevitable; and that even in parliament itself, it has been suggested, that the owners of the land must divide their possessions with the creditors of the state; while it is notorious, and, indeed, openly acknowledged in the Houses of Parliament, that capital is fleeing for safety from England to other countries, and while some have proposed measures of force to impede or punish the transfer.

In such a state of things, it is no wonder that the people seek a remedy in a reform of the House of Commons. Duty to their king and country, as well as love for themselves and their families, urge them to seek such reform; this is what they have done; and for having done this, great numbers, under the name of *Radicals*, have been punished with the utmost severity. Early in the year 1817, petitions signed by a million and a half of men were presented to the parliament, beseeching the Houses to



grant them the desired reform. By the persons signing these petitions; by the immense multitudes collected in various parts of the country for the discussion of this important subject, no act of riot, no breach of the peace, no sort of disorderly conduct was committed. If every individual of those millions had been held in bonds for his good behaviour, the conduct of the people could not have been more peaceable or more orderly. Sobriety and good sense prevailed all over the country, which exhibited a people, of whom the government ought to have been proud.

Will your Majesty believe, that these petitions, instead of being patiently listened to; instead of being made the subject of attentive perusal and careful and dispassionate discussion, were made the ground of accusation against the petitioners, who were loaded with the most opprobrious reproach. Without time being given for the presenting of one half of these petitions, charges were preferred against the people; Green Bags were laid before the Parliament by the very same men who have now brought down Green Bags against your Majesty. Secret

Committees were appointed; and without the examination of any witnesses in support of the evidence, as it was called, which was contained in those Green Bags, reports were made upon the contents of the bags by the Secret Committees; and, upon those reports, without examining any evidence at all, a Bill was brought in and passed, authorising the Ministers to put into any prison that they chose, any man or woman whom those Ministers might suspect, or say that they suspected, of *Treasonable practices*! This they were enabled to do without furnishing the imprisoned person with any charge against him; without telling him who were his accusers, and without giving him any knowledge at all of the place of his imprisonment, or of even the probable duration of that imprisonment. In consequence of this law, great numbers of men were seized, dragged from their wives and families, loaded with irons like malefactors, and imprisoned in the jails intended to hold none but the guilty and the wicked. Some of these men were imprisoned in places two hundred miles distant from their wives and children, who scarcely knew what had become of their husbands and fathers. During the imprisonment, all free commu-

nation with them was interdicted. They were allowed to receive and to send no letters not previously examined by their keepers. In this miserable state they were kept for nearly twelve months; and then turned out of their dungeons without any trial; without any compensation for their sufferings. They had to return to their ruined and starving families, hunted still and pursued by the base and atrocious calumniators of a press devoted to their persecutors. One of these men, with a mind unable to bear his calamities, yielded to despair, and put a period to his miserable existence in the prison to which he had been committed. And, after all this, a Bill was passed to protect against the operations of the laws all those persons who had violated even the law, by authority of which these men were put in prison!

Your Majesty does not, I am sure, suppose that Englishmen will ever forget these things. They remember them well; and if it had been possible for them to forget them, the proceedings against your Majesty would have prevented such criminal forgetfulness. At the same time, when this horrid law was passed, others were passed for obstructing the freedom of speech and of the press. In addition to these, six other Acts were passed during the last session of parliament; and the nature and tendency of these Acts are such as to make us ashamed of our country. We no longer dare to meet in open

day as heretofore, to express our opinions upon political subjects; and, to write or publish what may be deemed seditious, now subjects us to *banishment*. If our forefathers had been told that such would be the lot of their descendants, they would have regarded the prediction as proof of insanity.

From step to step the country has been brought into a state such as can be designated by no other word than that of slavery. No human being can describe the difference in our present situation and that in which our forefathers lived. But, the thing which most strongly marks the difference is, that a system of spies and informers is now openly acknowledged to exist, even by the ministers themselves. Your Majesty has read, in English writers of only fifty years ago, the most bitter sarcasms on the French nation for submitting to live under a government that openly and avowedly made spies a part of its establishment. This fact of the employment of spies by the French government was a topic of never ending satyr with Englishmen. But alas! Englishmen have lived to hear their King's ministers not only confess that they employ spies, but justify the act, nay, boast of the act with unblushing effrontery.

The people are by no means so debased as to approve of this system; and, therefore, here, again, they participate most warmly in the indignation of your Majesty at having been dogged and hunted by vermin of this infamous description.

They perceive clearly the grounds of the accusations against your Majesty; they are too well acquainted with the means that have been resorted to to collect what is called evidence against you; Green Bags and Secret Committees, reports of those Committees and Bills founded on those reports, are fresh in their recollection; and with all these before them, and with all the experience that they possess of the disposition of your advisers, they can be at no loss to discover what are the designs of your enemies; designs much easier to perceive than it is safe to describe.

One thing I humbly beg leave to suggest to your Majesty as peculiarly proper to bear in mind; and that is, that your Majesty's enemies are the same who committed the above mentioned acts against the people. Their mode of proceeding in the two cases are so similar that it must have emanated from the same minds in both cases. The reformers were calumniated. They had ascribed to them actions that they never contemplated; motives that never entered their minds. Their enemies proceeded against them not by the laws, but by new contrivances. It was found that their conduct was an offence against no law; and, therefore, new laws were made, for their punishment and their ruin. It was pretended that a state necessity existed for shutting men up arbitrarily in prison. This is precisely the language made use of to justify the proceedings made use of against your Ma-

jesty. We know well what it means. We know that the whole might be expressed by one single horrid word; but to use that word is, at yet, too much even for these men.

The whole nation sees that the main design has been to get your Majesty out of England. This is a fact which cannot be disguised. All the pretended immoralities, all the licentious intercourse, which has been so slanderously and infamously declared to have existed; all these would have been overlooked, if your Majesty would have consented to abandon England. It was your Majesty's resolution to come here that exasperated your enemies; and your royal resolution to remain here now drives them to madness.

There is something so unjust towards the nation in this project for forcing your Majesty to reside abroad, that it has not failed to shock every person of correct mind. And, with regard to your Majesty it is cruelty beyond any thing that any person in the world beside your Majesty has ever experienced, to drive you from a country in which you are beloved, to be a wanderer amongst those who may care nothing for you; to lead a weary and disconsolate life; to meet old age without cheering recollection or comforting associates; and, at last, to drop into a foreign grave without a friend to close your eyes. The man that can desire this must be barbarous in his very nature. It is a series of evils that one would not wish to the bitterest enemy. Such

a wish would be savage even in the breast of an Austrian or a Russian; and shall it be said that it found a place in the breasts of any portion of the people of this kingdom!

But, there is a certain description of men in this country, whom it is not necessary for me minutely to describe to your Majesty, who have long since discarded every feeling of humanity; and who are prepared for any and for every act necessary to prevent what they deem injury to themselves. I, therefore, beg leave humbly to suggest to your Majesty, that nothing on the part of these men, ought to be regarded as improbable, because it is unnatural and monstrous.

In the magnitude, in the over-swollen magnitude of evil, there is sometimes, however, good in the result. The excessive desire of your enemies to chase you from the shores of England, will, I am convinced, be the cause of defeating its own purpose. And if it fail of this purpose, it will affect no other. It will leave your Majesty more beloved than you would have been if it had never existed. It will in the end have the effect of producing to you some compensation for your sufferings.

From the moment of your Majesty's arriving amongst us it was evident, that the nobility had taken their side. To hear their creatures of the press allege motives of *morality* for this, excited ridicule as well as contempt; especially when we considered of what persons these rigid moralists consisted. The

public were not to be deceived by a poor artifice like this; and the real motive being perceived, together with its being well recollected that those who are now the bitterest calumniators of your Majesty were amongst the most zealous apologists for conduct which was censured in the case of *Mrs. Clarke*! When the public took this view of the matter, they wanted very little to enable them to explain the motives of the moralists who kept aloof from your Majesty; and the conclusion they drew was precisely the contrary of that which it was expected they would have drawn. They saw, in short, the motive for shunning your Majesty, and were very far from looking upon the act as an example to follow.

From one person, bound to your Majesty by the tenderest ties, next to those of husband, child, and parent, they did expect every thing calculated to soothe, to cherish, to strengthen and to uphold you. Alas! they were disappointed even in this! This disappointment, however, severely as you must have felt the cause of it, will eventually be beneficial to your Majesty. Every man, and especially every young man, who has been able to imagine himself placed in the situation of your Son-in-law has also imagined with what eagerness he would have rushed to your support, and have bid defiance to all danger for the sake of seeing you supported and righted. Every such man has envied the Prince of Saxe Coburg such an opportunity of displaying those qualities, the possession

of which are far beyond every thing that Ministers and Kings can bestow. And every such man now sees in that Prince nothing to envy.

Your Majesty has been left solely to the people; but in a way singularly advantageous to yourself. Had you been surrounded by courtiers, the feeling of the nation would have been much less strong than it now is, and would not have proved efficient to your protection. Your Majesty is in some measure indebted to the people for choosing your principal adviser and friend. If the whole nation could have voted man by man, they would have assigned that office to Mr. Alderman Wood, who owes not his reputation to any lucky accident; to any intrigue, to any cabal, to immense wealth suddenly acquired; to any of the arts by which men acquire popularity; but to a life of upright conduct, to great and disinterested zeal for the public welfare; and especially to his uniform active humanity upon all occasions where suffering innocence has presented itself before him. It was these things that made him Lord Mayor of London two successive years, which is an honor far greater than those of fifty Dukes put together. To have such a man for a friend is worthy of any sovereign; and the bare circumstance of his being the chief adviser of your Majesty, was a sufficient guarantee to the nation that the charges preferred against you were base and calumnious fabrications, so that the nobility reckoned false-

ly when they concluded that if not supported by them you would be without support.

There appears to have been an error prevalent in your Majesty's mind at the time of your arrival; or, at least, an error in those who advised your Majesty to throw yourself and your cause upon the House of Commons. That House was no tribunal by which your Majesty ought to have been judged. Being accused of crimes, you had, like other persons, to put your case at issue before a jury. This not being granted, no other tribunal ought to have been acknowledged by you. To express confidence in the House of Commons was unnecessary; and if persevered in, would have led to every consequence which your Majesty must be desirous to obviate. The resolution of that House, communicated to you by deputation, was such as might have better received no answer at all, seeing that this was the only instance in which either House of Parliament had attempted to approach a Queen in any other way than that of address. Your Majesty might have remembered, too, that you received no address of condolence on the death of your brother, though that brother lost his life in gallantly fighting for England; and that you received no address of condolence upon another occasion still more deeply interesting to your feelings. To address on these subjects, and, indeed, to address you at all has been reserved for the people; for those who honestly express their feelings; for

those who have been inselently termed a *base populace* by men who fallen on the fruits of their labour.

Your Majesty's cause requires nothing underhanded; no intrigues; no factious combinations. Men who are intriguing for power, have no feeling in common with your Majesty. They sacrifice every thing to that single object. The ridiculous exhibition of Lord John Russell, in his address to Wilberforce, will doubtless have made your Majesty smile. To see the proud Whig crawling to the obsolete Saint, and trying to creep into consequence under the covering of this garb of sanctity, only shews that there is nothing at which faction will stop in order to accomplish its purposes. But, your Majesty need entertain no apprehensions from manœuvres of this sort.

This chivalrous young nobleman does not adventure to recommend to the Saint to utter any thing, which can, even by implication, be construed into a supposition of your Majesty's possible inanceance. His adventurous spirit carries him no farther than to deprecate a trial; and I trust it is not a want of due charity that induces me to believe that he would prevent a trial, because he would prevent your Majesty from entering on the full enjoyment of your rights. It is difficult to make out what he means, but we gather, upon the whole, that he means that the question should not be brought to issue, but that your Majesty should be placed in a state of *surveil-*

*lance*; that is to say, to use his own expressions or thoughts, that your Majesty should be constantly watched by the virtuous wives of the nobility. Whether the poor young lord be in his right mind or not, I cannot say; but this I know; that, if one had a mind to be ill natured, one might render this epistle of his a subject of merriment for a month.

It will be better soberly to draw a useful lesson from these miserable attempts at deception. They discover to us very clearly the weakness of the cause of your Majesty's enemies, whose misgivings are seen in every step that they take. From the moment they perceived that it was your Majesty's resolution to remain in England, they were daunted. They knew not what to do. Procrastination became necessary; and I shall be very much deceived if the much talked of trial be not, at last, further postponed. One postponement after another they may hope will lull the spirit of the public; and in this, too, they will find themselves deceived. But upon what ground can any postponement take place? There lies *the Bill*. This Bill has proclaimed your Majesty to the whole world as a person stained with the most dishonourable of crimes. And is this Bill to remain unanswered by you? Is the calumny to remain for your life? For, if the trial can be postponed for a week, it can be postponed for ever. Either let them declare that Bill a calumny, or proceed at once to their threatened trial.

Contemptible as the performance of Lord John Russell is, your Majesty will perceive in it a recommendation of an everlasting suspension of the matter, than which nothing can be more fatal to the rights and honour of your Majesty. Against this, therefore, timely measures ought to be resolved on, if the trial be not proceeded on upon the day appointed; your Majesty will, doubtless, not suffer yourself to be mocked and taunted by the means of procrastination. A fair trial is what your Majesty has always demanded. Your accusers have at least appointed a day for what they call a trial; and if they do not actually proceed on that day, your Majesty will doubtless proceed immediately to enter on the full possession of all your rights as Queen of this kingdom. I can see but one possible danger to which your Majesty will be exposed; and that is, to a compromise of some sort. Your enemies are haughty, they are insolent, and they are vain; but, they are also mean and cowardly. Haughty men are often the very basest of men also. A very profound observer has said, that "climbing and crawling are performed in the same attitude." And it is very true that a boy crawling upon the ground may be taken and placed against the trunk of a tree without producing any change in the posture of his limbs. Your Majesty has had a great deal of experience amongst courtiers, you have seen them climb and seen them crawl. They generally begin by crawling, as

climbers and courtiers first crawl along the ground before they begin to ascend the plant in order to nestle themselves in amongst the leaves and devour the fruit. But, whenever, the courtiers, whether slow, will crawl again; and it is in this way that they will now endeavour to approach your Majesty.

They have pretty nearly exhausted their threats and their bullying; and they will now endeavour to regain what they have lost by blandishments, and by all sorts of artifices. Not daring to approach you directly, they will make indirect approaches. They will endeavour by second hand reports to make you believe that they have not been in earnest all this while. They will send you kind friends in abundance, and if your Majesty will receive them, they will act in the double capacity of most sincere friends of your Majesty and of most faithful spies of your enemies. There is no trick or contrivance, which cunning can suggest and meanness combined with hypocrisy can execute, which they will not put in motion to induce your Majesty to yield from magnanimity what you have scorned to yield from the fear with which they have endeavoured to inspire you.

However, for my own part, I am in no apprehension on this score, in which respect I am satisfied I feel like the people in general. Your Majesty's past conduct is a guarantee for the future. The resolution taken at St. Omers, and the time and manner of executing that reso-



lution, can leave no fears in the mind of any one as to the line which your Majesty will pursue upon the approaching occasion. Long and cruel as your sufferings have been, the time is not distant when those sufferings will receive their compensation. It is difficult to say whether it be a good or an evil to suffer greatly and to enjoy great compensation; or, at least, it is difficult to say whether these be not preferable to an absence of sorrow, and also an absence of great triumph. It will require much to make your Majesty amends for all your unmerited persecution; but, if the remainder of your life spent amongst a people who will love and honour you, can make you that amends, there is no man in England who doubts that you will receive it. Your enemies have accused the people of disloyalty; and unhappily the slanderers have hitherto been believed. To these slanders the conduct of the people towards your Majesty is the best answer; and now these slanderers have found out that disloyalty consists in disinterested attachment to a Queen. *Revolution*, hitherto regarded as so glorious, is now the bugbear conjured up to frighten the timid and the foolish. Your Majesty is too wise to participate in the sot-sickening alarm. It is for the cowardly, the debauched, the companion of drunkards, of gamblers, and of filthy tale-bearers; it is for those who can neither walk nor speak till stimulated by potions: it is for such to be haunted with the fear of revolu-

tion, and to turn pale at the shout of a holiday troop. Your Majesty has seen the world, has travelled in inhospitable countries, has been rocked by the waves of the sea, and slept under the thunders of the east. Your Majesty has experience; that great teacher of knowledge; your natural courage, has been confirmed by a familiarity with dangers; you are capable of great exertion, great application, are blessed with great aptitude of mind, and are capable of arduous application; and with all these endowments joined with a happy constitution, and those manners which are at once a subject of admiration and of dread with your enemies, commotions, convulsions, revolutions, may come, if your enemies will have it so; but, even in the midst of these, your Majesty would have nothing to fear.

The writer of this paper knows, probably, as much as most men how the public in England feel with regard to your Majesty; and he happens to know more than most men of the feelings upon the same subject of the people in America. In that country where the society is composed of its moral and religious people as any in the world, and where every thing of importance relating to England, is as well understood as it is here; it is the universal opinion, that your Majesty has, from the first been most unjustly and cruelly treated. The solicitude for your Majesty's welfare is not greater even in England than it is in that country.



I have a thousand times been asked whether I thought, that "*the poor Princess*" would have justice done her, when she came to be Queen. When the news arrived of the death of the Princess Charlotte, the English consul at the city of New York called a meeting to address his present Majesty upon the subject; and the meeting resolved also that an address of condolence should be forwarded to your Majesty. The consul, whose name is Buchanan, and who was appointed to his office by Castlereagh, having objected to this, he was obliged to withdraw and get his own address to the Regent signed in a corner. The people of that country are very good judges of the question. They have read every thing relating to it; and in the whole ten millions I do not believe that ten are to be found whose kindest and most ardent wishes are not with your Majesty. Your Majesty's enemies have made you an object of interest all over the world. They have excited a feeling in your favour to the ends of the earth. The people of England have the eyes of all nations upon them at this moment; and the world will see that Englishmen will do their duty.

With sentiments of the profoundest respect,

I am,

Your Majesty's

Most obedient and most  
humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

## A PEEP AT THE PEERS.

Faith! I find that this is no *peep*, but a very *full look* at the thing. This work is of a far more extensive nature, I am told, than was anticipated. The complications and ramifications, the links, the hooks, and the ties are so numerous, that the work requires about twenty times the labour that it was expected to require. However, if report speak truth, the labour will not be lost; for the thing is said to be really prodigious. It will, I am told, make it's appearance on Tuesday next, or on Wednesday at latest; and if the authors take my advice, they will dedicate it to her Majesty, the Queen; for it appears to me, more likely to be of use to *her* Majesty, than to any other person in the kingdom, though it cannot fail, I think, to be of great use to us all.

## WARWICK ASSIZES.

The result of the prosecution against Mr. Wooler, Major Cartwright, Mr. Lewis, Mr. Maddocks, and Mr. Edmonds, is such as will surprise nobody who has been an observer of what has been passing for some time. The Defendants behaved with great courage, and displayed in their defence great ability. They are amongst the many that have been doomed to suffer in this great struggle. But, they ought to feel consoled by the reflection, that the cause of truth and justice will finally triumph. They are amongst those men, who will hereafter be objects of national gratitude.

men who had seen him on the preceding day concluded that he would have been unable to attend. "But," said Mr. Moore, "here I am." (*Applause.*) The subject which they had to consider was that noisome, pestiferous, infectious, scurrilous, false and filthy green bag.—(*Cheers.*) The Queen—God protect her! (*loud cheers and shouts of Amen!*)—was only a great instument by which the consideration of the rights of the people of England was brought before the country. In defending her rights they protected their own—in supporting their own rights they upheld her's. (*Applause.*) For they would give him leave to say, that this foul Bill of Pains and Penalties—he would call it a bill of falsehoods and perjuries,—was intimately connected with the liberties of the people. (*Applause.*) If it were passed, it would be a disgrace for any man to sit in the House of Commons. They would be, in that case, no longer under the controul and protection of fixed and established law: and none but the minions of power—none but the persecutors of this unfortunate lady—would be fit to sit in Parliament. (*Applause.*) Members of Parliament might say what they would, but the voice of the people ought to be obeyed. To support the interests of the people ought to be their primary study—all else was alien. (*Applause.*) If members did not go to the House of Commons to protect the rights of their representatives against illegal inroads, such as were

now attempted, they had better stay away. (*Applause.*) The people, under such circumstances, would be better without a House of Commons, since it only became a legal instrument of oppression. (*Cheers.*) He had for a long time been returned to Parliament for the same city. This honour, he believed, had been conferred on him, on account of the fidelity and consistency of his conduct. During the period that he had sat in Parliament he had seen many of these green bags. It was not, therefore, to an insulated green bag, but to the system—to a prolongation of green bags—that he called their attention. The system began with Mr. Pitt, at the commencement of the French war. It had gone on for a long series of years, and, if not stopped now, it would go on till nothing was left of the constitution but the name. (*Applause.*) He had scanned the contents of various green bags for twenty years, during which he had been a representative of the people; and he had paid attention to others for ten years before he had arrived at that honour. They had had many green bags; but they would begin with five or six in a bundle. Gentlemen knew what the Civil List was. (*Laughter, and cries of "Yes!"*) They knew it, at all events, by name. It was what the American General Lee, in his celebrated Letter to the King of Poland, called the source from which Members of Parliament were bribed. In Mr. Burke's bill for regulating the Civil List, a clause was in-

introduced, and continued for a long time afterwards, which set forth certain provisions which were necessary "for the more effectually preserving the independence of Members of Parliament." But, latterly, that clause had been left out; so that it was now almost avowed, that, as General Lee said, the Civil List was the source of parliamentary corruption. During the late reign they had several of these green bags, or rather they had matters connected with the Civil List repeatedly laid before select committees. When a message came from the Throne, as it was said (but, in fact, it was the message of ministers—the King was mostly ignorant of it, and, let him have ever so good a heart, he was likely to be deceived,) a select committee was appointed to take it into consideration. These committees, for some years past, had been called on to transact a deal of business. The compact which was entered into at the commencement of the last reign was 800,000*l.* per annum. The Civil List, however, soon got into arrears—arrears of 500,000*l.* of 800,000*l.* and of 1,000,000*l.* accrued from time to time.—Messages came down from the Throne on this subject, which were, as usual, sent to a select committee. To whom were those messages referred? Why, to the very men who wanted the money. (*Great applause.*) It was very true that members of the Opposition were frequently placed on those committees—and, by-and-by, when he came to speak of the suspen-

sion of the Habeas Corpus Act, which was effected through the medium of a Green Bag, he would show what the Opposition had done; for he was determined, on a great public question, neither to spare his friend nor his enemy. (*Applause.*) When a message of the kind to which he had alluded was submitted to a committee, a member might move, as his friend, Mr. Tierney, had often done, "that such and such persons be called and examined, and directed to produce their vouchers for the sums claimed by them." "O! no," said members, "that won't do at all; if we do that, we must be detected. No; we must have no examination of persons—we must keep to the dry vote—yes or no; and, as there were generally about 18 ministerial to 3 opposition votes on these committees, the sum called for was voted. This was a good picture of a Green Bag Committee, though it went under the denomination of a Civil List Committee. The only difference between the two was this:—the Green Bag Committee acted when some attack was to be made on the Constitution—the Civil List Committee exerted its powers when a portion of property was to be taken from the people. As he had before said, the compact with the Crown fixed the Civil List at 800,000*l.* a year; but in the course of time it had increased to nearly 1,400,000*l.*; and, besides that sum, arrears to the amount of 9,500,000*l.* were paid off at different periods: Such was the

## MIDDLESEX MEETING.

Pursuant to a public requisition, directed to the Sheriff of Middlesex, a meeting was held on Tuesday at the Mermaid tavern, Hackney, to take into consideration the propriety of presenting an Address to the Queen. The meeting was fixed for twelve o'clock; but at that hour very few individuals had assembled. Before one o'clock the great room was completely filled, and the Sheriff not making his appearance, much disapprobation was shewn. At half-past one o'clock Mr. Sheriff Parkins made his appearance, and was received with much applause. He was accompanied by Mr. P. Moore, Dr. Parr, Mr. Sam. Whitbread, Mr. Alderman Waithman, and Mr. Alderman Wood, who were hailed with the most enthusiastic cheers.

After a short pause Mr. Sheriff PARKINS advanced to the front of the hustings, and apologized to the assembly for the delay which, he observed, had unavoidably taken place. A gentleman, whose presence was absolutely necessary on this occasion, had been accidentally delayed on the road, and to that circumstance alone was the postponement of the proceedings to be attributed. He would now proceed to business in a summary way; but before he did so, he wished to say a few words to the meeting; and, for fear they should be misrepresented, he would have them read. He then proceeded to

read a written paper, in which he complained of the venality of the newspaper press, charging it, in general, with sending forth unfaithful statements to the public of the proceedings of public men, and declaring that no man had been more frequently misrepresented by it than he had been: and he accused the press of the metropolis with being subservient to those who paid it best. From this general censure he excluded the Sunday newspapers. From amidst the host of talent and integrity which that part of the public press comprises, he particularly selected *The Examiner*, *The Constitution*, and *The Independent Whig*. The last-mentioned paper had voluntarily and gratuitously inserted the advertisement relative to the meeting of this day, which *The Times* newspaper had refused to receive unless paid for beforehand. The address then went on in substance to declare Mr. Sheriff Parkins's opinion that meetings of this description were calculated to defeat rather than to serve the great object which all good men had in view—that of conciliation. He, however, was ready to sacrifice his own private opinions to the sentiments expressed by a large body of respectable individuals. The principle that governed his conduct on this occasion was, that the most exalted officer in the state, was only the highest servant of the nation. That principle he had always professed; he had brought it with him into office, and he should always adhere to it. Would to God that

a proper respect for the feelings of great public bodies was more attended to by the three estates of the realm! If that had been the case, the question which the freeholders were now assembled to canvass would never have come under their consideration. In conclusion, the worthy Sheriff, by his address, expressed his desire that nothing should be offered to the meeting save what was strictly in unison with the terms of the requisition.

The requisition (signed by 68 freeholders) calling on the Sheriff to convene the meeting, was then read.

A person, whose name we understood to be FLANNAGAN, moved that the correspondence between Mr. Sheriff Rothwell and Mr. Sheriff Parkins be read to the meeting.

Mr. Sheriff PARKINS said he had a number of papers on the subject adverted to, which were at the service of the hon. gentleman.

Mr. FLANNAGAN observed, that he wished those documents to be read, in order to shew to the meeting why Mr. Sheriff Rothwell was not present on this occasion.

Mr. P. MOORE said, as the correspondence was complimentary to the Sheriff, he thought it ought to be read.

Mr. Sheriff PARKINS.—“As I am not a man of compliment, I will dispense with it.”—(*Applause.*)

Mr. P. MOORE then proceeded to address the meeting.—He began by observing that his name was not attached to the requisition which had just been read;

but he certainly would have signed it if he had had timely notice that such a meeting was in contemplation. He had been, on all occasions, most happy to meet his brother freeholders of the county of Middlesex, when they thought proper to enter on the discussion of any great subject connected with public affairs. He attended for that purpose on the present occasion. Some gentlemen, who meant to have taken a prominent part in the proceedings, having been accidentally delayed on the road, he was called on to introduce the subject to the meeting, and he would fulfil the task which had devolved on him to the best of his ability. They were, he conceived, much indebted to their patriotic Sheriff—and it was not often they met a patriotic Sheriff, Mayor, or Magistrate, who would call them together for the purpose of consulting on the safety of the constitution—to him they were much indebted on this and on many other occasions, for his readiness in acceding to the popular voice. (*Cheers.*) As the worthy Sheriff dispensed with the compliment which was contained in the documents that had been recently adverted to, he (Mr. Moore) deemed it proper that the substance of those documents should be stated, because, in his opinion, a compliment so well merited ought not to be lost. (*Applause.*) He would now proceed to the business of the day, and he hoped they would make some degree of allowance for an invalid, for such he was. Indeed, some gentle-

tween that dictum and the Green Bag which had been lately laid before Parliament. The first was the most reverend father in God, the Archbishop of Canterbury; then came the Archbishop of York; and after him the Primate of Ireland.—What the devil had the Primate of Ireland to do with the Queen of England? (*Laughter.*) Then, to fill up a vacuum, as it were, came the Bishop of London; and, in short, there were 21 of them who declared that no intercourse should be allowed between the mother and her daughter. Would it be believed that this advice had come from the church, whose duty it was, in a peculiar manner, to console the afflicted? Consolation, indeed! No; instead of consoling the illustrious lady, who was the object of persecution, they said, "We will add to the distress and the persecution which she already suffers, the deprivation of those comforts which she derives from the feelings of a mother." He was happy to say that there were many men belonging to the church who were an honour to their profession, who honestly paid their debts, and discharged in the most honourable manner every duty that they owed to society; but he had no hesitation in saying that it was the humbler clergy who preserved the Established Church. In conclusion, he called on the freeholders to adhere tenaciously to the Constitution and the rights which it guaranteed; and, by protecting her Majesty from all indignity, to show themselves worthy of the

name of Britons, worthy of the high character of British subjects, and worthy of such a Queen. (*Loud applause.*)

The hon. gentleman then proposed the following resolutions, which were seconded by Dr. Parr:—

"1. That this meeting do vote an Address to her Majesty the Queen, to congratulate her Majesty upon her arrival in this country; to condole with her upon the sufferings her Majesty has experienced, and of the persecutions she has undergone: and at the same time to express our admiration at the proofs which her Majesty has given in her conduct of that frankness, integrity, and generosity of character, which so well entitle her to the affections and to the support of all ranks of the community.

"2. That the Bill of Pains and Penalties against her Majesty the Queen, lately introduced into the House of Lords, is replete with matter of alarm, both in its present effects and its more remote probable contingencies.

"3. That the Queen, as a subject, ought to have the same advantage as other subjects in the fair and equal protection of the laws.

"4. That by the present Bill of Pains and Penalties her Majesty is placed out of the protection of the existing laws, of which, without injustice, the most humble subject cannot be deprived.

"5. That the government of these realms is a limited monarchy, and therefore totally incompatible with an arbitrary legislation.

"6. That the present Bill of Pains and Penalties against her Majesty the Queen, partakes, in its spirit and its character, more of the nature of a despotic than a free government.

"7. That the vague manner in which the charges against her Majesty are stated in the Bill, leads us to suppose that an attempt will be made to infer the guilt of adultery from a multiplicity of loose and incoherent particulars, rather than to prove it by one specific act of criminality.

"8. That all the dearest interests of the country, both present and future, both in immediate certainty and in



more remote probability, require that the Bill of Pains and Penalties should be withdrawn from the House of Lords, and that her Majesty should, out of delay, be established in all her prerogatives, rights, privileges, and immunities, as Queen Consort of these realms.

"9. Resolved, That an address, founded on the foregoing resolutions, be adopted by this meeting; that the sheriffs and members of the county, together with the committee of the requisitionists, and such persons as they shall name, be requested to accompany the same to the Queen, on as early a day as she may be pleased to fix.

"10. Resolved, That the representatives of this county, George Byng and Samuel Charles Whitbread, Esqrs. have full instructions to oppose, with every exertion on their part, that odious Bill of Pains and Penalties, should it unhappily be introduced into the House of Commons.

"11. Resolved, That the sheriff be requested to wait upon some Peer in Parliament, to require him to present the same."

Mr. MILLS begged leave to propose an amendment to the fifth resolution. He considered the government of the country to be a limited monarchy, a limited aristocracy, and a limited democracy; and, therefore, he objected to the unqualified term "monarchy," as implying the government of one person, though he was aware that this had of late become a common mode of expression. In the phraseology of Mr. Canning, his Majesty's ministers were called the government of the country; but they were so, in fact, no more than his Majesty's grooms. (*Applause.*) There was in England no government but that of law; the King himself was only the administrator of the laws, and, ere the crown was placed on his head, he must swear to

administer them justly and faithfully. He thought that to address the Queen at all on this occasion was erroneous: they should have gone to the King at once, to tell him that he had been imposed upon, and to pray that he would separate himself from the counsels of those who had deceived him. He never could believe that the man who had been beloved by Fox, and revered by Erskine, was such as ministers had endeavoured to represent him to the country. With this feeling he had prepared an address to his Majesty, which he had intended to submit to the meeting for their approbation; but, as he understood that another address would be proposed, he should merely read his own as a part of his speech, without moving that it be adopted by the freeholders. [He then read the address to which he referred. It commenced by congratulating his Majesty on his accession to the throne. After claiming the right of petitioning the throne, it expressed the sorrow and indignation of the petitioners that, without his Majesty's sanction, or that of the legislature, certain overtures had been made to her Majesty Queen Caroline, by an agent acting under the immediate direction of his Majesty's servants, which had for their avowed object the treasonable design of inducing the Queen, by an illegal bribe and an audacious threat, to renounce her just right to a participation in the throne of these realms. It concluded by praying that his Majesty would institute such an

result of the money Green Bag system. He would now touch on the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act a short time ago, which measure, with all its mischiefs, was to be traced to Green Bag information—to the information contained in a Green Bag, of a different description from the present, but no less replete with filth and falsehood. That Habeas Corpus Green Bag accused persons of all ranks throughout the country with treasonable and wicked designs. These accusations were founded on well-calculated perjuries and feasible falsehoods. Well, a committee was appointed to examine its contents, and five members of opposition were nominated on it. The committee made their report, and they were unanimous in declaring that the situation of the country was such as rendered a suspension of the Habeas Corpus necessary. (*Shame, shame.*) But, from what had since appeared, those whom he addressed must feel, that the Green Bag of that day was just as false and unfounded as the Green Bag which occasioned them now to assemble together. He had a conversation on this subject with an hon. friend of his (Mr. Ponsonby), who was then the leader of the Opposition, and to whom they had given their full confidence. He said to that individual, "My good friend, what kind of evidence had you as to the truth of the contents of this Green Bag?" "Why," said he, "they are founded on dispatches—they are supported by every kind of formality—and we

believe those statements." His (Mr. Moore's) answer was,—"Then you believe what is false; but I will not tell you why I think so till the report is brought before the House:" and when the report was presented he stood up in his place, and declared that it was a libel on the nation. (*Applause.*) "The Habeas Corpus Act was, however, suspended; and they all knew the mischief that followed.—The Manchester business had a Green Bag of another kind. It was an open one, containing the statements of magistrates, informers, constables, spies, and he knew not what other parties! Their depositions went through all the letters of the alphabet, three times told. But when it was asked, "What people are these? Who is Mr. E.? Who is Mr. K.? and who is Mr. X.?" the answer was, "O! we cannot tell you; there is the matter before you, and you can have no farther information." (*Applause.*) At length the Green Bag relative to the Queen was laid on the table of the House of Commons, and language was held which created alarm in the minds of ministers. He (Mr. Moore), after witnessing what had been the result of former Green Bags, told the House, that, to save trouble, instead of referring the Green Bag then produced to a select committee, it would be just as well to turn it upside down at once, and write *Guilty* upon it. (*Laughter.*) But a report had been made elsewhere on this foul and filthy bag, as it had been properly denominated by an hon.



and worthy baronet, the greatest patriot of England, Sir F. Burdett (*cheers*), and he looked upon that proceeding to be a gross stretch of authority, an insupportable distum of power. No, tyrant, on the face of the earth, could have gone a shorter or a more effectual way to work. (*Applause.*) A pause took place in the House of Commons—even Hypocrisy came forward to produce that pause. (*Laughter.*) What was proposed? Ministers found it necessary to take another course, and instead of insisting that the House of Commons should write *Guilty* on the Green Bag, they were advised, like hypocrites of the church, to fall down on their knees and pray for forgiveness. (*Applause.*) Let that advice come from what mouth it might, it had done good. Here he thought it would be proper, amongst other points, to look to the conduct of the church. It was necessary to consider what their churchmen were about. They ought to afford consolation to the distressed—they ought to administer comfort to those who were persecuted; and yet, he believed, they would find that some of them were the supporters and protectors of this Bill of Pains and Penalties. (*Shame, shame.*) Some of them had gone into the Secret Committee, and had returned a verdict of "*Guilty*" on the back of the Green Bag. If the bill which he had just spoken of passed, away went their whole code of laws—the Constitution was gone, and they would only have to lament that

they had not taken up the business sooner. Ministers had explicitly told them that they were not going to try this illustrious person by the laws of the country, but that they were going to make laws for the purpose. They could not regulate their proceedings according to the existing law; but they felt it necessary to form laws that would sanction their unconstitutional conduct. The hon. gentleman proceeded to observe, that he would excuse the formality of a grand jury in this case; he would overlook the formality of having the witnesses' names on the back of the bill—he would even overlook the interference of a petty jury; but, he demanded what was of more importance than all, who were the accusers? (*Applause.*) He was sorry to say that all the persecutions the Queen had undergone were aided, and countenanced by the first and highest orders of the church. He held in his hand a list of those whose duty it was to console the afflicted and support the distressed, but who, in violation of that duty, had come forward and proposed to sever, in the most unnatural manner, the ties of nature. Those dignitaries of the church to whom he alluded, and who seemed to look more to their rent-rolls than to their rubrics (*a laugh*), had advised that all intercourse between the mother and the daughter should be prohibited. (*Cries of, read, read.*) It would be sufficient to read a few of the names, and the first on the list would show the connection be-

said to that adject body was, "Gentlemen, we cannot manage you—you have insulted us by kicking out our green bag—we shall therefore take it ourselves to another quarter, where we can be certain of having our darling secret committees." (Cheers.) What might be the consequences of that measure it was impossible for him to tell; but, happen what might, he could not look upon it without experiencing sensations of the utmost horror. It was not they who stood forward in behalf of the rights of her Majesty who could be justly accused of creating riot and disorder: it was those who assailed them that created it, and he believed that nothing would excite greater satisfaction in their minds than any tumult which would give them new reasons for enacting new laws against the liberty of their country. He had now only to inform them that he should be extremely happy to accede to their request, and to present the petition which they had just adopted. He thought that her Majesty might address her royal husband in the language of Queen Catherine:—

"Mr. I desire you, do me right and justice,

"And to bestow your pity on me; for  
"I am a most poor woman, and a stranger,

"Born out of your dominions, having  
"here

"No judge indifferent, nor no more  
"assurance,

"Of equal friendship and proceeding."

After a few other remarks on the same subject, he retired from the front of the hustings, but

shortly afterwards came forward and said that he had forgotten one of the subjects on which he had intended to address them. His colleague (Mr. Byng) had gone with his family abroad some weeks ago, and there had not been time since the meeting had been called to give him notice of it.

Mr. MILLS then rose, and said that he had an address to his Majesty in his hand, which, whether he moved it or not, he could wish to read to the meeting, in order to record the sentiments which he entertained upon this most important subject. He would preface what he had to say upon it with a remark or two upon the constitution of the House of Lords. He was not sufficiently acquainted with the history of that body to say when it became possessed of judicial authority, nor would he give an opinion whether such authority did or did not rightfully belong to it. This, however, he would say—that he called in question the right of twenty-eight members of that House to decide upon the point whether her Majesty should or should not be put into possession of a list of the witnesses who were to appear against her. Even supposing the House collectively to have the power of making such a decision, still he thought that a part, and a small part of it too, could not be equally possessed of it: if they could be so possessed of it, their ministers were also possessed of it; and, whenever there was any obnoxious individual whom they wished to crush,

would only have to erect themselves into the characters of judges, jurors, and accusers, in order to do it. He could see no reason why there should be a call of the House on the 17th of August, when there had not been one on the day when they had previously done a judicial action—he meant the day when they had refused her Majesty the names of those who were to appear as witnesses against her. The language of ministers to her Majesty was this:—“We will first examine witnesses against you, and will afterwards give you time to examine into their conduct and character just as long as you please: in the course of the proceedings you will learn where the witnesses live, and that circumstance will help you in your examinations.” But supposing that, upon inquiry, no such person as the witness was described to be was to be found in Venice, or in any other part of Italy, what would Sir R. Gifford say then? He would say, “You observe that you can’t make out who the witness is whom I have produced against you: it may be so; but what then? Have you any thing to say in contradistinction to the evidence produced against you, and can you prove what has been alleged against you to be entirely untrue? Good God of Heaven! what woman, if accused of adultery, could be acquitted on a trial conducted upon such circumstances? Ought not the witnesses to be cross-examined in the very box, and at the very time, in which they were committing their perjury?”

He thought that they ought, especially when he recollected the fate which had attended on the Douglasses, and the perjuries which it appeared to him that they were daily in the habit of swearing. What, he would ask, was the reason why Lord Eldon had screened them from such prosecution? To prevent a recurrence of similar scenes in future, he could wish the address which he had in his hand to be read over to them.

“TO THE KING’S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

“The humble Petition of the Inhabitants of the county of Middlesex, in county meeting assembled,

“May it please your Majesty,

“We, your Majesty’s dutiful and loyal subjects, the inhabitants of the county of Middlesex, approach your Majesty’s throne with feelings of the most profound sorrow at perceiving that your Majesty’s advisers are carrying on an unfair, an unjust, and a cruel prosecution against your royal and long-oppressed Consort.

“We cannot but remember the former foul attempts to destroy her Majesty’s fair fame; and, in the present proceeding, we but too clearly see a revival of those attempts. We remember the perjuries that were committed against her, and we also remember the impunity of the perjurers.

“Evidence collected in the dark, communicated in sealed bags, submitted to a secret committee, and by that committee moulded into a charge of crime, is so abhorrent from our ideas of justice, that we cannot refrain from praying that it may never be suffered to be a ground of proceeding against her Majesty.

“To punish by bill is, in our apprehension, wholly contrary to the laws and constitution of England; but when we see the accusers also the judges and jurors, and when we well know that a decided majority of the whole assembly are, at all times, disposed to act in conformity with the wishes of your Majesty’s advisers; we should be guilty of a shameful want of

inquiry into the conduct of his servants as might bring to punishment those persons who should be convicted of these treasonable proceedings.] He concluded by moving the following amendment to the resolutions:—

"That the Government of these realms is administered by the King, whose power is limited by law; but that a regal power so limited is incompatible with an arbitrary legislature."

This amendment was agreed to, and all the resolutions having been put *seriatim*, were carried unanimously.

Mr. MOORE next moved an address to her Majesty, founded on the preceding resolutions.

The address to the Queen, founded upon the above resolutions, was then read, put, and carried without any dissentient voice.

Mr. P. MOORE then begged leave to propose that the address should be presented by Mr. Sheriff Parkins, and the two Members of Parliament for Middlesex.

Mr. MILLS was of opinion that Sir F. Burdett and John Cam Hobhouse, Esq. should be requested to attend whenever the address was presented to her Majesty.

Mr. P. MOORE thought that it might be advisable to have the address presented by a deputation of freeholders.

Mr. Sheriff PARKINS thought that, if a deputation should be appointed to wait upon her Majesty with the address which had just been read to the meeting, it ought not to be limited as to the numbers composing it.

Those who were inclined to go up with the address would be thoroughly welcome.

The motion was then put, and carried unanimously.

Mr. Sheriff PARKINS informed the meeting, that he was ready to attend upon her Majesty with the address which had just been adopted at any moment which her Majesty might think it good to appoint. Of course he could not answer for the line of conduct which his colleague, Mr. Rothwell, might be inclined to follow.

MR. S. WHITEHEAD then came forward, and said, that as he had been desired to go up with the address which they had just voted, he must request their attention to a few observations which he felt it necessary to make to them on the present occasion. The answer to the desire which they had intimated to him might be conveyed in one of two words, "Yes," or "No." To him it appeared both more just and more advisable that he should say "Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in obeying your commands;" but to others, with whom he had no right to quarrel on account of their political opinions, it seemed still better to say, "Gentlemen, I will not obey your commands." It was his opinion, that, even if he differed from them upon this question, he was at least bound to present their address, however opposite it might be to his own feelings; but as, instead of being opposed to their feelings, he went all the way with them, he should incur the impropriety of saying a few more

words to them than were absolutely necessary for the explanation of the opinions which he entertained regarding her Majesty's conduct. Before he entered upon these observations, he could not help remarking, that the time in which their present meeting was holden was rather awkward, on account of the demise which had recently happened in the Royal Family. By meeting at so early a day after the occurrence of that event, they rendered themselves liable to be charged with having a design to excite tumult and disaffection in the country. But what was the meaning of those individuals who were ready to raise that cry against them? He would tell them: they were weak enough to think that, as they had tyrannized for so long a period over the people without meeting with the slightest resistance, they would be able to tyrannize in the same manner also over her Majesty. (*Cheers.*) The courage and fortitude of the Queen had, however, frustrated all their expectations: in coming over to England, in spite of the menaces which had been thrown out against her, she had not excited less admiration in her friends, than she had terror and alarm among her enemies, who, whatever other weaknesses might be attributed to them, could not be charged with that of possessing too much courage. Those individuals, soon after they had uttered their threats, found that they had got themselves into a dreadful scrape, and wished to get out of it by

persuading the country that they were ready to come to a compromise with her Majesty. But what was their manner of entering into a compromise? Why, they said, "We will retract nothing, but you must concede every thing." Before they will make the country believe that they were in earnest in making such a proposition to her Majesty, they must make a law to throw a cloud over the good sense and intelligence of England; and, indeed, if they were determined to exercise their tyranny long, they must have recourse even to stronger measures than those which they had recently adopted. What was the next step which they had taken? Nothing less than a recommendation of the House of Commons to her Majesty to abstain from asserting and vindicating her own innocence. As to the proposition which had been made and carried to that effect, he must be excused for saying that he could put no other construction upon it than this—that in addressing her Majesty on that subject they had said, "We have insulted you most grossly; but we cannot be happy until you shall have consented to insult yourself." (*Lord cheers.*) The Queen, he was glad to say, possessed too much spirit and fortitude to submit to so insulting a recommendation. The step which ministers had taken after this fully proved to him that they were well aware how much they had been beaten in the House of Commons. Indeed, the last thing which they had

was intimately connected with the best interests of the country; and sorry he was, that, in delivering his sentiments on this occasion, he was obliged to call to the minds of his afflicted countrymen a time full of public misfortune and private suffering—a time when innocent blood had been shed by that sword which should only be used against the enemies of the country, but which had been wielded against the people, peaceably and legally assembled.—The present period was replete on every side with party feeling and political animosity, and therefore was one of extreme danger. He might say further, that it was one of extreme weakness on the part of the people, and of extreme power on the part of their oppressors. Though they had now arrived at the seventh year of peace, the present period was more cruel than a time of absolute war. That so much vaunted period of peace was a long term of unmitigable suffering. (*Applause.*) They saw the sword still brandished in the eyes of the peaceable citizens. The government would not lay down its arms, and yet they had no other enemies than the people of England. (*Applause.*) He well knew what every Englishman must feel when he saw that a government of the sword had superseded the government of the laws—when he saw the land covered with barracks, and beheld fortifications rising in every part of the country. All this was done with no pretence of foreign danger, without any

apprehension save that which the expression of public sentiment and public feeling instilled into the minds of those who held the reins of government. (*Applause.*) Under these circumstances it was that the same reports of Secret Committees, the same modes of secret accusation, were made use of to oppress the Queen, that had formerly been resorted to for the oppression of the people. The people had been the victim of green-bag information, and their laws, rights, and liberties, had been suspended on the reports of secret committees. The lives of many of them had been risked in consequence of their attempts to propagate constitutional principles; the health of some had been sacrificed by long protracted confinement for the same cause; and accumulated sufferings were heaped on all those who had dared to think for themselves. Individuals had been incarcerated for two, three, five, and one individual whom he knew, for seven years, without being brought to any trial—without being called to face any accuser. Therefore it was that he called their attention to the mode of trial adopted in this case, because if they did not make a stand against the extraordinary danger with which they were threatened, no man in the land, from the highest to the lowest, could hope to escape such treatment. To call it a judicial proceeding would be an abuse of language. What ministers quoted as precedents were nothing but acts of atrocious tyranny; but not one of

them was to be compared to that monstrous acme of injustice which was attempted in the present instance. (Here the hon. bart. alluded to the bills against Bishop Atterbury and Sir John Fenwick, both of which he strongly condemned.) It would have been more to the honour of those who were the authors of those bills—more to the honour of the Revolution—more to the honour of those who came into power after the Revolution, and more conducive to the safety of the government of King William, if a more constitutional course had been pursued; and if, by violating the laws in order to reach one individual, a precedent had not been found which exposed the liberties of posterity to destruction. There were other acts of a similar nature besides those to which he had adverted; but they were to be found only in the reign of that monster Henry VIII., who had a short way of getting rid of his wives. Times, however, were now changed; the public mind would not bear such proceedings; ministers could not get into that bloody course which those precedents pointed out. What were all those precedents but so many acts of tyrannical power wreaked on the victims of royal vengeance, which should be pointed out, as shoals to be avoided, as beacons of infamy, instead of being made use of by ministers to justify their own conduct to the world? (*Applause.*) With respect to this lady, she seemed, of all human beings, to be placed in

the most extraordinary situation; she appeared, from the first to last, attended by a train of misfortunes, which nothing but her own magnanimity and courage could enable her to stand up against—such a train of misfortunes, that, let her conduct herself in whatever way she might, she was sure to create enemies. Whatever actions were attributed to her—whatever qualities she was said to possess, whether they were good or bad—they had had the sure effect of inducing some persons to take part against her. Her amiable qualities were no protection to her; “her virtues were sanctified and holy traitors to her;” one party persecuted her on account of the hatred they bore to her vices, and another party abandoned her out of love and affection to her virtues. (*Applause.*) She was, however, in his opinion, entitled to the support of every honest and every manly mind: he thought the decision she had evinced, the firmness she had exhibited, the magnanimity with which she had come forward to meet the charge made against her, by throwing herself on that sense of justice for which the people of this country ever were and ever would be renowned, demanded the confidence of the nation. They were bound to believe her innocent, when she came to this country and defied all the statements of her most virulent enemies. She called on them to substantiate the charge against her, to bring her face to face with her accusers, or else to

duty towards your Majesty if we refrain from expressing to you our conviction, that, in this case, the world will never be satisfied with the decision of that assembly, whose disposition has been but too clearly manifested in its refusal to furnish her Majesty with the names of the witnesses to be brought against her—in a like refusal with regard to the names of the places where the alleged offences were committed—and in the monstrous measure of promulgating the bill so long a time before it permitted her Majesty to offer any thing in her defence, and by which promulgation it must necessarily have been intended to cause her Majesty to be prejudged by the world, and to bring her to trial already covered with infamy.

“Therefore, relying on your Majesty's gracious disposition—appealing to your Royal justice against the machinations of your advisers—we most humbly pray that your Majesty will be pleased to restrain those advisers; and to afford your Royal Consort the means of fair and open trial before a lawful tribunal.

“And your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.”

Mr. Sheriff PARKINS could not allow this resolution to be put in silence; the subject on which it was founded was not once mentioned in the requisition.

Mr. MILLS maintained a contrary opinion.

The requisition was then read, upon which

Mr. Sheriff PARKINS said that he was willing to give the most liberal construction to it possible; but it certainly could not bear the construction which was now attempted to place upon it. If gentlemen wished to call another meeting on that point, he should be happy to give them an opportunity of doing it. (*Cheers.*)

Loud cries were then heard of “withdraw, withdraw;” af-

ter which Mr. Mills withdrew his proposition.

Mr. Alderman WATMAN declared, that when he first entered into that room, he had no intention of addressing them; and yet, when he told them that he had at last risen with considerable reluctance to place his sentiments before them, he trusted that they would not attribute that reluctance to a want of that common feeling which actuated the whole country, but to other causes, which were of a temporary and transitory nature; and which he had on a former occasion explained at some length to the electors of Middlesex.—He had, however, been asked to move one of the resolutions and as it was one well calculated to obtain and secure the approbation of the people, he thought it right to say a few words regarding it. It was to propose a petition to the Lords, founded on the resolutions which had been just read to them; and that petition—whatever might be the fate of the petition proposed to be presented to the King, was fully within the scope of the requisition.

The Petition was read, and carried, with only one dissentient voice. The reason of that dissent was afterwards stated to be, that the gentleman who expressed it did not think the Lords to be worth petitioning, and that no good could be effected by it.

SIR FRANCIS BURBETT, being loudly called on by the meeting, came forward, and was greeted with general cheers. He said he had arrived in town late last



night, and had then, for the first time, heard that the present meeting was convened. He was, at first, rather unwilling to attend, because, on such occasions, he conceived there ought to be a general and spontaneous burst of feelings, and that those who attended at one place should appear and take the lead at others. But he thought, at the same time, he should not pay proper respect to the independent freeholders of the county of Middlesex, if, being in town, he did not attend a meeting so convened. He had hoped, as the business had that day been discussed with so much ability by many individuals, that he would not have been called on to address the meeting; but as an hon. gentleman (Mr. Waithman) had expressed a wish that he should deliver his sentiments on this exhausted topic, he would state these observations that occurred to him at the moment. The worthy alderman who called him forward rendered the task imposed on him somewhat difficult, he having himself discussed the question with great force and eloquence. To address any assembly of Englishmen on this occasion, on a political subject, he felt to be more incumbent on him than he had ever felt it to be before, because it was a duty that could not be performed without some risk and danger. The government under which they now lived, whatever its incapacities might be, certainly possessed this capacity—that it well knew when to owe and when to pay (applause;) and the punish-

ments which had recently been inflicted on individuals looked rather like the paying off of old scores than visitations for present offences. In such a state of things innocence was no protection, caution was no security. No sagacity that any man might possess could induce him confidently to say, "I will perform my duties to the people of England, because I am secure under the laws of my country." (Applause.) For his own part, he was in the situation of those persons who had proceeded to such a length, that "to return was as tedious as to go on."—Undoubtedly no honour could be gained by retreating, whatever danger might be incurred by proceeding farther. The principles he had adopted were well known to the country, and he hoped he should always have the fortitude to maintain them with firmness. (Applause.) He considered this subject in precisely the same light as the honourable member for Coventry: he did not look on it so much on account of any particular individual, however elevated the rank of that individual might be; he did not view it with such deep anxiety because a Queen of England was intimately connected with the pending proceedings, although that was a cause sufficient to interest every manly mind. These circumstances were undoubtedly of moment; but they were insignificant when compared with the great cause of public justice. It was not difficult to address one's self to an assembly on a topic like this, because it

state her innocence to the public, and pay to her that respect which was due to her high rank. Fortunately for her Majesty her cause had been taken up by the great body of the people at large, and had been supported with great force and ability by the uncorrupt and honourable part of the press. Before ministers pushed this measure further, let them look at the gulf that was yawning at their feet. If they were not as blind as moles—and their work was equally dark and dirty—they would see that the same pit that buried the crown of the Queen might also swallow up the crown of the King. When precedents were new formed, for arbitrary and oppressive purposes, there was no security for the length to which they might be carried. It was alleged by Ministers that this was a national question, and that the state was interested in the investigation which they had been pleased to institute. But how could any act committed by her Majesty on the banks of Como be said to be a national question? And was it to be endured that this construction was to be given under the cant of religion and morality? Could morality and religion say, that the nation were to be shocked at the knowledge of her Majesty's conduct in Italy, which knowledge was only communicated to the country through the representatives of that religion and that morality? If such circumstances were calculated to shock the feelings of a nation, and to become the grounds of

depriving a sovereign of rank and power, none but a saint could sit with safety on a throne. But, admitting the validity of the argument attempted to be founded on morality, was example on the part of the Queen only of importance to the nation? Surely the conduct of the King was in this respect at least an object of equal consideration? Whether ministers, in the dangerous path which they were now pursuing—a path beset with dangers both to the Crown and to the country—would attend to the warning voice of the public, was not the question to be considered at present. It was the duty of the people to express their opinions fearlessly and openly, whether they were attended to or neglected. (*Applause.*) After some further observations, in the course of which he condemned the punishments that had recently been inflicted on individuals who had been found guilty of exerting themselves in the cause of reform, particularly instancing the sentence of Mr. Hunt, which he described to be cruel and undeserved, the hon. Baronet concluded by declaring, that he was happy to lend his assistance on this occasion to oppose a system of government under which no man could possibly be safe.

Mr. HOBHOUSE was then loudly called for, and came forward amidst general cheers. He begged leave to assure them, in conjunction with his honourable and worthy colleague, Sir. F. Burdett, that his being present at the meeting was purely acci-

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dental, and that on entering the room he had no intention of troubling them with his sentiments on the momentous question which had called them together. If it had been thought difficult by those who had preceded him to secure the attention of the audience, he must feel that difficulty in a still greater degree; but, connected as he was with a large portion of the inhabitants of the metropolitan city, it was his duty to obey the call which had been made on him, and to speak his mind freely, without looking to any personal consequences. It was impossible at the present juncture for a man to know whether he was committing a crime or not; and perhaps he was at that moment subjecting himself to such punishment as his Majesty's Attorney-General might be pleased to inflict. He was convinced that those individuals who were now suffering in the cause of reform, and whose names had been mentioned by the hon. baronet, had been no more conscious that they were committing a crime upon the hustings at Manchester, or at Birmingham, than he was of violating the laws in addressing them at present. But, were he even sure of the same punishment that had been inflicted on these persons, he should not refrain from expressing his sentiments, and discharging his duty to his country (*applause*). The present attack on the Queen of England was no more than had been seen on other occasions: it was only one additional instance of open injustice, perpetrated by open force. It was

only the conviction of government—he meant his Majesty's ministers—that they had the power to do so, which emboldened them to make the attempt. But they had the satisfaction to know that even all the present ministers of the crown did not approve of the measures which had been pursued towards her Majesty; one of them had, in his place in parliament, expressed his reluctance to join in the prosecution, and had stated his opinion that her Majesty was as deserving as ever of affectionate regard (*applause*). And were not the people of England to believe so till the contrary were proved? Were they to be deterred from doing justice because the ministers deprecated and cried out against popular clamour? That which was now called clamour was the same voice that had been raised from one end of the country to the other when innocent persons had been sabred and trampled to death while legally and peaceably assembled in the exercise of their undoubted rights. The same arguments had been used on this occasion to prevent public meetings as had been urged after the Manchester massacre: requisitionists had been told by certain sheriffs, and other official persons, that they were not for prejudging the question. But in the case of the Manchester affair, when meetings were refused, had inquiry been ultimately instituted in parliament, and had redress been obtained for the injured? No; the answers of ministers in parliament had been, that the conduct of

the Magistrates and Yeomanry would become the subject of investigation in a court of law, and that therefore the question would be prejudged by a parliamentary inquiry; but when the trial of those accused by the government came on at York, no evidence could be admitted respecting the conduct of those who had committed the murders. In the same manner, when the bill at present pending in parliament against her Majesty should be passed, the people would be told that it was as absurd to express their opinion on the subject after the bill was passed, as it was improper to prejudice it before (*applause*). The prosecutors of her Majesty, in producing precedents for the course of proceeding which they had adopted, said they would not go farther back than the revolution. He would wish the people to go no farther back than the period of the revolution (*applause*). If ministers thought they could find, in the proceedings of that period, certain rules by which their conduct was to be regulated on the present occasion, the people might also think that they could find something which their ancestors had done with glory to themselves, and with benefit to the nation, and the example of which they might do well to imitate (*applause*).

Mr. FLANNAGAN moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Alderman Wood for his conduct in all the offices which he had hitherto filled, but particularly for the manner in which he had acted towards her Majesty the Queen.

The resolution was received with loud acclamations, and was unanimously agreed to.

Mr. Alderman Wood stopped forward to return thanks, but the expressions of approbation prevented him for some time from being heard. He had found it necessary, for reasons which they would excuse him for not stating, to remain silent on this question, not only in the House of Commons, but at all public meetings, and even in private society; yet he must not be altogether dumb in returning thanks for the honour they had done him. There was not a man, he was convinced, in that county, or in this kingdom, who, if he had been in possession of the same facts which had been known to him for several months, would have acted otherwise than he had done. He had knowledge that this illustrious lady was in the hands of betrayers; she had been placed in that situation, in which, if something had not speedily been done, she perhaps would never have reached these shores. She had evinced a bold and determined feeling; and in his opinion she was right in coming to England (*applause*). The whole empire had felt the justice of that sentiment; even ministers, who had attempted to prevent her from coming here, admitted, now that she had arrived, that she had acted correctly (*cheers*). In doing what he had done, he had merely performed his duty as an Englishman. Circumstances emanating from a high quarter led him to believe that this illustrious individual was to be sacrificed. He had in consequence proceeded to the continent, and he was sure there was no man who heard him who would not, under the

same circumstances, and actuated by the same feelings, have proceeded to the most distant part of the world, for the purpose of giving her every assistance in his power. He would have gone to the continent at all other periods if his official duties had not detained him in England. Her Majesty, previously to his leaving this country, being determined to meet the charges brought against her, he—they what they might, had ordered him to send a ship to Loughrea to bring her over. He, however, did not think it right to take that step without consulting other individuals; and that circumstance alone was the cause of the delay that had taken place. Every day, every hour, her cause were a more favourable appearance. The evidence to which persons of distinction had deposed was so decidedly in her favour, that he thought it was impossible, notwithstanding the strong opinion which had been given by his own friend of the corruption of the two Houses of Parliament, for any tribunal to find her guilty (there). Those who supported her cause looked not for place or preferment, while those who were arrayed against her were supported by pensions drawn from the labour of the people. The persons to whom he alluded received more than three mil-

lions annually out of the public funds (*shame, shame*). He was sure it would give them great pleasure to hear that her Majesty was at the present moment in the highest possible spirits. Within the last 24 hours, he had heard her express herself in these words—"I would not exchange my situation with any woman in the world." (*Cheers.*) She said this while reasoning on her situation—arguing on it with that talent which she was well known to possess, and with a full knowledge of all the enemies she had to encounter. Yet, under such circumstances, these were the magnanimous expressions that fell from her (*applause*). He could inform the meeting that on the first day of the trial she meant to go down to the House of Lords at 10 o'clock in the morning, and she never would leave it as long as the proceedings were going on. For strong reasons which induced him at present to be silent, they would not expect that he should enter into the merits of the case; and therefore he should only add again his thanks for the honour which the meeting had done him.—(*Great applause*).

Thanks having been voted to the Sheriff, and to the Members of the Committee, the meeting was dissolved.

# CORRECTION WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER,

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TO THE  
MIDDLE CLASS OF PEOPLE,  
(Who are enemies of Reform),

ON  
*The Letter, and on the Trial,  
of her Majesty the Queen.*

London, 12th August, 1820.

COUNTRYMEN

I addressed a letter to you, in August last, from the shores of America. I then told you, that your ruin was at hand. I described to you the causes that were leading to it, and endeavoured to impress on your minds the necessity of exerting yourselves for the purpose of avoiding that ruin. He must be blind, indeed, who does not now see, that I was correct in my calculations. But reserving myself to say more, by and by, upon this subject, allow me now to address to you a few remarks on the Letter of her Majesty to the

King, and also on the Trial, which is this day to begin, and which will make the 17th of August a day memorable in the annals of England.

With respect to the facts of the Letter of her Majesty, or, with respect to the language of it, I shall say nothing; or, rather, I shall offer no opinion. I am not living in what I deem a state of freedom; and, as I dare not say that I approve of the contents of the Letter, so I will not say that I disapprove of them. I publish the Letter itself, because all other periodical publications contain it. Let me observe, however, how great are her Majesty's disadvantages in this contest, as far as the press is concerned. No man dares, on pain of his destruction, to applaud this Letter, while any man may safely condemn it.

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call it false, and abuse the illustrious writer. Any man may safely praise the Bill of Pains and Penalties, which accuses the Queen of the foulest crimes before trial; but no man dares praise the Queen's Letter, put forth in the way of complaint and remonstrance. Any man may say, and many, in print, do say, that the Queen is a *bad woman*; but no man dares to say, in print, that the person in whose behalf she is prosecuted, is a *bad man*. For my part, I do not desire to say it; but, surely, the Queen herself must be allowed to have a right to make her complaints and remonstrances in her own language.

No serious attempt has been made to answer this Letter. Much has been promised in this way, but nothing has been performed! One pert pretender sets out by observing, that he shall pass over all that refers to what took place *previous to the separation of their Majesties*.

That is to say, he will pass over the very foundation of the Queen's complaint; and of all the mischief that has followed and proceeded from the separation! This, however, is what the nation will *not pass over*. It is, in order to come at a fair view of the subject, absolutely necessary to go back, not only to the causes of the separation, but to the inducements to the marriage. The Queen, it is pretended, is to be prosecuted and dishonoured for the sake of the *State*; that is, I suppose, for the sake of the *nation*. Now, the nation paid about 700,000*l.* in consequence of the marriage; and, surely, the nation has a right to know, since things have come to their present pass, who it was that was the cause of the separation. In short, no answer has been attempted. Plenty of abuse has been heaped on it; but to abuse is not to answer. However, that I may not be accused of partiality, I shall insert, directly

after the Queen's Letter, two or three of the articles that have been re-published against her Majesty in consequence of it. In these it is asserted, in one place, that a Queen cannot be tried by the ordinary courts and juries; but, in another place, it is asserted, that she is a *subject* and can be tried, *like another subject*, for the "*treason*," committed in writing this Letter! So that, she is, according to these men, to have all the disadvantages and none of the benefits of the law.

I beg you to look well at the nature of the prosecution. A Bill is, when passed, an Act of Parliament; and this act, if passed, is an act made *after* the commission of the alleged offence. It is, therefore, what is called an *ex post facto* law; and the Bill of Rights says, that "no *ex post facto* law" shall be passed. An *ex post facto* law is one that makes a thing a crime, which was not a crime before, and punishes it. For instance,

I laugh upon seeing Castlereagh in a fright. This is no crime at the time when I laugh; but an act may be passed to-morrow making it a crime in me to have so laughed to-day, and punishing me for such laughing. This would be an *ex post facto* law; and the laws of England say, that no such law shall be passed.

Now, either the Queen has committed something, which the law makes a crime; or she has not. If she have, where is the law? Why not find out the law? Why not try her by *that* law? If she have not committed anything, which the law makes a crime; then this Bill, if passed, must be an *ex post facto* law; it must make the crime as well as award the punishment.

The Bill says, in its preamble, that her Majesty has been guilty of highly honouring, with marks of distinction a man, who was a *menial* servant. This is a crime. It says, that the Queen has led a *licentious* life. This is no crime known to the laws.



if it were, Lord have mercy upon a great many men, whose duty it is to set a good example. It says, that the Queen has carried on an *adulterous intercourse*. Even this, in such vague words, is *no crime known to the laws*. And, therefore, if the Bill becomes a law, without alteration, it must be an *ex-post facto law*.

*Adultery* is, indeed, a crime known to the laws; and it is punished by *divorce*; that is to say, in the case of a wife, by taking from her her rights as a wife. But, then, there must be a *trial according to law*; and, upon this trial, the wife may produce evidence to show, that the husband was the *first breaker of the marriage vow*; and, if she show this, the verdict will be against the husband, who cannot, in such case, obtain a divorce. Would it not be monstrous if he could? Would it not be unjust beyond expression? Upon such conditions what woman, not absolutely mad, would ever marry?

Yet this mode of proceeding by Bill will shut the Queen out from the possibility of the sort of defence, to which she would be entitled in the courts of justice. She will be allowed to

produce nothing to show the acts of her husband. Nay, it will not be necessary for her accusers to prove even the *adultery* on her part; for, the Bill proposes to punish her, not for the act of *adultery*; but, for an *adulterous intercourse*, which may mean something short of *adultery*. To look at a man, and to wish to be more closely connected with him, may be called an *adulterous intercourse*. To live upon intimate terms with persons guilty of adultery may be called an *adulterous intercourse*. In short, any circumstance, however trifling, may be twisted into acts worthy of this appellation. And, therefore, according to this Bill, the Queen may be divorced and degraded *without any act of adultery being proved against her*.

Such is the nature of the proceeding against the Queen. As to the nature of the evidence; as to the constitution of the court; as to the refusing of the names of witnesses and even of times and places; as to all these, the public are already well informed. I shall now give some account of certain preparations, that have been made for the trial; for, I wish

that all you who live at a distance from London, should be correctly informed of these things; and it is right, that we should have some record of them; in order that we may know hereafter what sort of judgment to form of those who now unhappily conduct the nation's affairs, and who have brought the King, the Queen, the people and themselves into the present situation. I, for my own part, have for many years been endeavouring to warn the nation of the consequences of the present system. If the things which we now behold be calculated to alarm, the fault is not mine; for, I have plainly foretold that such things would take place unless the system were abandoned. That the system has been upheld has been owing to the apathy of the middle classes of the community, who have, in fact, done nothing to change the system, but who have, on the contrary, been actively instrumental, in many cases, in despitely treating, and in destroying those who have laboured so ardously for the preventing of these evils. To you of the middle classes, therefore, I address myself upon this occasion; and, if you read

what I say of yourselves with disapprobation, your disapprobation will give me no pain. My feelings of compassion are confined to those who have suffered from this system, in consequence of their endeavours to change it; and it is their approbation and not your approbation that I seek.

Look then, if you have any thing worthy of the name of public spirit left about you; look at the scenes which now present themselves before us. Shameful they are; but they reflect no shame upon me, nor upon any of those men, who have laboured with so much zeal and disinterestedness to prevent the like of them, and many of whom have suffered so severely for those labours. Many of you of the middling classes, Merchants, Master-manufacturers, Tradesmen, and above all, Farmers; many of you, and indeed the far greater part of you, have been the revilers of those, whose labours would have preserved you from the terrors of the approaching crisis: let these terrors be the reward of the revilings; and let a plain narrative of facts; let a simple record of what the system has now wrought

to be done, be in the eyes of posterity, the justification of those men whom you have ungratefully treated with revilings.

The Queen is on her trial. Remember that it is not those, who you have reviled under the appellation of Jacobins and Radicals; remember that it is not we, who produced the separation of her Majesty from her Husband, at the time when the Wife had an infant child in her arms; that it is not we who set on foot the tribunal to inquire into her conduct in 1800; that it is not we who discovered that the tribunal which was competent to administer oaths and to hear witnesses upon oath, to form the evidence into affidavits, and make it a ground of action, was incompetent to make false swearing before it subject the false swearers to the penalties of perjury; that it was not we who forbade the mother to have free communication with the child; that it was not we who advised the forbidding of the Mother to appear at court, even after she had been acquitted of all crime, and after the late King had for a series of years received her at his court and visited her himself; that it

was not we who advised her to leave the country, because her fascinating manners were calculated to make her popular; that it was not we who, having given her that advice, advised the instituting of the Milan Commission, and the ill-treatment of her, the insulting of her by every Court upon the Continent; that it was not we who advised the extinguishing of her name from the Liturgy, the tender of money and the threat at St. Omers; that it was not we who sent down the Green Bags against her; that it was not we who offered her fifty thousand pounds a year with acknowledgment as Queen at a Foreign Court, and a Golden Yacht to sail in, together with impunity for all the alleged offences that she had committed, if she would but quit England; that it was not we who induced the House of Commons to declare to her, that a trial, let the result of it be what it might, must be derogatory from the dignity of the Crown, and injurious to the best interests of the country; and who, with this declaration on the Journal of the House of Commons, resolved upon the prosecution of that very trial; that it was not we who advised

a secret committee to examine the Green Bags, and who, upon the report of that Committee, brought in a Bill to punish the Queen by a Act of Parliament, which proceeding excited the aversion to be amongst the justs and judges: remember, I say; know it now, remember it always, and be it never forgotten, that are the administered, the persecuted, the oppressed, the cruelly suffering—divorced for a Reason: in the House of Commons, however, had the slightest shadow of any of these things. Remember that, as far as we have been able we have opposed them all; and therefore remember that, if the things I am now about to record are calculated to reflect disgrace, no part of the disgrace belongs to us, but that a very considerable portion of it belongs to you, who either from stupidity or from an entirely hostile to us, inspired by greediness or by selfish fear, have assisted in upholding and in giving force to the arm of those by whom the system has been carried on.

Westminster Hall, the House of Parliament, the seats of justice & their places which were formerly venerated, together with every thing that apper-

tained unto them. What do we now behold on this spot?—To such of you as have never been at Westminster it may be necessary to describe things and their situation. This mass of buildings, Westminster Hall, the Courts of Justice, the House of Parliament, and several other offices of importance form one block. They are all under what may be called one roof, being that they are one building with roofs adjoining very nearly to each other. The entrance to these different compartments are numerous. On three sides of this immense mass of buildings there is an open space; on one side New Palace Yard; on the other side Old Palace Yard; on another side a sort of square inclosed with iron palisades, and planted with trees; and on the other, which is the western side, is the river Thames. Between the buildings and the Thames is an open space, partly garden and partly yard. This space is about seventy yards from the buildings to the water, at the edge of which, the ground which forms the garden and the yard is preserved from the washings of the water by a wall about twenty feet high. This open spot is inaccessible

on the land side, except over a very high wall in one part, and over the tops of the buildings in the other parts. This spot has been lighted numerous temporary buildings erected on it for the purpose of cooking for the Coronation Banquet. These temporary buildings are very extensive, forming altogether a group sufficient to out a figure if spread out into a village.

Into this place have been brought in such a manner as not to be seen, except by the conductors and other official agents, those famous Italian witnesses, the proceeds of the Milan Commission. The Coronation buildings have been appropriated to the lodging, the feeding and the dressing and preparing of these witnesses. And, now, my good, "loyal" countrymen, I beg you to remember that if the cooking apartment, made for the purpose of furnishing forth a Banquet for the Royal Husband has been converted into a place for getting messes for the witnesses against his wife; I beg you, to remember that, if this thing has been done, it has been done not only without the instrumentality, but against the wishes of those whom you have been so busy in assuring to op-

press, or, at least, in whose protection, you have never stirred head or tongue. Remember, that if this odious sight is not exhibited to the world, it is the mark of those, whom you have entirely supported and encouraged.

This chosen spot, from which there is a subterranean passage into the buildings connected with the House of Lords, is defended on the land side by troops of various descriptions; foot soldiers; horse soldiers; horse police; foot police; and by innumerable police, officers and constables. Every avenue, every door-way, every window, which can possibly be approached from without, is guarded. This immense fortress has networks of timber. From round beams of immense size, are placed across the streets. If the approach of an enemy were expected, it would be impossible to make preparations of defence more formidable without actually tearing up the ground and making ramparts.

At the distance of about four hundred yards are stationed numerous horsemen, in a place called the Horse Guards. At the distance of about six hundred yards to the south of the Piazza

ment House is a closed-in barrack, called the mews, filled with foot soldiers. At about five hundred yards to the west of the House is a barrack filled with foot soldiers; at about four hundred yards to the west there is a regiment of dragoons. At a mile from the House to the north-west is the house-barrack of Knightbridge; at about two miles from the House to the north is the house-barrack in Portman-street. The newspapers given account of regiments marched up, in every direction into the vicinity of London;—and we saw a corps of yeomanry actually parading the streets with their swords drawn on the eastern direction from Westminster bridge, which crosses the Thames, at about three hundred yards from the House.

Such is the state of things on the land side; but, as you have seen, the chosen spot before mentioned is open to the water, except that there is a wall of about twenty feet to scale. In the Thames, just opposite the execution village before described, is placed a vessel, which has a deck above the gun-deck, and which carries, to all appearance, from six-  
teen to twenty guns! On the

skirts, or flanks, of this well defended spot there are two houses, dwellings of great Officers of the Parliament. These have been evacuated by the tenants; or, at least, they have been filled with bedsteads and bedding sufficient for a great number of persons. *What persons these are we are not informed.* We could guess; but as guessing might be a little too much, you, as you are such wise people, and have so prudently kept aloof from, or assisted to oppress, the Radicals, the Radicals may leave you to guess for yourselves.

All the preparations being made, the trial, or rather the preliminary steps towards it, have begun this memorable day; a day which you will have good cause to remember to the last moment of your lives.

To describe the multitudes accompanying the Queen to and from the House is what I shall not attempt. Never were such multitudes seen before upon any occasion. Never was feeling so intense. Hundreds of women were seen crying in the streets; and, let it be recorded and remembered, that these tears came from those who have been

despitefully and insolently termed the "lower orders."

During the whole of the day military scouts were galloping to and from the several barracks, depots of troops, regiments, parks and depots of artillery, within ten or fifteen miles of London. As near as can be judged there is no interval of more than a mile or two upon a circle, the circumference of which is from sixty to a hundred miles, without troops of some sort or other.

Such is but a very faint picture, after all, of our present situation. Look at the picture. Consider the immense sums of money that you will have to pay for these gigantic preparations; for the Milan Commission and all its appendages; and for all the manifold outgoings on account of this prosecution. I know well that you feel no disgrace. But I know that you do feel in your pockets; and that you also feel on account of the dangers to which you may be exposed. Remember then, I say, once more, that this cost and danger would never have come upon you, had you not, tacitly or actively done your best to prevent that reform of the House of Commons, which would have

effectually prevented that which you will now have to deplore.

The proceedings in the House of Lords of this day have been merely preliminary. The Duke of Leinster proposed to set the thing aside altogether. This was rejected with an overwhelming majority. Some other motions were made; and during the day, Mr. Dringham made a speech against the principle of the Bill, which speech will be read with universal expectation. Whether the proceedings will be stifled by the prevailing of a publication of an account of them, is more than I can say. I have already had my share of suffering on account of my hostility to the system; and if I suffer again, it shall not be in the name of the law. At any rate, it shall be from some other cause than that which shall give you no reason to stagger and to beg yourselves in the security which you are deriving from my efforts, while you have the bare gratitude to applaud the pains and penalties suffered upon me. You have pursued the present course, as you have always said: you have made the system your own by the tacit or active support that you have given it. Castlereagh, Sidmouth, and Li-

verpool are yours; enjoy them and their works. You have had your day of selfish comfort: take the days that are now coming.

I, for my own part, see no ground of anxiety for those, who have been for so many years objects of your sneers and your calumnies. But, this may be a fit time for them to remind you of the folly as well as the injustice of your conduct. You have all along been crying out against the danger of reform; against the troubles it would give rise to; against the confusion that it would make. Is there no danger now? Are there now no troubles, and is there now no confusion? You have upheld the glorious system; but have you secured harmony, peace, and safety? One thing above all others ought never to be forgotten: you applauded Sidmouth who applauded the Magistrates and Yeomanry of Manchester. Your applause was cited by the prime Minister as a proof of the propriety of the Manchester killing and wounding. Well, then, take without contorsion of countenance any thing further that has to be performed.

When men of talent of the purest public spirit, of the most ardent devotion to their coun-

try, were endeavouring to persuade you to join in lawful efforts to obtain that reform which would long ago put an end to ruin and starvation, you unfeelingly curled up your lip, and accused them of designs upon your property. When such men endeavoured to represent to you how dangerous it was to place your sole reliance upon mere force, you turned from them with a jeering look, saying in your hearts, that that force would always be for you. Events produce a correction of error sometimes; but I am quite satisfied that your errors are to be corrected by nothing which will not compel you to feel. You have quietly and even complaisantly seen your countrymen sent off to jail, or conveyed to the gallows under military escorts. You have nothing to find fault at: you have nobody to blame. Whatever you may suffer you are the cause of your own sufferings. Had you acted your part well; we should long ago have had a reform of the House of Commons; and then, we should all have been safe; King, Queen, Lords and people. But you could not endure the thought of suffering the labourer and artizan, those



whose labour and ingenuity yield you all your comforts and riches, and whose arms protect you in the possession of them; you could not endure the idea of suffering these to participate with you in the enjoyment of political rights. You preferred being slaves to others; you cared not for this, so long as it gave you the power of domineering over another class. This was the feeling by which you were actuated. Has your policy been crowned with success? Oh! no; but the result of your selfish conduct is, and will be precisely what is merited by that conduct.

The stupid and selfish crew that huzzed the frothy Canning at Liverpool, while he was calumniating the Reformers, and making jests of what he supposed to be their everlasting defeat, would now be taught, if any thing could teach them, to repent of their baseness. They have seen, in the course of five short months, all the predictions of their prophet blown into air. They have seen that that very system, which he applauded to the skies, and which they, even to the very tearing of their throats, cheered him for applauding; they have seen that very system

work along till it has produced events already, which have filled their hearts with fear, which have made their coward knees knock together; which have caused their pillows to be haunted with visions, at the sight of which a Radical may smile. And, what would put them to shame, if any thing could put such men to shame; they have seen their hero take flight upon the first appearance of danger.

He is gone to the Continent; but to what part of it no man can tell! He is the very first to desamp; he, who called upon his sturdy hearers to "*take their side*," and to fight to the last breath in defence of what he called their Constitution. He is gone! The hero of Liverpool is gone. Thank God for that, at any rate. We shall hear no more of his jesting on the bursting bowels of the Reformers. He will never again set the house in a roar by making a great bodily affliction the subject of a despicable jest. He would not be the *acquiescent* of the Queen, he said, *so help him God*. At the time when he made this declaration, accompanied with an eulogium on her Majesty, who did not suppose that he meant to *quit the cabi-*

net, and to do his best in her Majesty's defence? With this understanding, I regarded his conduct as "manly;" but did I imagine that he had given his assent to the withholding of her name from the Liturgy, which it has since appeared that he had; and was it possible for me to imagine that he intended to retain his place in that same Cabinet, and merely to withdraw himself from the country, while the work of accusation, prosecution, and punishment was carried on by his colleagues?

This man has been one of the most unflinching of the persecutors of the friends of reform. His exertions against us have been constant; his recommendation of measures has been such as to mark him as the possessor of unrelenting cruelty: in his language he has been uniformly calumnious and insolent. And, upon the very first appearance of danger to himself from the measures which he has been pursuing, he, though he retains his place as a minister, takes his carcase from beyond the confines of the kingdom.

This affair relative to the Queen has, for the moment, swallowed up every other danger. But, this affair wholly out

of the question, the dangers, the dangers inseparable from the system itself, have gone on increasing. They keep steadily on their pace; and as far as I myself am concerned, I should be sorry to see them interrupted by any thing of this nature. Let the system go on. Let it come to its natural termination; and then every one will receive the reward due to his conduct. To all the petitions presented by farmers, by merchants, by manufacturers, by traders of every sort, what answer has been given? What redress has been afforded? What relief has any one obtained or does he hope to obtain: what has been the answer of this unreformed parliament to all these petitions? Why, that it can neither give relief nor hold out a hope of relief; that the sufferers, like the spiders must spin their means of relief from their own bowels, or that they must go unrelieved. All the promises of improved finances have been broken; every expectation has been disappointed; and amongst the most sanguine of the supporters of the system, you find indeed those who calculate upon months of duration; but none

who are held enough to calculate upon years.

While this is the case at home, the grand harvest of all our sacrifices is under the process of destruction from the winds and waves of revolution on the Continent. A law answer to all our complaints of the weight of taxes; we have been constantly told of the pressing necessity for the future, which what is called the constitution has obtained by there was no enemy in which was contracted that debt to defray the interest of which the taxes are required. When the war had ended in a peace which produced the holy alliance, and also produced the restoration of the Pope, the Inquisition, the Bourbons and the Jesuits, how you laughed in our faces! What a malicious grin you gave us! How you triumphed over us! How you hoisted the picture representing the dethroning of Kings! How you begged your chains! Like the officers of the Inquisition of Spain and Portugal, how you poked the burning torch in our faces! Well; how stands the matter now! Two countries are already revolutionized; and I heartily wish that you may continue in your delusion till re-

presentative government has spread itself from the Baltic to the Mediterranean.

Every man in his senses must see that there can be no stop for any length of time, until all mankind have their rights. Here we have wanted nothing that the laws of our forefathers did not give us; and you have tacitly or actively persecuted us for endeavouring to obtain that which was not less necessary for you than to ourselves. The present system is your own work. The man is a fool that again exposes himself to any risk with a view of delivering you from it. Whether you will ever make exertions of your own is more than I can say; but I shall always think that suffer what you will, you are entitled to none of my compassion. By suffering only are you to be taught your duty; and no man can say that he does not wish that that duty should be performed.

The system is going on full tide, scattering all its natural consequences about it. Let it proceed, and let those who have prepared the materials of which it is composed keep clear of those consequences if they can. I am not to be understood as including in the objects of my

address every merchant, master, manufacturer, big trader, or big farmer: I speak generally; and I say to the mass; this is all the work of your own hands: this has all arisen from your own selfish avarice; or from your active hostility against those who are labouring to obtain a restoration of the liberties of the people, and on that basis to establish the security of all ranks, and particularly of the ~~Thames~~. Whatever we see in the present state of things to lament;—whatever there may be in the prospect of the future to excite your claims; whatever there may be to fill you with doubts, uncertainties, and inquietude—all is to be ascribed to a want of that reform, for endeavouring to obtain which we have been persecuted.

You have rejoiced; you have exulted; you have chuckled and grinned, when you have seen your countrymen dragged off to jails for most laudably exerting their talents through the means of the press. As a disguise for your baseness and cruelty: as it were to drown the clinking of your own chains, you have affected to believe that these sufferers, these martyrs in the cause of truth, jus-

tice and freedom, have been wicked, seditious, blasphemous, agitators, who had views of advantage to themselves and of injury to you. What advantage could they derive from their labours? Had they been actuated by selfish motives, they might easily have pocketed your taxes as the price of their silence or as the price of their endeavours to keep you everlastingly enthralled. These victims ought to be the object of every benevolent feeling on your part; of your love, veneration and gratitude; but instead of this they have been objects of your affected contempt in some instances, and in every instance of your calumny. Such men need not care for you: need care nothing with regard to what becomes of you. Never were such men objects of your generosity; never were they upheld or encouraged by you; and let what will happen to you, never ought you to be objects of their compassion. You have curled yourselves up at the very best, in selfish imaginary security. While the scourge has been unsparingly laid upon the zealous levers of their country you have in the best instances of your conduct drawn

yourself into your shell, and have not uttered even a word of comfort to the sufferers; and, therefore, when the season of your suffering shall arrive, I trust that no man, who has been a victim of the system, will be so unjust as to bestow a thought of commiseration on you.

Again, I say the system is your own, and that to you and the rest of its supporters its ultimate consequences may be confined; and that those consequences may be unmitigated by any of the victims, is the sincere and fervent prayer of

WM. COBBETT.

### PEEP AT THE PEERS

Is in the press. It will be published at nine o'clock on Monday morning.—The work is much more extensive than was imagined.—The result is enormous.—It will be in the pamphlet form, and not on an open sheet, as was intended.— The price will be *Two-pence*.— The Compilers flatter themselves that they have performed a work of universal interest and utility.—They have dedicated it to the Queen; and they hope that it will be graciously received by her Majesty.

## LETTER FROM THE QUEEN TO THE KING.

SIR,—After the unparalleled and unprovoked persecution which, during a series of years, has been carried on against me under the name and authority of your Majesty, and which persecution, instead of being mollified by time, time has rendered only more and more malignant and unrelenting, it is not without a great sacrifice of private feeling that I now, even in the way of remonstrance, bring myself to address this letter to your Majesty. But, bearing in mind that Royalty rests on the basis of public good; that to this paramount consideration all others ought to submit; and aware of the consequences that may result from the present unconstitutional, illegal, and hitherto unheard-of proceedings;—with a mind thus impressed, I cannot refrain from laying my grievous wrongs once more before your Majesty, in the hope that the justice which your Majesty may, by evil-minded counsellors, be still disposed to refuse to the claims of a dutiful, faithful, and injured wife, you may be induced to yield to considerations connected with the honour and dignity of your crown, the stability of your throne, the tranquillity of your dominions, the happiness and safety of your just and loyal people, whose generous hearts revolt at oppression and cruelty, and especially when perpetrated by a perversion and a mockery of the laws.

A sense of what is due to my character and sex forbids me to refer minutely to the real causes of our domestic separation, or to the numerous unmerited insults offered me previously to that period; but, leaving to your Majesty to reconcile with the marriage vow the act of driving, by such means, a wife from beneath your roof, with an infant in her arms, your Majesty will permit me to remind you, that that act was entirely your own; that the separation, so far from being sought for by me, was a sentence pronounced upon me, without any cause assigned, other than that of your own inclinations, which, as your Majesty was pleased to allege, were not under your control.

Not to have felt, with regard to myself, chagrin at this decision of your Majesty, would have argued great insensibility to the obligations of decorum; not to have dropped a tear in the face of that beloved child, whose future sorrows were then but too easy to foresee, would have marked me as unworthy of the name of mother; but, not to have submitted to it without repining would have indicated a consciousness of demerit, or a want of those feelings which belong to affronted and insulted female honour.

The "tranquil and comfortable society" tendered to me by your Majesty formed, in my mind, but a poor compensation for the grief occasioned by considering the wound given to public morals in the fatal example produced by the indulgence of your Majesty's inclinations:

more especially when I contemplated the disappointment of the nation, who had so munificently provided for our union, who had fondly cherished such pleasing hopes of happiness arising from that union, and who had hailed it with such affectionate and rapturous joy.

But, alas! even tranquillity and comfort were too much for me to enjoy. From the very threshold of your Majesty's mansion the mother of your child was pursued by spies, conspirators, and traitors, employed, encouraged, and rewarded to lay snares for the feet, and to plot against the reputation and life, of her whom your Majesty had so recently and so solemnly vowed to honour, to love, and to cherish.

In withdrawing from the embraces of my parents, in giving my hand to the son of George the Third and the heir-apparent to the British throne, nothing less than a voice from Heaven would have made me fear injustice or wrong of any kind.—What, then, was my astonishment at finding that treasons against me had been carried on and matured, perjuries against me had been methodized and embodied, a secret tribunal had been held, a trial of my actions had taken place, and a decision had been made upon those actions, without my having been informed of the nature of the charge, or of the names of the witnesses? And what words can express the feelings excited by the fact, that this proceeding was founded on a request made, and on evidence furnished, by

order of the father of my child, and my natural as well as legal guardian and protector?

Notwithstanding, however, the unprecedented conduct of that tribunal; conduct which has since undergone, even in Parliament, severe and unanswered animadversions, and which has been also censured in the minutes of the Privy Council; notwithstanding the secrecy of the proceedings of this tribunal; notwithstanding the strong temptation to the giving of false evidence against me before it; notwithstanding that there was no opportunity afforded me of rebutting that evidence; notwithstanding all these circumstances, so decidedly favourable to my enemies, even this secret tribunal acquitted me of all crime, and thereby pronounced my principal accusers to have been guilty of the grossest perjury. But it was now (after the trial was over) discovered, that the nature of the tribunal was such as to render false swearing before it *not legally criminal*! And thus, at the suggestion and request of your Majesty, had been created, to take cognizance of and try my conduct, a tribunal competent to administer oaths, competent to examine witnesses on oath, competent to try, competent to acquit or condemn, and competent, moreover, to screen those who had sworn falsely against me from suffering the pains and penalties which the law awards to wilful and corrupt perjury. Great as my indignation naturally must have been at this shameful evasion of law and justice, that indignation was lost in pity for him

who could lower his princely plumes to the dust by giving his countenance and favour to the most conspicuous of those abandoned and notorious perjurers.

Still there was one whose upright mind nothing could warp, in whose breast injustice never found a place, whose hand was always ready to raise the unfortunate, and to rescue the oppressed. While that good and gracious father and Sovereign remained in the exercise of his royal functions, his unoffending daughter-in-law had nothing to fear. As long as the protecting hand of your late ever-beloved and ever-lamented father was held over me, I was safe. But the melancholy event which deprived the nation of the active exertions of its virtuous King, bereft me of friend and protector, and of all hope of future tranquillity and safety. To calumniate your innocent wife was now the shortest road to royal favour; and to betray her was to lay the sure foundation of boundless riches and titles of honour. Before claims like these, talent, virtue, long services, your own personal friendships, your royal engagements, promises, and pledges, written as well as verbal, melted into air. Your cabinet was founded on this basis. You took to your councils men, of whose persons, as well as whose principles, you had invariably expressed the strongest dislike. The interest of the nation, and even your own feelings, in all other respects, were sacrificed to the gratification of your desire to aggravate my sufferings,

and to ensure my humiliation. You took to your councils and your bosom men whom you hated, whose abandonment of, and whose readiness to sacrifice me were their only merits, and whose power has been exercised in a manner, and has been attended with consequences, worthy of its origin. From this unprincipled and unnatural union have sprang the manifold evils which this nation has now to endure, and which present a mass of misery and of degradation, accompanied with acts of tyranny and cruelty, rather than have seen which inflicted on his industrious, faithful, and brave people, your royal father would have perished at the head of that people.

When to calumniate, revile, and betray me, became the sure path to honour and riches, it would have been strange indeed if calumniators, revilers, and traitors had not abounded. Your Court became much less a scene of polished manners and refined intercourse than of low intrigue and scurrility. Spies, Bacchanalian tale-bearers, and foul conspirators, swarmed in those palaces which had before been the resort of sobriety, virtue, and honour. To enumerate all the various privations and mortifications which I had to endure, all the insults that were wantonly heaped upon me, from the day of your elevation to the Regency to that of my departure for the Continent, would be to describe every species of personal offence that can be offered to, and every pain short of bodily violence that can be in-



dicted on, any human being. Bereft of parent, brother, and father-in-law, and having my husband for my deadliest foe; seeing those who have promised me support bought by rewards to be amongst my enemies; restrained from accusing my foes in the face of the world, out of regard for the character of the father of my child, and from a desire to prevent her happiness from being disturbed; shunned from motives of selfishness by those who were my natural associates; living in obscurity, while I ought to have been the centre of all that was splendid; thus humbled, I had one consolation left; the love of my dear and only child. To permit me to enjoy this was too great an indulgence. To see my daughter; to fold her in my arms; to mingle my tears with hers; to receive her cheering caresses, and to hear from her lips assurances of never-ceasing love; thus to be comforted, consoled, upheld, and blessed, was too much to be allowed me. Even on the slave mart the cries of "Oh! my mother, my mother! Oh! my child, my child!" have prevented a separation of the victims of avarice. But your advisers, more inhuman than the slave-dealer, remorselessly tore the mother from the child.

Thus bereft of the society of my child, or reduced to the necessity of embittering her life by struggles to preserve that society, I resolved on temporary absence, in the hope that time might restore me to her in happier days. Those days, alas! were never to come. To mo-

thers, and these mothers who have been suddenly bereft of the best and most affectionate and only daughters, it belongs to estimate my sufferings and my wrongs. Such mothers will judge of my affliction upon hearing of the death of my child, and upon my calling to recollection the last look, the last words, and all the affecting circumstances of our separation. Such mothers will see the depth of my sorrows. Every being with a heart of humanity in its bosom will drop a tear of sympathy with me. And will not the world, then, learn with indignation, that this event, calculated to soften the hardest heart, was the signal for new conspiracies, and indefatigable efforts for the destruction of this afflicted mother? Your Majesty had torn my child from me; you had deprived me of the power of being at hand to succour her; you had taken from me the possibility of hearing of her last prayers for her mother; you saw me bereft, forlorn, and broken-hearted; and this was the moment you chose for redoubling your persecutions.

Let the world pass its judgment on the constituting of a commission, in a foreign country, consisting of inquisitors, spies, and informers, to discover, collect, and arrange matters of accusation against your wife, without any complaint having been communicated to her; let the world judge of the employment of ambassadors in such a business, and of the enlisting of foreign courts in the enterprise: but on the measures which have

been adopted to give final effect to these preliminary proceedings it is for me to speak; it is for me to remonstrate with your Majesty; it is for me to protest; it is for me to apprise you of my determination.

I have always demanded a *fair trial*. This is what I now demand, and this is refused me. Instead of a fair trial, I am to be subjected to a sentence by the Parliament, passed in the shape of a *law*. Against this I protest, and upon the following grounds:—

The injustice of refusing me a clear and distinct charge, of refusing me the names of the witnesses, of refusing me the names of the places where the illegal acts have been committed; these are sufficiently flagrant and revolting; but it is against the *constitution of the Court itself* that I particularly object, and against that I most solemnly protest.

Whatever may be the precedents as to Bills of Pains and Penalties, none of them, except those relating to the Queen of Henry the Eighth, can apply here; for here your Majesty is the *plaintiff*. Here it is intended by the Bill to do what you deem good to you, and to do me great harm. You are, therefore, a party; and the only complaining party.

You have made your complaint to the House of Lords. You have conveyed to this House written documents sealed up. A secret committee of the House have examined these documents. They have reported that there are grounds of proceeding; and then the House,

merely upon that report, have brought forward a Bill containing the most outrageous slanders on me, and sentencing me to divorce and degradation.

The injustice of putting forth this Bill to the world for six weeks before it is even proposed to afford me an opportunity of contradicting its allegations is too manifest not to have shocked the nation; and, indeed, the proceedings even thus far are such as to convince every one that no justice is intended me. But if none of these proceedings, if none of these clear indications of a determination to do me wrong had taken place, I should see, in the constitution of the House of Lords itself, a certainty that I could expect no justice at its hands.

Your Majesty's ministers have advised this prosecution; they are responsible for the advice they give; they are liable to *punishment* if they fail to make good their charges; and not only are they part of my judges, but it is they who have brought in the Bill; and it is too notorious that they have always a majority in the House; so that, without any other, here is ample proof that the House will decide in favour of the Bill, and, of course, against me.

But, further, there are reasons for your ministers having a majority in this case, and which reasons do not apply to common cases. Your Majesty is the *plaintiff*: to you it belongs to appoint and to elevate Peers. Many of the present Peers have been raised to that dignity by yourself, and almost the whole

can be, at your will and pleasure, further elevated. The far greater number of the Peers hold, by themselves and their families, offices, pensions, and other emoluments, solely at the will and pleasure of your Majesty, and these, of course, your Majesty can take away whenever you please. There are more than *four-fifths* of the Peers in this situation, and there are many of them who might thus be deprived of the far better part of their incomes.

If, contrary to all expectation, there should be found, in some peers, likely to amount to a majority, a disposition to reject the Bill, some of these peers may be ordered away to their ships, regiments, governments, and other duties; and, which is an equally alarming power, new peers may be created for the purpose, and give their vote in the decision. That your Majesty's ministers would advise these measures, if found necessary to render their prosecution successful, there can be very little doubt; seeing that they have hitherto stopped at nothing, however unjust or odious.

To regard such a body as a *Court of Justice* would be to calumniate that sacred name; and for me to suppress an expression of my opinion on the subject would be tacitly to lend myself to my own destruction, as well as to an imposition upon the nation and the world.

In the House of Commons I can discover no better grounds of security. The power of your Majesty's Ministers is the same in both Houses; and your Ma-

jesty is well acquainted with the fact, that a majority of this House is composed of persons placed in it by the Peers and by your Majesty's Treasury.

It really gives me pain to state these things to your Majesty; and, if it gives your Majesty pain, I beg that it may be observed, and remembered, that the statement has been forced from me. I must either protest against this mode of trial, or, by tacitly consenting to it, suffer my honour to be sacrificed. No innocence can secure the accused if the Judges and Jurors be chosen by the accuser; and if I were tacitly to submit to a tribunal of this description, I should be instrumental in my own dishonour.

On these grounds I protest against this species of trial. I demand a trial in a Court where the Jurors are taken impartially from amongst the people, and where the proceedings are open and fair. Such a trial I court, and to no other will I willingly submit. If your Majesty persevere in the present proceeding, I shall, even in the Houses of Parliament, face my accusers; but I shall regard any decision they may make against me as not in the smallest degree reflecting on my honour; and I will not, except compelled by actual force, submit to any sentence which shall not be pronounced by a *Court of Justice*.

I have now frankly laid before your Majesty a statement of my wrongs, and a declaration of my views and intentions. You have cast upon me every slur to which the female character is

liable. Instead of loving, honouring, and cherishing me, agreeably to your solemn vow, you have pursued me with hatred and scorn, and with all the means of destruction. You wrested from me my child, and with her my only comfort and consolation. You sent me sorrowing through the world, and even in my sorrows pursued me with unrelenting persecution. Having left me nothing but my innocence, you would now, by a mockery of justice, deprive me even of the reputation of possessing that. The poisoned bowl and the poniard are means more manly than perjured witnessses and partial tribunals; and they are less cruel, inasmuch as life is less valuable than honour. If my life would have satisfied your Majesty, you should have had it on the sole condition of giving me a place in the same tomb with my child: but, since you would send me dishonoured to the grave, I will resist the attempt with all the means that it shall please God to give me.

(Signed) CAROLINE, R.

Brandenburgh-house, Aug. 7, 1820.

(From the Times.)

SIR,—In your paper of Tuesday last you have the following remark upon a passage in her Majesty's Letter to the King:—"When bereft, forlorn, and broken-hearted by the death of her only child, this was the moment, as her Majesty declares, 'which was chosen for redoubling the persecutions against her.' We dare only hope that this is not a fact; for, if it were, there never yet lived a language containing in it words of reprobation strong enough for a treatment so inhuman."—Numerous facts, in the long catalogue of disgraceful operations abroad, might be

cited to prove the correctness of the statement of her Majesty as to this point; but what do we want more than this—that, in the superscription on *the coffin of her child*, which contained the names of the illustrious persons from whom she had descended, the name of *her mother was omitted*! What stab more cruel than this was ever given to a mother's heart? Let the people of England say what her feelings must have been when she, in reading the English papers, saw this proof of the obduracy and malice of her enemies?

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

M. W.

(From the New Times, of Tuesday, August 15.)

It is with the most painful feelings that we have to notice the Letter to which the Queen's name has been affixed, and which was yesterday published, as it were officially, in the Journal devoted to the worst purposes of her Majesty's worst adherents.

Persons of all parties have done us the justice to admit, that whenever we have had occasion to speak of her Majesty's personal conduct, we have most studiously preserved the respect due to her exalted station, and the candour which prohibits all prejudication of her guilt or innocence.

But we cannot remain silent when *other persons* employ her as a tool of treason. We cannot see the torch prepared to set fire to the four corners of the metropolis, and not cry aloud to every man of property, of respectability, of integrity, to take warning. We are compelled for the information of our readers to lay before them the Letter in question. Her Majesty, we doubt not, has been prevailed

on to sanction it by her name, but it would be folly to suppose for a moment that she did or could write it. It neither is her style, nor can it contain her sentiments; for they are the sentiments of a deadly enemy to the House of Brunswick and to the English Constitution. What the writer is can only be matter of conjecture. The name of Cobbett has been mentioned; and certainly the composition betrays all the malignity of that writer against the established laws and institutions of the kingdom. Perhaps a more classical pen may have here and there polished off the vulgarity of the author of the *Twopenny Register*; but upon the whole, we know no person so likely as he, to have given at least the sketch of this most detestable Letter.

It is addressed ostensibly to the King, but really to the mob. Its true object is to rouse the mob to action; as they have recently been acting at Palermo, and as Thistlewood meant them to have acted in London. Let us never forget the declaration of that traitor—that he hoped to see the Shops of London shut up, and those Aristocrats, the Shopkeepers, well plundered. This is the hope of the writer of the letter. This is the effect which his labours are calculated to produce, if the middle class of people persist in blinding themselves to the real nature of the impending danger.

The Queen is either innocent or guilty. If she be innocent, it is utterly impossible that her innocence can have a better protection than that which will be

afforded in it by two successive investigations by the two Houses of the British Parliament. But the writer of the letter makes her act as a guilty person, reviling and defying the Sovereign, and the Legislature, but offering not one syllable of argument to remove the suspicions which notorious circumstances have attached to her conduct. We say, therefore, that the object of the writer cannot have been to justify the Queen in the slightest degree. It must have been to excite the mob of London to resistance against the laws and the Legislature. *The Times* praises the composition, as "calculated to rouse every generous and manly moral feeling." We say it was calculated to rouse *Sedition*, and nothing else. What! Is it generous and manly to tell the whole Peerage of England that no justice is to be expected at their hands? This is supposed to be said too, by a person who in the same breath complains of "outrageous slanders." Whether the Queen has or has not been slandered we shall certainly know a little better when the evidence has been examined, than we do now. If she has been so, we fervently hope that her character may be effectually cleared; but at all events, the Letter writer outrageously slanders the most august assembly in the kingdom; and he manifestly does this to bring them into hatred and contempt among the people, to create popular discontent and disaffection; in short to bring about a revolution, and make London a scene of pillage and bloodshed.

In one passage, a directly *treasonable* menace is held out. The Queen is made to say, with reference to the Bill of Pains and Penalties now legally and constitutionally depending in Parliament, "I will not, except compelled by actual force, submit to any sentence which shall not be pronounced by a Court of Justice;"—and again, "Since you would send me dishonoured to my grave, I will resist the attempt with all the means that it shall please God to give me." Coupling these passages together, we do not hesitate to say, that there is avowed a doctrine clearly *treasonable*. The Queen is a subject, and is as much bound as any other subject to submit to the laws which may be passed by the Legislature, and she has as little right as any other subject to resist those laws. By the Constitution of England, a Bill of Pains and Penalties is as much within the competency of the Legislature as any other law, and to resist it is as criminal as to resist any other law. The Queen might as well say that she will resist the Bill of Rights, or the Act of Settlement, as that she will resist the Bill of Pains and Penalties, in case it shall be passed. We repeat, that though these seditious and treasonable doctrines are avowed in the Letter bearing her Majesty's name, we do not attribute them to her, for we believe that she cannot even comprehend them; but her signature has in all probability been surreptitiously obtained to this document for purposes totally foreign to her Majesty's wishes. The public,

however, will be on their guard against the prosecution of purposes so diabolical; and since threats of popular tumult are so distinctly held out, we trust that every loyal man will be prepared to cut down the Insurrection the moment it is attempted.

(From the Courier.)

The Queen's Letter, says her partisans, has produced a great effect. It certainly has—but it is one which she and her inflammatory counsellors did not anticipate.

We know not whether the blindness and violence of her advocates were capable of receiving any addition even from this libel; but we are satisfied from the alarm of all the prudent, the disgust of all the virtuous, the indignation of all the loyal, have been excited in a powerful degree by that shameless publication—a publication as shameless as its authors, and as shameless as its object.

It affects to be written by the Queen—it is notoriously not written by her. The cant of *maternal feelings* with which it is filled, are the cool suggestions of a *hired penman*. The *tears* it talks of were never shed, but in the libeller's ink. The *tender feelings* of the *female heart* which it describes, are the florid inventions of a big-wigged rhetorician. In short, it is, although the Queen has written her name at the bottom of it, an *impudent fabrication and fraud*; and it is at once ludicrous and disgusting, to fancy two grave doctors,

who, as Shakspeare says of Cardinal Campeius, "never had a child," laying their wigg'd heads together, to describe the throes of a *mother's* afflictions, and the niceties of *female* delicacy. But let us leave the "woman's tears" of Doctor Parr, and the "*feminine sighs*" of Doctor Reynolds, and turn to other topics of this letter of much greater importance.

The Queen is made to recur to the *former investigations*—fatal advice! On the part of the public, it had been announced, that her *late* conduct *only* should be examined; in mercy to her, in mercy to public decency, it was resolved to draw a veil over all her former life. But the Doctors now tear off that veil—they insist upon reviving all those discussions;—they drag the guardians of the public interests and honour back into a contest which the latter had, in *pity*, and in *charity*, abandoned.

We know not what the effect of this amazing challenge *may* be—we know not how far forbearance may be pushed; but we know what might, and what, in *strict justice*, since she demands it, ought to be done. Her whole life ought to be re-examined—it ought to be shown that, charged with a thousand offences, she never was acquitted, but of one—that all the imputations, save that one, which have for a series of twenty years risen up in odious succession, were none of them ever disproved—that his late Majesty publicly reprobated her conduct; and that her daughter was re-

moved from her influence to save her morals and character. This is the effect which the zealous Doctors did not foresee—They think that the friends of the Crown are to be strictly confined to *one point* of time, and *one kind* of charge; while *they* may fly round every point of the compass, and through all portions of time, and may endeavour to *bully* their antagonists, who, as they suppose, cannot step out of the narrow circle of the family of *Bergami*. For ourselves, it is not for us to say whether this defiance ought, with a view to public morals, to be accepted or not. It is enough for us to show that it has been made, and to have given a slight sketch of the consequences which might justly follow it.

One other observation we cannot help making; the letter of the Doctors abuses, in the grossest terms, the Commission which conducted the former investigation—it libels the witnesses on that investigation, and involves the whole proceeding in one sweeping accusation of falsehood and illegality; and yet it is of a *supposed acquittal* by this *very* Commission that the Queen is made to boast so loudly. We beg pardon for attempting to call to Doctor Parr's recollection his forgotten logic; but he, surely, as well as all mankind, must be aware, that if the witnesses were all perjured, and the evidence all garbled, and the tribunal all corrupt and illegal, the acquittal pronounced, under such circumstances, cannot be worth much,

ADDRESS OF THE MARRIED  
LADIES.

"MADAM—Whilst thousands and tens of thousands of our fellow-subjects are approaching your Majesty with assurances of homage and affection—whilst addresses even from the remoter parts of the kingdom are laid at your feet—permit us, your Majesty's neighbours, as wives, and the mistresses of families, in and near the metropolis, to approach you. We are unaccustomed to public acts, and uninfluenced by party feelings; yet we cannot be excluded from offering to your Majesty's notice our sympathy and devotion. Grateful to the Constitution under which it is our happiness to live—saved also by our rank in the middle classes of society, from the dangers attendant on high rank or poverty, and protected by our husbands, we may hardly be supposed judges of all the value of your Majesty's conduct; but, Madam, we admire your magnanimity, and we adore that womanly feeling which has made your Majesty treat with contempt every offer, the tendency of which was to compromise your honour, and we thank you for it in the name of our sex.

"Had your Majesty been treated with the respect due to your exalted rank, our hearts would have throbb'd with ardent interest in your cause, and with love to your person; and, leaving to our husbands and sons all public expression of feeling, we should have confined ours to our domestic circles;

but now, Madam, the indignation we feel for the cruel treatment of your Majesty bursts every barrier between us, and we hasten to express at your feet the warm, the almost overwhelming interest with which we are inspired: and be assured, Madam, our judgments are quite as much enlisted in your Majesty's service as our feelings: for, added to the dreadful charges against you, are not new crimes found out by your enemies? and new modes of judging them, unknown alike to common law and common sense? Under these circumstances, scarcely less than a miracle, we think, can procure your justification, refused at your Majesty has been every means of fairly meeting the accusations against you. We commit your Majesty's cause to the integrity of your own great mind; to the zeal, to the honour, and the ability of your legal advisers, who will have for their reward a nation's gratitude; but, above all, to our all-seeing and merciful God—to that God whom no one can prevent our addressing, and teaching our children to address, in fervent prayers for your protection.

"And now, Madam, in simplicity of style, and sincerity of heart, we beg to subscribe ourselves

"Your Majesty's dutiful, affectionate, and loyal subjects and servants."

Her Majesty was graciously pleased to return the following answer:—

"In this honest and affection-



ate address from my female neighbours, who are wives and mothers of families in and near the metropolis, I gratefully acknowledge the sympathy which they express for my many sorrows, and the indignation which they feel for my unnumbered wrongs. The approbation of my own sex must be ever dear to my heart; and it must be more particularly gratifying when it is the approbation of mothers of families in and near this enlightened metropolis.

"When my honour is attacked, every loyal Englishwoman must feel it as an imputation upon her own. The virtues of sovereigns are not circumscribed in their influence or insulated in their operations. They put in motion a wide circle of the imitative propensity in the subordinate conditions of life. Thus the virtues of the great become the property of the people; and the people are interested in preserving them from slanderous contamination.

"The present procedure against me is like a wilful attempt on the part of blind phrenzy or improvident malice to destroy the moral character of the monarchy. To lessen this moral character in public estimation is not merely to degrade the Queen, but to shatter into atoms that reverential respect which gives strength to the sceptre and dignity to the Sovereign.

"I shall never sacrifice that honour which is the glory of a woman, and the brightest jewel of a Queen, for any earthly consideration. All the possessions

in the world would be purchased too dear if they were obtained at the price of self-condemnation. I can never be debased while I observe the great maxim of respecting myself.

"In this era of ceaseless change, and of violent agitation, when whole nations seem tossed, like individuals, on the ocean of storms, no circumstances, however menacing, shall shake the constancy of my attachment to the English nation, or estrange my affections from the general good of the community. The future is wisely covered with an opaque cloud; but whatever may be my destiny, I will cherish in all vicissitudes, and preserve in all fortunes, that resignation to the Divine will, which, in proportion as it becomes an habitual sentiment of the mind, improves all its virtues, and elevates the general character."

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#### ANSWER TO THE GREENWICH ADDRESS.

"In this cordial, this friendly address, the inhabitants of Greenwich have strongly excited my sympathies, and interested my heart. In the most vivid manner they have recalled to my memory those times over which oblivion will never throw a veil. They have reminded me of those past days when I lived among them, when I visited their houses and traversed their fields; when I partook of their social festivities, and was united in their sacred rites; when I was rendered happy by ministering to the wants of

some, and by adding to the comforts of others; and, above all, when my heart was lifted to God in gratitude because my ears were cheered with the benedictions of the poor. This is that period which the kind hearted inhabitants of Greenwich so powerfully recall to my recollection; nor can I ever be unmindful that it was a period in which I could behold that countenance which I never beheld without vivid delight, and to hear that voice which to my fond ears was like music breathing over violets. Can I forget? No; my soul will never suffer me to forget that, when the cold remains of this beloved object were deposited in the tomb, the malice of my persecutors would not suffer even the name of the mother to be inscribed upon the coffin of her child. Of all the indignities which I have experienced, this is one which, minute as it may seem, has affected me as much as all the rest. But if it were minute, it was not to my agonising sensibility. It was a dagger directed by unrelenting hate, not to the surface, but to the very centre of a mother's heart. If little circumstances mark character, that which I have mentioned will not fail to fix a note of indelible infamy upon that ferocious persecution which has troubled my peace and embittered my days."

ANSWER TO THE BOROUGH OF  
AYLESBURY.

"The inhabitants of the borough of Aylesbury have my

cordial thanks for this impressive testimony of their affectionate regard. Whatever may have been the afflictions which I have been visited by Providence, I know my duty to Heaven too well to murmur at any of its dispensations. The sorrows that are scattered over the surface of human life are usually transient, though often recurring. They come and go—they depart and return, like the wind and the rain; but my sorrows have not been of this kind. They have not merely flitted over my nerves in the shades of the evening, to disappear when the East reddened with the dawn: they have been a long, a dark, an almost interminable night, which malice, like that of a fiend, has thrown over my soul for a quarter of a century. But the people of England think that I have been sufficiently tortured by malignity, and saddened by woe. Their vivid sympathies and their glowing affections begin to dissipate the thick darkness that covered my prospects, and to announce the day-spring of a life more serene, when my wrongs shall be redressed, and my persecutions come to an end.

"Those persons who could instigate or advise that the name of the Queen should, contrary to all usage, be omitted in our national prayers, must have had their hearts far from God. Such an omission is at variance with that charity, without which, all our adoration is mere mummery, and all our Hosannas only empty air.

"The injustice of my enemies has been so great, and indeed

so monstrous, that the account of it will hereafter be numbered among the prodigies in the moral history of man. It is the extremity of barbarism in an age of high civilization. Because I have violated no law, a Bill of Pains and Penalties has been introduced into the House of Lords to destroy me without law. But the people of England have not minds of inert clay, or hearts of impenetrable stone. They know, they see, they feel my unparalleled wrongs. Every man, every woman, nay, every child, is alive to the sympathy they have inspired. Oppression always sanctifies its object. In this order of things the Almighty has written his decree against cruelty and injustice."

ANSWER TO THE TOWN OF  
WYCOMBE.

"The worthy Mayor, Bailiffs, Burgesses, and other inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of High Wycombe have a claim upon my gratitude, for this honest demonstration of their affectionate regard. I read with a melancholy interest their unaffected expressions of condolence for the sad chasm which the death of so many dear relatives has made in my domestic affinities. With respect to some of these numerous losses, Time has drawn his mitigating touch over the lacerated surface of my agonised breast: yet others have left a painful impression upon my memory which cannot be effaced while memory remains. But I bend with reverence, and I submit with equanimity to the wise decisions of that Highest

Power, whose moral government cannot be wanting in benevolent design, even where that design is inscrutable to the human understanding.

"After a long absence from these realms, my return has seemed to my own feelings almost like the renovation of the Spring. Wherever I have been, whether in cities, towns, or villages, I have heard the transporting sounds of popular joy; and in every countenance which I happen to pass, I can trace a vivid expression of complacency, and perceive an exhilarating smile. This is that sweet satisfaction which I would not exchange for any other grosser pleasure which life has to bestow.

"The love of mankind is the noblest ambition of sovereigns. The consciousness of it is a perpetual feast. It is security in the day, and repose during the night. It inspires a delight which never cloy, and it will be a ray of comfort in that parting hour, when the messenger of THE ETERNAL reads a lesson of wisdom to the thoughtless, and teaches even Kings that they are but men!"

ANSWER TO THE MIDDLESEX  
ADDRESS.

"In my long absence from England I had never forgotten that justice and humanity had no warmer advocates, nor more steady friends, than the Freeholders of Middlesex. Their present animated and affectionate Address has impressed that conviction more strongly upon my mind; and my heart rejoices at receiving such a tribute of re-

gard from men so enlightened, philanthropists so generous, and patriots so pure.

"The improved spirit of the age, which is seen in the intellectual advancement of man through all the gradations of the social scheme, is particularly visible in this metropolitan county. Here the dissemination of knowledge is found to have the most salutary effects. Here moral worth is most resplendent. Here beneficence most abounds. Here those sentiments and affections are most operative, that exclude intolerance from the mind, and give the most comprehensive charity to the heart. Here liberty finds its most impenetrable shield; and tyranny has to contend with its most determined foe.

"My frank and unreserved disposition may, at times, have laid my conduct open to the misrepresentations of my adversaries. Conscious that my motives are pure, and my heart upright, I have never sought any refuge even from the infuriated eye of malignity, in the coverts of duplicity, or in the obscurities of fraud. I am what I seem, and I seem what I am. And, though calumny, aided by perjury, is now making its last desperate attack upon my character, yet I feel no fear except it be the fear that my character should not be sufficiently investigated. I challenge every inquiry. I deprecate not the most vigilant scrutiny.

"My life has been a life of trial. But what trial is there which I have yet undergone that has not elevated my cha-

acter, and humbled that of my enemies? During a period of twenty-five years I have been exposed to the most persecuting inquisition. In private life virtue is thought to bloom like the primrose in the shade; but I have been placed in circumstances where temptation operates with double force, and where vice assumes the most fascinating lures; and yet what credible proof has yet been produced that I have once erred from the path of innocence.

"The Freeholders of Middlesex could not make use of expressions more gratifying to my pride, or more sacred to my soul, than by telling me that I occupy in the affections of the people that place which the Princess Charlotte so eminently possessed. It inspires me with a sort of hallowed ecstasy when I perceive how much and how tenderly this generous nation still cherishes her venerated memory.

"The voice of the people, which has been so generally expressed in favour of my integrity, has cheered me in the most trying circumstances; and if I were to reach the fatal moment of my expiration on the morrow, it would still murmur pleasure in my ears.

"When the Freeholders of Middlesex congratulate me upon having such fair associates as Truth and Justice in my train, I must implore the Author of all good, that as they have been my solace in time past, they may remain my inseparable companions through life, and not forsake me in the tomb."

ADDRESS FROM ST. LEONARD'S,  
SHOREDITCH.

" TO HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY  
CAROLINE ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF  
ENGLAND.

" The dutiful and loyal Address of the Householders and Inhabitants of the Parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch:—

" We, your Majesty's loyal subjects, the Householders and Inhabitants of the Parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, beg leave to approach your Majesty with our sincere and affectionate congratulations on your accession to the dignity of Queen of these realms, and to assure you of our zealous attachment to your interests, and of our profound respect for your exalted character.

" It cannot but occur to your Majesty that the peculiar and anxious situation in which your Majesty is placed leads us to approach your Royal presence with the expression of our joy at your arrival, our sympathy in your afflictions, and our confidence in your ultimate triumph over your enemies, in the triumph of justice and of truth, over vice, indignity, venality, and falsehood.

" Sensible of the lustre which virtue gives, and which virtue only can give to Royalty, strongly impressed with the importance of the example set by those who are called on to fill high stations in society to the preservation of the religious and moral character of the nation, we hail your Majesty's return with joy, convinced that your illustrious and dignified exam-

ple of faithfulness to your marriage vow, under circumstances the most trying to the female heart, will strengthen the influence of that honourable institution, check the demoralizing influence of an opposite example, and the consequent circulation of corrupt manners, and bring the dispositions that are lovely in private life into the service of the Commonwealth.

" Our sympathy has, in common with the great mass of our fellow subjects, been powerfully and painfully excited in your favour by the unjust and cruel persecution to which you are again subjected; and our minds have thus been naturally led to dwell on your sufferings; and while we admire your humble resignation to the severest afflictions of the Divine Will, we rejoice to see the lofty energies of your character as displayed in the high-minded resistance you have opposed to the rancorous fatuity of your enemies.

" We cannot view the unconstitutional mode of attack adopted against your Majesty without feeling grieved that under circumstances calculated to excite the best feelings of humanity in your favour, and to give a generous impulse to the manly feelings of your natural Protector, you should be subjected to a mode of prosecution almost bidding defiance to vindication from the vagueness of the imputations, which, while it enlists your accusers in the number of your judges, refuses you the means of refutation, and founds your trial upon the warrant for your degradation.

"We have hitherto conceived, and we still presume to think, that the preparation to sentences should follow, and not precede, the trial of the accused. In the instance to which we refer, this principle is inverted, and we see that the act for your degradation is the foundation of your trial; that that proceeding, which necessarily pre-supposes guilt, is the first step towards inquiry into its existence.

"We have heard of the omnipotence of Parliament, but we presume to doubt its power to invert the principles of justice, and to convince society in the present age of the propriety of its proceedings.

"Be assured, Madam, that while your enemies thus seek to bind their victim, that they may secure its sacrifice, they betray their consciousness of their own weakness, and of your strength, that in your absence the people of England have learnt from sad experience how to estimate the reports of Secret Committees, how to appreciate the contents of sealed bags, and are convinced that every one that doeth evil, hateth the light, but that he that doeth truth, cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest.

"While addressing you in your constitutional character of Queen of England, we may be allowed to add, that when we contrast the present proceeding against the first subject of the realm, with the refusal of all inquiry into a recent outrage against the poorer subjects of

this kingdom; when we see that neither the magnanimous and dignified boldness of your behaviour, the conviction, in the expression of which your enemies have unblushingly joined, that their proceedings are injurious to the best interests of the empire, can check an anomalous and unprincipled mode of inquiry in the one case—nor the supplications of injured poverty procure it, by the ordinary and constitutional modes, in the other—it induces the melancholy conviction, that the love of justice, and the good of this country, are not the objects which influence those whose proceedings we are now canvassing. We seek not, Illustrious Lady, to obtain from you, in your present situation, the expression of any sentiment foreign to the subject which leads us to address you. It is, however, but natural in us to contrast the inconsistencies of your persecutors, when expressing our sympathy in your sufferings—our regard for your interests—our affection for our Queen.

"The people of England have been accused of rallying round your Majesty, and prejudging the circumstances of your situation. We have been taught, Madam, until now, that to rally round Majesty was the first duty of subjects, and an evidence of loyalty; that it was a first principle of justice, and one on which the administration of English jurisprudence was founded, to preserve the innocence of the accused until guilt is proved. We admire the principle; we act upon it in approaching your

presence; and beyond our justification on this principle, we are justified, in the present instance, by the knowledge that you have before indicated yourself from similar aspersions, and that the nation, under the guidance of our late venerable Monarch, your father-in-law, then pronounced them to be founded in falsehood and supported by perjury.

It is the property of truth to confound its adversaries, and in the vituperations of your enemies we see this exemplified—they are evidently unable to appreciate high principles—feeling that, among the grovelling spirits arrayed against you, every gain had its price, they conceived that 30,000*l.* per annum would purchase submission to any principle, however base, to any imputation, however gross. We admire the noble determination which led you to answer this offer in the British capital, and to reject the misdirected address of another assembly—it shows to us you estimate the people of England as superior to so wicked, so base a compromise.

Be assured, noble Lady, that the strongest and the best sympathies of our nature are excited in your favour, and enlisted in your cause—that though forbidden to asperate your name in the public forms of religion, we need not the fiat of earthly majesty to authorise our appeal to the common Parent of man, that you have our prayers the more fervently, because they are opposed by your enemies; and that it is the earnest wish

of our hearts, that you may expose their machinations, and triumph over their malice, and that we may see you restored to all your constitutional rights, and crowned Queen of these realms.

“ W. JENNINGS, } *Churchwardens.*  
“ RT. PEARCE, }

#### ANSWER.

“ The householders and inhabitants of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, are requested to accept my unfeigned thanks for this affectionate address. The long series of persecutions by which I have been assailed, though they have been successfully defeated, have been as constantly renewed. The present atrocious attack upon my moral character and upon my royal dignity, is designed by my enemies to produce that catastrophe which is to terminate this drama of iniquity. But the good people of England are not willing to see a new reign open with a tragedy.

“ The inhabitants of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, will remark, that the charges against me are of the most vague and indefinite kind. They have no palpable form, no distinct individual character. Such vague generalities of accusation are the common refuge of slander, when it asperses without evidence, and condemns without proof. In the present instance, the charge against me is so indeterminate, that it is more like an inquisition into the conduct of a whole life, than into the truth of any particular allegation.

"In their Bill of Pains and Penalties my adversaries first condemn me without proof—and then, with a sort of novel refinement in legislative science, proceed to inquire whether there is any proof to justify the condemnation. They first pre-judge my case, and then attempt to colour the injustice by a sort of judicial parade, which this age will never approve, and which posterity will abhor. Justice has been denominated even-handed; but what should we think of that emblematical figure of judicial purity, in one of whose hands the accuser had put not only a green bag of perjury, but a yellow bag of gold."

#### TO THE MECHANICS AND ARTISANS.

"I am much gratified and unfeignedly obliged by the warm and affectionate address from the Industrious Classes in and about the great metropolis of these realms. It affords me unspeakable satisfaction to find that this mighty city contains myriads of such persons, among whom there is a large stock of virtue and of intelligence, who condole with my sorrows, and who kindle with indignation at my wrongs. The Industrious Classes have shewn that they still retain that independence of mind which is inflexible to external circumstances, and which was once the proud boast and characteristic property of every Englishman. Though the gangrene of corruption has en-

gendered a debasing venality and a fawning obsequiousness, in detached portions of the community, yet Britain still retains a large portion of that heart of oak which for so many ages has made its name glorious and its annals bright.

"The Industrious Classes of the nation constitute the vital energy of the state. In the great fabric of society they are the strength at the bottom which supports the ornament at the top.

"The productive powers of the country are its real powers. For out of what other source is consumption supplied? What else is it that multiplies gratification of all kinds? To what else is affluence indebted for its splendour, or beauty for its decorations? Where rank is measured by usefulness, no reflecting mind will say that the Industrious Classes occupy the lowest step in the ascent of honourable ambition or estimable fame.

"There have been times, and perhaps those times may still be, when the hard-earned bread of the long-tiring peasant or mechanic is insufficient for his numerous family, when the poverty of the day has been succeeded by the inquietude of the night, and when night and day, and day and night, have been only a sad succession of pining wretchedness and hopeless woe. That order of things, which, in a large portion of the community, necessitates the acquisition of subsistence by the sweat of the brow, is the institution of Providence for the benefit of



man; but who does not see that it is not owing to the wisdom of the Deity, but to the hard-heartedness of the oppressor, when the sweat of the brow during the day is followed by the tear of affliction at its close, when the labour of the hand only adds to the aching of the heart, and what ought to be a source of joy is an aggravation of calamity? But if these things have been, I may perhaps be permitted to hope that they will be ere long only as the troubled scenery of a dream, and that happier times are approaching, when commerce will crowd our rivers, trade be busy in our streets, and industry smiling in our fields."

TO THE INHABITANTS OF  
HAMMERSMITH.

"I am sensibly impressed and deeply obliged by this affectionate address from the Inhabitants of Hammersmith, amongst whom I have my present temporary residence. I have always rejoiced in the felicitations of neighbours and in the charities of neighbourhood.

"The day on which the remains of the Princess Charlotte were committed to the silent

tomb was a day of deep sorrow to the nation. But if the nation wept, it was not merely because youth and beauty had withered, and wit and elegance had vanished in the grave. These were common occurrences; but it is not a common occurrence to see every virtue in a successor to the throne; and, in the mirror of those virtues, to behold the nation emerging from wretchedness, servitude, and disgrace, to freedom, to glory, and to happiness.

"All Europe has its eyes fixed on the present procedure in the House of Lords. I shall have to appear at the bar of that House; but that House itself will have to appear at the bar of public opinion throughout the world; I shall have to defend myself against their accusations; but they will have to defend themselves against the reproaches of individual conscience, as well as the impartial condemnation of the age which now is and of that which is to come. To have been one of the Peers who, after accusing and condemning, affected to sit in judgment on Queen Caroline, will be a sure passport to the splendid notoriety of everlasting shame."

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 37.---No. 6.] LONDON, SATURDAY, August 26, 1820. [Price, 6d.

TO  
THE CLERGY  
OF THE  
CHURCH OF ENGLAND,  
ON

*Their Conduct relative to the  
Queen, and on other Matters  
in which they are deeply con-  
cerned.*

London, 22d August, 1820.

REVEREND SIRS,

You, who act so conspicuous a part in all other questions of great public interest, have kept yourselves close and snug upon the present occasion, while your flocks have been uncommonly active and zealous. When the late war was like to flag, who so eager to urge on the continuation of it with vigour as you? A sort of panic seized you at every prospect of a sheathing of the sword. In 1812, when the nation in general sighed for peace, you came forward with addresses, urging a pushing on of the war with

additional vigour. Who so forward as you in obeying the injunctions of Sidmouth against the press? And who so active in all the measures of hostility against the Reformers?

To what, then, are we to ascribe your silence upon the present occasion? Here is a Queen attacked, and your loyalty is dormant. Here it is proposed to dissolve the marriage of a King and Queen by a mere act of Parliament; and you are silent! The Queen is not even *accused of adultery*; and yet it is proposed to *put her away*. Now, you know well, that Jesus Christ positively forbids the putting away of a wife on any account *other than that of her having committed adultery*. If we are to disregard his words in this case, what is to induce us to attend to them in any other case? If the Queen be put away, or attempted to be put away, upon any other than this one ground, and if you continue silent on the subject, what are we to think of the matter? We have seen you active enough on

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other occasions: we have heard your pulpits resound with denunciations against the French and against the Reformers, neither of whom pretended to attempt the violation of any precept of the Gospel; and, therefore, if you continue silent now, what is the conclusion that we ought to draw? Your parishioners are, in every quarter, expressing their attachment to the persecuted Queen, and their abhorrence of the conduct of the persecutors; but never has one of you been seen at the head, nor even at the heels, of any body of the people, engaged in so truly a religious work. One would think that this was, of all cases, a case to call for your interference; and yet you are silent as the tomb.

Not *all* of you, however, for one has dared openly to assail her Majesty, and that, too, with a degree of malignity worthy a Dominican Monk. The Queen has been assailed by the editors of the *Morning Post*, the *Courier*, and by other hacks, notoriously the tools of corruption. But it was reserved for the *Church* to send forth a champion of corruption in the shape of a *pamphlet*; and the county of *Lancaster*, which contains so

many good men, contains this base and savage assailant; this son of corruption and hypocrisy, who pretends that the Queen was *not acquitted* in 1806, and who has the audacity to say, that she ought now to be *set aside* for the sake of the *morals* of the country!

As these are, probably, the grounds that you all take, I will endeavour to place them in their true light. You do not need this: you know how false these grounds are: but it may be useful to shew their falsehood, in order that those who may affect to act upon them may be duly estimated; that is to say, that they may be loaded with public execration.

The Lancashire parson (who dates his infamous publication from *Manchester*) affects to believe that, although the Queen was acquitted of the charge of having *had a child*, she was *not acquitted of levity of conduct*; that the four Lords found her *guilty* of that; that they advised the late King to remonstrate with her on the subject, and to request that she would be *more reserved* in future; and that the King did act in conformity with this advice.

This is true; but this reve-

read slanderer chooses to forget, that this finding guilty of *levity* was by a tribunal, before whom the accused person was not allowed to *appear*; that she had no means afforded of rebutting the charge; that she was, in short, never made acquainted with the existence of the inquiry, until *after* the inquiry was all over, and the tribunal dissolved! The reverend reviler chooses to forget, that the moment this innocent woman heard of this charge of *levity*, she repelled it; she declared it to be *false*; she wrote, to the King, complaining that justice had not been done her; and *demanding a full and fair investigation*. She asserted, that those who had sworn to the *levities* were as much perjured as those who had sworn to the child-bearing: she asserted, that the whole had proceeded from a foul conspiracy against her; and she pledged herself to prove this, if she were allowed the opportunity.

The King was advised not to grant this request. The motives for this were, on his part, natural enough. He knew, that such inquiry must operate, in its result, injuriously to those who had been the *investigators*

of the proceeding; just then closed. He convinced the Princess that he was satisfied of her innocence. He received her at his court; he frequently visited her himself; and he prevailed on her to let the matter rest. To this she, in her great goodness and generosity, consented; but, she is now punished for that goodness and generosity by the foul accusations of men like this reverend slanderer.

This foul-mouthed priest would have us believe, that the Queen received a *reprimand* from the late King; that she took it in *silence*; that she *tacitly* pleaded guilty to the charge of *levity of conduct*. But, the fact is, that she did not receive the reprimand; she rejected it; she repelled the charge; she said it had proceeded from the lips of perjured witnesses; and she, accordingly, *requested a full investigation*, that she might prove this. Did this argue *guilt*? Did this argue *truth* on the side of her accusers? She said, "I will not receive this reprimand: it is unjust: your Majesty has had the result of false witnesses laid before you: give me a full and fair investigation; and I will prove these wretches to be per-

"jured." In answer to this, the same persons who had advised the secret tribunal, advised, that she should not be heard before an open court; and they also found out, that the tribunal, which they had before devised was of a sort, that to swear falsely before it was *not to commit perjury!*

Upon what ground, then, does this malignant hypocrite pretend, that her Majesty was *convicted of levities* in 1806? If, indeed, she had *submitted* to be reprimanded, it would have been another thing; but she never did; and, there was no more ground for it than there was for sentencing her to death on the charge of adultery. The witnesses, who swore to the levities were, some of them, amongst those who swore to the child-bearing. A *Fanny Lloyd* was one of these. And, here we have an instance of the manner, in which the affair was conducted. *Lord Moira*, now Marquis of Hastings and Governor of India, acted a conspicuous part in this affair. He had a hand in *collecting evidence* for the tribunal. *Fanny Lloyd* was brought, by some means or other, to his house, and before him and *Lowten*, the attorney. *What*

*induced* the "high-minded" nobleman; *who it was* that prevailed on him to act in this capacity (he being Master General of the Ordnance at the time) I know not. Well; *Fanny* was before these two personages, and, so being, *Fanny swore*, that, in 1802, an Apothecary at Greenwich, who used to attend at the Princess's, *told her*, that *he was sure*, that the Princess was with child. Oh, oh! Here came in a *Doctor!* The Doctor was sent for by Lord Moira, and the Doctor said, that *Fanny had sworn to a lie*; for, that, not only had he never told *Fanny* any such a thing; but that such a thought had never come into his head! This was strange. But, the Doctor had a *partner*; and it might have been *he*. No better luck here. So that *Fanny's* evidence, as to this point, remained a *lie*: a clear, sheer, unqualified lie. Nevertheless (and now mark!) *Fanny* was sent before the Tribunal *after this!* There *Fanny* swore stoutly to the *levities*. But, that which *Fanny* had sworn about the *Doctor* and the *child-bearing* was suppressed. The Doctor's name was never more mentioned; and, while the King had a full account of what *Fanny*

had sworn about the *levities*, he had no account at all of what she had before sworn to about the Doctor!

These facts came out, in 1813; through the means of discussions in parliament. Mr. Whitbread then showed how unfair was the representation, that had been made to the King respecting these levities; and, amongst other things, he stated this matter relating to Fanny Lloyd and the Doctor. Lord Moira wrote a letter to Mr. Whitbread, explaining his conduct; but, that letter only proved the fact: it did nothing at all towards removing the impressions, which the fact was calculated to make.

Fanny Lloyd's is merely a specimen of the evidence, on which the charge of *levity* was founded. In the documents, laid before the King, was a detail of the evidence; but, the answers only of the witnesses were given, and not the questions which produced these answers. And, all the world knows how very different things appear in consequence of the suppression of questions. For instance, in the report of Mrs. Lisle's evidence, there was this: "the Princess walked out alone, for some time, in Lord Shaf-

field's garden with Mr. Chester, who is a pretty young man." But, Mr. Whitbread showed, that, in fact, Mrs. Lisle had meant no such insinuation as the one here contained. Having been asked, whether the Princess did not walk out alone with Mr. Chester, she said—"Yes." She was asked: "Mr. Chester is a handsome young man, is he not?" To which she answered, "*he is pretty.*" This is very different indeed from saying, that the Princess walked out alone with a pretty young man. And, in short, Mrs. Lisle, upon seeing an account of her evidence published, in 1813, went to Mr. Whitbread and told him, that she never meant to express the insinuation, contained in the report of her evidence; and, which report, let it be observed, she had never seen, until THE BOOK was published in 1813.

This is a specimen, and a mere specimen, of the means by which the late King was induced to send a reprimand to the Princess. This reprimand, I repeat, she never received; that is, she never acquiesced in it; she never allowed it to be just; she denied the facts on which it was founded; she said:

"I will not submit to this reprimand: give me a full, and fair trial: let me be heard in my defence: I will shew all this evidence to be false." This full and fair trial was refused; and, of course, she was to be regarded as a condemned woman from the beginning to the end; and all the charges were to be regarded as totally groundless.

The ingenuity of malice and the greediness to profit by corruption have discovered in the acquittal of the child-charge a proof of the truth of the charge of *levity*; or, in the falsehood of the finding of the *levity*, a proof of the falsehood of the acquittal of the child-charge. The Tribunal, say the corrupt, if it did wrong in deciding upon the charge of *levity*, also did wrong in deciding on the child-charge. This is a very poor shift. What! is it any thing new, then, for men to acknowledge, that one false charge is false and to persist that another false charge is true? When the wolf was beaten on his first charge against the lamb, was he at a loss to find a second? It is to be supposed, that the four worthy Peers were deceived by the witnesses. At any rate, they

had no power to hear evidence on the other side. It was an *ex parte* thing altogether. A grand jury may acquit on the capital charge, find on a minor charge, and yet the party may be acquitted of that charge too on trial, when he himself comes to be heard. But, the Queen never was heard; and this was the error of those four Peers; that they recommended the King to reprimand the Princess, without having heard her in her defence; which is much about the same thing as it would be for a grand jury to recommend the punishing of an accused party (against whom they had found a bill) without letting the party have a trial; and this, I suppose, is what the reverend Manchester slanderer would hardly have the impudence to call justice, *except in the case of a Radical*.

But, let us look at this sentence of reprimand a little more closely. Suppose the four Peers had found evidence to support the charge of child bearing; that would have been *high treason* in the Princess. But, reverend Sirs, will you say, that, upon their making the King a report of this evidence, and recommending to

him to cause the Princess to be beheaded and quartered, the King ought to have ordered her for bloody execution? I do not know, that the reverend slanderer of Manchester would not say even this; but will the nation, will any just man in the world say, that the King ought to have been advised to act upon such a recommendation? And yet, why not? Why, not, seeing that he was, upon a report of those Peers, without any thing further, advised to cause to be executed the punishment of reprimand? There is no argument, by which the latter can be justified, that would not have justified the former; if the sentence of pillory can be insisted upon the recommendation of a grand jury, without subsequent trial, so can the sentence of death; and, because the punishment of death would be unjust, it by no means follows, that the punishment of pillory would be just.

There were two charges against the Princess before the Secret Tribunal in 1806: one was that of child-bearing; the other that of levity of conduct. The first was of a very *specific* nature. It rested on facts of such a description that its truth or falsehood must, at once, be evi-

dent to all eyes: it must be as clear as the noon day sun. And, therefore, to find guilt here was impossible; unless the evidence had fully borne out the charge; and to acquit was impossible also, unless the evidence had been clear. This was a charge that must be proved to be true, or false, at once. But, a charge of *levity* gave so much room for opinion, for estimate, for taste, in the judges; and for humour, for sinister motives, for likings and dislikings, for whims, for many little movements of the heart; so much depended upon trifling differences of expression, upon surmises, upon the eyes with which witnesses see, and upon their own aptitude of judging of others by themselves; in short, this was a charge, that might, with a judicious selection of witnesses, be sustained against any woman that ever breathed, not excepting the holy sisterhoods that wear the veil and the cowl. Therefore, any body but a wretch fed with the largesses of Corruption can easily perceive, that, while the acquittal on the charge of child-bearing was just, the finding on the score of levity might be erroneous; and, when we see the Princess rejecting the reprimand



mand, demanding a fair trial, and refused that trial, we are compelled to believe, that it was erroneous.

Besides all this, the finding guilty of *levity* was not likely to be attended with *consequences* of a serious nature. No *exposure* was likely to follow, if the Princess could be *hushed*. She was, through the advice of those who afterwards abandoned her cause, hushed and persecuted too. Enough was done to leave the ground of future *stain*; but not enough to provoke open inquiry. The late king naturally wished to keep things quiet; but, he would certainly have preferred another course, if he could have foreseen, that forbearance on the part of the Princess would have been the ground of future reproach and imputed guilt. He never could believe, that what has come to pass would come to pass; he never could believe, that, though he might be in the grave, those who had so strenuously espoused the cause of his injured daughter-in-law would, even in his own life-time, make the sacrificing of her the ladder of their own ambition, and the means of cramming their own pockets. The Queen is frank,

sincere, and generous. It is contrary to her nature to be suspicious. She was, in 1806, without experience, and by her want of suspicion, she fell into the snares of her pretended friends. Had she, when the reprimand was conveyed to her, and when a full and fair investigation was refused; had she then *published the BOOK*, her enemies would have been so completely defeated as never to dare to show their heads again. The *BOOK* was prepared for publication; but the edition was burnt by *PERCEVAL* as soon as he had again *entered the Ministry*! It was that grand intrigue that gave him the power he possessed to the end of his life, a life as mischievous to England as that of Pitt himself.

Thus, then, for the benefit of the Church, I have exposed the malignity of this reverend reviler as far as relates to what he calls the Queen's having been *found guilty* on the charge of *levity*. Let me next come to his audacious assertion, that she ought to be *set aside* for the sake of the *morals* of the country.

A parson has generally an excellent nose, and can smell danger or difficulty much farther

than common mortals. This malignant hypocrite suspects, that no, *specific act* can be brought home to the Queen. He has conned over the Bill of Pains and Penalties; and he can smell out, that there is no direct charge of *adultery* contained in it. Therefore, he is for providing before hand a sort of *state necessity* for doing what he supposes will be done to the Queen. He is fool as well as hypocrite. That which he supposes will be done, will not be done; but no matter; he has, upon the supposition, been getting up a justification; and this justification is, that the *morals* of the country require the Queen to be "*put aside*:" how he does not seem to care any more than the slave of the Morning Post, who was for making her *yield* at all events, either as a *criminal*, or as a *martyr*!

In seeing this uncommon solicitude in a *parson* to get rid of the Queen for the sake of our morals, we naturally call to mind the part which the *parsons* took in the affair of *Mrs. Clarke*. Upon that occasion they were all compassion for the frailties of the *lady* and of her *friend*. They were all *indulgence*; and, as *Jacobin* times were not then

over, they called every one a *Jacobin*, who thought it wrong, that *Mrs. Clarke* should help to dispose of commissions in the army; or that she should send her *foot-boy* from behind her chair to command a part of a regiment and bear a commission. There was one *parson*, at *Winchester*, who, repeating an observation made by *BURTON* in the House of Commons, apologized for this step of *Mrs. Clarke*, by asserting, that, though he boy was her menial servant, he was the *natural* child (alias bastard), of an *Officer*; which, in addition to its profligacy, was a *falsehood*! Be it observed, too, that the *mother* and *father* of the lad were then living at *Woolwich*.

Upon that occasion, though no one attempted to deny the facts; though proofs of all sorts came out even in the own hand writing of the parties; though the public were nauseated with the proofs; upon *that occasion* the *parsons* were all *indulgence*. They were then in no alarm about the injury to *morals*; and their pulpits resounded with censures on those who took any part in bringing to light and in endeavouring to punish the accused parties. We were then

told, that we had no right to pry into such matters; that we ought to draw a veil over foibles and frailties of the kind; that we were Jacobins and Rebels; that we, through the sides of the Duke of York, *attacked the House of Brunswick!*

Alas! how changed the tone now! The facts were, in that case, open, flagrant, notorious, under our own noses, in the midst of our dwellings. And yet, where was the parson then to cry out for an example to protect our morals? On the contrary, not only did the reverend guides reprobate our complaints, but some of them were found to have been *intimates with Mrs. Clarke*, and, what is more, *objects of her patronage!* And, which really beats all that the world ever heard of, one *Doctor of Divinity* obtained from Mrs. Clarke, through the channel of her illustrious friend, *the honour of preaching before the King!* A famous selector of preachers for his Majesty! What office, or offices, the reverend divine had performed in Mrs. Mary Anne Clarke's household, I never heard; but the billet-doux, in which her request of honouring the reverend person was answered, is fresh in my

memory, and has made me laugh a thousand times.

The Clergy made no inconsiderable figure in the exposures of that memorable period. At a public meeting at Winchester, the object of which was to *censure* the doings of Mrs. Clarke and her immoral associates, the only persons to *oppose such censure* were *parsons*, who had the effrontery to come boldly forward and tell us, that we had no right to meddle with such matters; that the Royal Family were not to be subject to such scrutiny; that we had to mind our own affairs; and that all those who called in question the propriety of such conduct as that which we condemned, were enemies to the House of Brunswick, Jacobins and Rebels.

However, you, reverend Sirs, of the present day, may be, perhaps, of a different way of thinking. You may hold adultery in abhorrence, and not only adultery, but even *levity*. But, suppose, for argument's sake, (and I use the supposition in no other way) that there has been what is called "*adulterous intercourse.*" How is it to affect *our morals?* It is not seen *here*. It is *passed*. It is not *certain*. It is neither proved nor confess-

ed; but it is merely asserted on one side and indignantly denied on the other. If attempted to be proved, the proof is attempted by the Government. If the tale is brought us, they are the tale-bearers. If we know any thing even of the charge, the foundation of the charge has been laid by the government, and at the nation's expence. But the ugly part of the story is, that the Queen might have got rid of all trouble at once by receiving 50,000*l.* a year and *quitting the kingdom, after the charge had been made!* She might have gone, homotired with a royal yacht for a conveyance, introduced as Queen of England at a foreign court, and have a princely income, paid by us, to *spend with her alleged paramour*; and, after some years, passed in this way, she might have returned and been *seated on the throne as our lawful sovereign*. This is the ugly part of the story; and it proves as clear as day-light, that all the pretences about a regard for the nation's *morale* are the offspring of the vilest hypocrisy.

Amongst all the persons whom her Majesty is said to have had in her suite, in her confidence, or in her household,

we hear of *no priest*. With me that would be a strong presumption in her favour, even if I could discover, in other respects, grounds for doubt. She has kept clear of this description of persons. She is unpolluted with this pest; and this is a shield of ten-fold security. There has hardly been a single instance of sublime, magnificent turpitude, in which a priest, of one sort or another, has not had a hand. She has had priests and lawyers, and men notoriously unjust, and cruel for her enemies. She is hated by those who hate a freedom and all merit. These are strong recommendations, if she had no other; and, as to her ruin being necessary to the preservation of *our morals*, it is the most base pretence that ever came from the lips of hypocrite.

Slender indeed is the right to reign, if it depend on such a doctrine! This doctrine would give a people a right to inquire into the *chastity* of every Queen and every Princess. It would give them a right to *reject a King as well as a Queen*. It would give them a right to dethrone one as well as the other, unless we were to adopt the maxim of this profligate parson, that, *in the husband*, that is to

be overlooked, which is to be deemed criminal in the wife; a maxim in the teeth of reason, in the teeth of justice, in the teeth of the law, in the teeth of the scriptures, and in the teeth of that very prayer book, which this parson does read, or ought to read, every Sunday in the church.

This person grows most wolf-like against the Radicals. It is very provoking; to be sure, that they should be able to prove by their conduct the truth of what they have always asserted in words; that they are the *really loyal* part of the king's subjects. They endeavour to *protect* the Queen, while they utter not a word against the King. Their enemies *attack* the Queen. This, at once, shows who are the loyal and who the disloyal. This must be very provoking to our revilers; and it is as pleasing to us. Those revilers have been now driven into a strange dilemma; they must side with us and the Queen against her persecutors, or they must side with those persecutors, and bear a portion of the hatred, which the heart of man allots them. They have chosen the latter; but, then, their path is strewn with thorns. To maintain, that a

Queen may be *set aside* for the sake of the *morals* of the people, is to open a field of danger to the cause of Royalty. For, if a Queen can be deprived of her rights; if she can be divested of the protection which the law gives her beyond other women, upon the ground, that the measure is required by the national *morals*, what security is there for a King? He may be an immortal man; or may be falsely accused of it, and there can seldom be a pretence wanting for setting him aside. Now, no Radical has ever broached a doctrine like this; and, the pretended *loyal* men have the exclusive honour of the invention.

Blackstone, in speaking of the Revolution, says, that it *was right*; but, that it is impossible to conceive the existence of *another* case when it would be right. Thorough-paced lawyer, as he was, he did not say, that it might never be possible to find out a justification for a revolution again; but, if he had lived till now, he would have been told, that to preserve the *national morals* might, at any time, be just cause for doing what he found it so very hampering to reconcile with law.

If it be necessary to unqueen

a queen for the preservation of morals, why not unking a king with the same object in view, if it should ever happen, that the *king's example* was calculated to injure the morals of the people? So, really, this new doctrine is a complete oversetter of all our notions of *hereditary right* and of the *sacredness* of the king's person. I deny the doctrine: I say it's false: I say, that the king's right to reign is not to be taken away upon a charge of immorality: I say, that let a king be, in morals, what he may; if we should ever have a king, who was not only a bad and savage husband and father; not only debauched and abandoned as to women; not only a contemner of the marriage-vow, a seducer of other men's wives, the reputed father of a whole litter of bastards, and, in short, who pursued his debaucheries till he became the sport of his mistresses and their favourite paramours, till his embraces became disgusting, endured only for the pecuniary advantage to be derived from them, and till all the nation was shocked with the odiousness and nameousness of his filthy and ludicrous amours; who was not only all this, but who was be-

sides, empty, vain, conceited, drunken, faithless, cruel, and cowardly, and all these in the extreme; even if we were ever to have a king of this horrid description, in whom should be met all the vices without one single virtue; if there were to meet in him passion without tenderness, vindictiveness without gratitude, greediness without economy; and, in short, suppose what you will, if you can suppose any thing worse than this, suppose all the fooleries and faults of all the silliest of women joined to all the sins of all the wickedest of men; suppose all this, and even then, I say, that it would be *high treason* to propose to unking even such a king as this, upon the ground that his *example* would be injurious to the *morals* of the people. This is an extreme case, to be sure. It will be said, that I have supposed a *monster* rather than a man, and that I have only to clap a tail to him to make him a devil; but devil as he might be, still I say, that to propose to *set him aside* for the sake of the *morals* of the nation would be *high treason*. What would be to be done, then? Why, he must remain, to be sure, and the 'people must take care of

*their own morals.* But, if this be the case with regard to a king, what ground can the parson have for endeavouring to persuade us, that the national *morals* ought to be put forward as a cause for setting aside a queen? Are a queen's morals every thing, and those of a king nothing? Is her example of such vast consequence, and his example of no consequence at all? Is the example of the sovereign himself of no importance to us, while the example of his consort is of such tremendous importance? There is great delight exhibited by those, who talk of the Queen as a mere *subject*. The debauched crew seem to enjoy themselves in pulling her Majesty down to the state of a mere *subject*. She is something more. It is *high treason* to conspire against her life, and, besides, she is one of the contingent claimants to the throne itself. But, if she be nothing more than a mere *subject*, why is such a fuss made about the moral evils of her supposed *example*? Falsehood should always have a good memory; but, the truth is, falsehood cannot long remain consistent: it must confine itself to one point, or it is sure to betray it's nature.

For the purpose of making her supposed example of importance, the Queen is a *great personage*; but, for the purpose of preparing the way for her degradation, she is a mere *subject*. Such tricks only serve to show the badness of the cause, in which they are employed.

Suffer me now, reverend Sirs, to remind you, that the Scripture says, that "it is not lawful for a man to put away his wife, save only for adultery." Now, then, the Bill of Pains and Penalties proposes to put the Queen away; and, if it be not proved, as I am sure it will not, that she has been guilty of adultery, will you approve of this Bill; and will you not *petition against it*? But, indeed, the Bill does not *accuse* her of adultery. And yet the reverend calumniator of Manchester highly approves of the Bill, and he bitterly reproaches the people because they do not approve of it too. He calls upon the noble, the rich, and the strong "to put on the whole armour of the Lord of Hosts," and to fight those who are opposed to this Bill! And yet this Bill proposes to put away the king's wife without even accusing her of adultery.

"Those whom God hath joined together, let not man put asunder," says the parson's *prayer-book*; but, the parson is of a contrary opinion. The parson is for putting away the Queen by the hands of men, though he has many times taken his fee after forbidding such an act in a voice the most solemn. In short, the attempt of this parson is a most furious blow at clerical sincerity.

It has been a subject of astonishment with many, though not with *me*, that the clergy should have discovered such a feeling, or, rather, such a want of feeling, in the cause of the Queen. But, men in general take things for what they appear to be. There is a great deal in habit too. We are accustomed to confound *religion* with those who profess to teach it; and we naturally wonder, that parsons should not be friendly towards the Queen, seeing that such friendship is called for by every principle of religion. The same may be said as to the question of reform.—We know, that a reform, though great in its *political* effects, would be still greater in its *moral* effects. We know, that it would infinitely lessen the

quantity of bribery, perjury, lying, drunkenness, and, by removing much of the poverty, greatly lessen the quantity of thievery, robbery, murder, and suicide. And, as all these things are directly in the teeth of religion, we are quite *surprised*, that the clergy are amongst the most bitter enemies, instead of being the warmest friends, of Reform.

The mystery in both cases admits of the same solution. In our notions of clergymen, we sublimise and refine too much. We forget, that they *eat* and *drink* like other men. We, in short, forget their *temporalities*, and this is a part of their concerns which we ought never to forget. They have most comfortable livings. They do little, and have good cheer. It is natural, therefore, that they should have great hatred against any body, whose efforts tend to the *disturbing* of this state of things. It is very certain, that some men must undergo bodily labour. Without this the world could not go on. But, there is a desire in every man to live without this bodily labour; to live at ease, while others labour, and, of course, to live on that labour. So that the parsons are by no means singular in their taste. They enjoy a large portion of the good things of this world: perhaps the choicest portion of all. It is, therefore, very natural, that they should



dislike any thing, that might, even by possibility, expose them to the danger of losing these good things. They are born with hearts like other men; but habit gives their hearts qualities different from the general mass. They do not *approve* of the bribery, perjury, drunkenness, and lying at elections; or, at least, many of them do not. But, when they consider, that, without these, that system which insures to them *ease and plenty*, could not exist, and that they might not find the same security under a better system, they are very apt to console themselves with the observation, that "*nothing is perfect under the sun*;" and that we must wait with *patience* for perfectibility in *another world*. In the mean while, when times become critical, they become alarmed; and, they do from a feeling of fear that which they would not do from a less powerful motive. In the reformers they imagine they see the besiegers of their temporalities: they get frightened, next angry; they appeal to the sword instead of the word: they fear the loss of *tythes*, and they cry out *blasphemy*!

This is the whole of the mystery. It is nonsense to talk about danger to *morals* from the presence of the Queen: but you, reverend Sirs, imagine, that her *presence*, and particularly her *triumph*, would make a great *stir*, and you wish to keep all *still and quiet* as the grave. You know, that she would be *popular*, because it is impossible that one oppressed person should

not excite a fellow feeling in those who have been oppressed by the same hand. Being popular, she would be, of course, a rallying point. This was what Canning confessed he *feared* in 1814. He described her as affable, frank, gracious, and fascinating; and *therefore* it was, as he confessed, that he *wished her out of the country*. Her sin, and her only sin, then, is *her being here*. This is evident from the endeavours made use of to get rid of her. If she would have gone away, even *after* the Green Bags had been laid *upon the table*, and *after* Castlereagh and Liverpool had described their contents: if she would have gone away, she might have had a princely income, a Royal Yacht to sail in, and might have been announced as *Queen of England* at a foreign court. There she might have lived with all the imputed crimes on her head, and *in the enjoyment of them still*, and might have enjoyed them too at *our expence*. No fear on the score of *morals* was apprehended in this case. The whole of the Queen's sin, therefore, clearly is *her being in the country*.

I have now, reverend Sirs, pointed out what your conduct towards the Queen has been, and have explained the true cause of it. This is a time when men's conduct should be well observed, and their motives ascertained. You were, just now, lying snugly out of sight. I have brought you forth to the light.

WM. COBBETT.

AN

# ANSWER

TO THE

## SPEECH OF THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL,

AGAINST HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

London, 23d August, 1820.

We have at last, in a tangible shape, the charges against the wife of our King and Sovereign. Rumours and backbiting are, at last, put an end to: I have the report of the speech made by the Attorney General, on the 19th and 21st inst. now lying before me. I have read it with attention. And, in it alone, without waiting to hear any contradiction of its assertions, I see enough to convince me, *that the charges are false.* Aware of the influence of prepossession; aware of the power of our wishes to mislead our judgment; and feeling a strong desire that the charges against her Majesty should prove false, I have subdued in myself the propensity to yield up my reason and integrity to this desire. I have per-

used the speech with a sincere desire to come to a just conclusion; and that conclusion is, that the charges are as false as they are foul. I do not want to hear any of the evidence for or against the charges: I take the speech, and suppose that the Attorney General will produce witnesses to swear to all the facts which he has stated; and I am convinced, by reasons which I submit to your attention, that, even if all and singular the facts be sworn to, the conclusion ought to be, that the charges are false.

Something in the way of narrative will be necessary before I enter on the arguments contained in the speech. The Queen went to the Continent in the year 1814, not long after the late Queen had, at the instigation of the then Regent, signi-

sied to her a wish that she would keep away from the drawing-rooms held at that time. She first went to Brunswick. She was accompanied by Lady Charlotte Lindsay, Lady Elizabeth Forbes, Mr. St. Ledger, Sir W. Gell, the Honourable Keppel Craven, Captain Hesse, Dr. Holland, and Mr. Austin. From Brunswick she went to Milan in Italy, at which place the Attorney-General says she arrived on the 9th of October 1814. He says, that she remained about three months at Milan, when she set off for Naples by the way of Rome; and arrived at Naples on the 8th of November 1814. She remained at Naples from November till March, when she quitted it, and went successively to Rome, Leghorn, Genoa and Milan, where she remained until the middle of May 1815. She then set out for Venice, and returned to Milan in August 1815. She now travelled on the mountains and about the lakes of that part of Italy, and settled, for a short time, at *L'Este*, near Como. In November 1815, she embarked on board the *Leviathan*, Capt. Briggs, and, after visiting Elba, reached Palermo in Sicily, where she remained till January 1816. She then embarked on board the *Clorinde* frigate, Capt. Pechell, and went to *Syracuse*, from which she returned to Sicily, going first to *Catania*, and then to *Augusta*. From Sicily she went to *Tunis*, in *Africa*; from *Tunis* to *Utica*, in a small vessel which she purchased; and returned to *Tunis* in April 1816. In the

same month she went from *Tunis* to *Athens*: from *Athens* she went to *Ephesus*, thence to *Jerusalem*, thence to *Jaffa*, where she embarked for Italy, and arrived in September 1816, taking up her residence in the palace *D'Este* on the Lake of *Como*. In February 1817, she made a tour into Germany, and returned to *D'Este* in the Spring; after which she went to *Trieste*, and returned in August 1817.

This, as far as relates to times and places, is the account of the Attorney-General; and, on this you will please to observe, and to bear the fact in mind, that the Queen was almost continually travelling, or preparing for, or resting after, travelling. This is an observation of great importance to bear in mind, as we shall, by and by, see. She was settled no where for any length of time. Her object evidently was to see as much of the world as she could. Later than August 1817, the Attorney-General gives us no account of her movements, or of any of her conduct: except that he says, in one part of his speech, that her conduct towards *Bergami* was the same even until the day of her finally parting from him; which is an assertion that we ought to bear in mind; for it will be found to be of great importance as to the inferences to be drawn.

The object is to make us believe, that the Queen is an adorer, and the man fixed upon is the *Baron Bergami*, whom the Attorney General endeavours to exhibit as, at once, the most beloved and most unworthy of

men. He relates more wonders of this man and the Queen than romance ever contained before; and, we shall find, very soon, that, if what he says and what his witnesses will, doubtless, swear, be true; then *human nature herself is a liar*. It is a question of fact; and all that we shall have to settle is, whether the voice of nature, or that of the witnesses in the Fortress, be the most likely to speak the truth. There will be the *cross-examinations*; there will be the *witnesses on her side*: but, without waiting for any of these we shall, I think, determine, that, upon the Attorney General's *own showing* (including what is notoriously true) the facts he has stated and the inferences he has drawn are false.

In order to lay a broad foundation for the charges, Bergami is represented as being, when he came into the Queen's service, a *menial servant*. It is on that fact, presumed, that he must have been a *paramour*, in order to account for his great and rapid advancement in her service. But, besides that this is a very uncharitable presumption, is it any thing *uncommon* to see men rapidly advanced from very low to very high situations? Sir JOHN McMAHON, whom the Regent made a *Right Honourable*, and placed at the Council Board with Dukes, Earls, and himself, was notoriously, at one time, a *foot-boy*! Numerous instances of the kind might be mentioned; but, in the next place, what were the titles of distinction, which the Queen conferred and obtained?

I suppose, that any man might get made a *Baron* for five golden guineas; and, in countries where men *without titles* are looked upon and treated as scum of the earth, it was very natural for the Queen to wish to get some sort of title for the man, who principally managed her affairs.

But *why* was BERGAMI the principal person about the Queen? He is called a *Courier*, or *Postillion*. But words have different meanings in different countries. He had been a *military Courier*: or, what we should almost call an *aid-de-camp*, or, at least, a *Messenger*. So that this degrading appellation of *Courier* is made use of merely for the purpose of contrast. In the Queen's intention to travel, an intention which she put into full execution, we see a very good and sufficient reason for employing a man of this description; but, yet, we, who have never travelled on the Continent, can have but a very imperfect idea of the necessity of such a person on a journey. It is not calling a post-chaise, or, rather, driving up to an Inn gate, and waiting five minutes; and being taken on again in perfect safety; and thus, from stage to stage, as from Southampton to Edinburgh, sleeping half the time, if you like. This is not the case upon the Continent. But, on the contrary, to obtain horses, to secure lodging, and to secure your threats from being cut in those lodgings, is a business to be entrusted to none but clever men, and brave men too. To fill such an office with ability is no small merit; and, it

was precisely this sort of merit, of which, at that time, her Majesty stood in need. A man of a thousand times as much merit in other respects would not have been so valuable to the Queen at the period to which we are alluding. She was bent on travel; and to travel with convenience, or even with safety to her life, she stood in need, in absolute need, of a person like Bergami. It was necessary that he should have zeal and fidelity, as well as ability; and was not to reward him highly the best and most effectual way of securing that fidelity and zeal?

Bergami was (upon whose recommendation the Attorney General does not know) taken into the Queen's service in the fall of 1814, at Milan. There must be some mistake in this part of the speech; for it says, that he entered the Queen's service about 15 days before she quitted Milan to go to Naples, and that she had been three months at Milan before she quitted it, though she arrived on the 9th of October, and arrived at Naples on the 8th of November. However, the Attorney General says, that Bergami, as soon as the Queen arrived at Naples, became her Paramour. On the 9th of November begins the history of these wonderful amours. From this time, just three weeks after he entered the Queen's service, he became her bed-fellow. They carried on openly all sorts of indecencies. Their conduct was so flagrant that every eye observed it. The Queen slept in

his bed without taking the smallest precaution to disguise the fact; and this, too, as constantly as a wife sleeps with her husband. Not by night only, was this love affair going on; but by day also, and at theatres, balls, at times, openly in the streets, before the face of all the world. The Queen breakfasted with Bergami alone, and in short, they were openly man and wife, except that they were so excessively fond. It was a pair of Turtle Doves, continually abilling and cooing.

Now, observe, all this while, Lady Charlotte Liddsay, Lady Elizabeth Forbes, Keppel, Craven, Sir W. Galt, Dr. Holland, and Capt. Hesse were living in the same house with the Queen! Is it possible, that the above-mentioned scenes could be going on; and they know nothing of them? I ask, if this be possible? Remember, that these scenes were going on, not for a day, a week, or a month, but from November to March inclusive; that is to say, five months. These English Ladies, were maids of honour, and the Gentlemen were chamberlains and equerries, and one a Physician. Where were their eyes and ears? They were living in the same house, under the same roof; and yet they never saw, or heard, any thing about these open and flagrant, and shameful doings! Will you say; will any man of sincerity say, that he believes, that such things could be going on without one of these six persons, all living in the same house with the criminal parties, hearing any thing at

all of the matter? Yet, they could not have heard any thing of it; for, if they had, to have remained in the house would have made the Ladies *bawds* and the Gentlemen *pimps*.

In spite of this inevitable conclusion, the Attorney-General, in order to guard beforehand against the objection I am now making, says, that, *doubtless*, these Ladies and Gentlemen did hear *rumours*. What! Hear *rumours*? From what quarter? And why talk of *rumours*, when the amours were carried on, not only every night, but every day, and that too far more shamelessly than the amours of the common street-walkers? Why talk of *rumours* in such a case? Can that which is open, flagrant, notorious, be a subject of *rumour*? We may as well say, at this moment, that it is rumoured that the Queen's trial is going on; for, if the Attorney-General's statement were true, the Queen's amours at Naples were as notorious as this trial now is. It is the most curious thing that the world ever heard of, that *rumour* should tell the inmates of the Queen, of what was passing under their own eyes. The Queen's servants saw all that was passing. They must have talked of it. And were not some of those servants about the English Ladies and Gentlemen? Is it possible, that Bergami could have slept with the Queen every night; breakfasted with her every morning; toyed with and kissed her every day; she go openly to his bed-side; is it possible for this to be going

on, and under the same roof with six Ladies and Gentlemen, and these Ladies and Gentlemen never know any thing of the matter, except from *mere rumour*? I ask if this be *possible*? And, if it be not believed to be possible, shall we believe the swearing of Italian witnesses to the facts? Shall we believe their oaths sufficient to set aside evidence of our own senses? Shall we believe, that their swearings are sufficient to make *impossibilities truths*?

However, if there were a *rumour* that reached the ears of those English Ladies and Gentlemen; if we suppose that this was so, how are we to account for their conduct during the whole of this history? A *rumour* would naturally and unavoidably set their *inquiring* powers to work. It is impossible, that they should not have come at the facts in an hour at farthest. Their own observation would have been enough; but, there were their servants, all living in the same house with the Queen's servants, and all necessarily hating the paramour from feelings of envy. The facts must have been ascertained in an instant; and, yet these six Ladies and Gentlemen, hear the *rumour*, and never make any inquiry at all; though all the means of ascertaining the facts were at hand; and, what is more, though they all very well knew, that they should run no risk of disfavour *at home* by denouncing and exposing their Mistress. They remain quiet; they hear the *rumour*; they make no inquiry; the English Ladies remain in a

house, which the Attorney-General represents as worse than a bawdy-house; they hear it rumoured that it is such, but still they remain, and say not a word about the matter; and, in this state, this disgraceful and infamous state, they continue for nearly *five months*! Will an Englishman believe this; and yet this he must believe, or he must believe the Attorney-General's statement to be false, though supported by the swearings of a thousand witnesses.

It is a monstrous imputation, that the Attorney-General casts on those ladies and gentlemen. He is compelled to state, that they remained five months under the same roof with the parties, who were carrying on the intercourse which he so minutely described. He sees clearly the imputation that he casts on them; and he endeavours to excuse their unaccountable conduct by observing, that some of them *left the Queen*. Left her! When? Why, at the end of *five months* of this scandalous work! No: they did not *leave* her. They staid at Naples when she went towards Rome, on her way to Genoa. So that she *left them*; and not they her. But, what are we to think, then, of the *some* of them that *went with her*; that followed her from the scene of her amours at Naples; that still went with her, lived with her as inmates, though Bergami still occupied his place and still openly and flagrantly carried on his amours with her? The Attorney-General, over and over again, begs

the Lords to *mark well* the circumstance of the Queen's English attendants *leaving her*; and he begs them to regard that fact as *corroborating* his Italian evidence. Now, Lady *Charlotte Lindsay* and Dr. *Holland* went with the Queen from Naples, and accompanied her as far as Leghorn. Why did the others stay at Naples? Why did they not go along with the Queen? They, in all probability preferred the pursuit of their own taste to that of *travelling about*, which the Queen delighted in; and which they must have known that it was her intention to pursue; for, as we afterwards find, she kept constantly rambling by *sea* as well as by land, which, doubtless, presented a series of toils, that those ladies and gentlemen did not chuse to encounter. For, upon what other ground are we to account for a *part* remaining at Naples, and a *part* going *with the Queen*? The Attorney-General would have us believe, that the separation arose from *rumours*, which the ladies and gentlemen had heard. But, what are we to think, then, of Dr. *Holland*, and, above all, of Lady *Charlotte Lindsay*? Or, are we to be such sots as to suppose it possible, that Lady *Elizabeth Forbes* had heard *rumours*, which did not reach the ears of Lady *Charlotte Lindsay*? If we could possibly suppose this, we must set Lady *Elizabeth Forbes* down as guilty, not only of a gross and shameful neglect of duty; but as guilty of something very little short of *misprision of treason*. What! she



hears a rumour, and a rumour so strong, and of such a nature; in short she hears what *makes her believe*, that the Queen is living in a state of *double adultery*; she thinks it not safe or decent to remain any longer with such a woman; she hears and believes and acts upon this intelligence; and yet she *never communicates it to her sister maid of honour*! Nay, she never gives her a hint of it, and lets her go off to continue to live in that same infamous state which they have all so long been living in! Will any man say, that he *believes* this? Yet this he must believe, and a great deal more than this, before he believes the Attorney-General and his witnesses.

But Lady Charlotte Lindsay leaves the Queen (that is to say, the Queen leaves her) at Leghorn. We shall find, I dare say, that the lady was *wearry*; that she preferred rest and ease to travelling and toil; and, particularly, that she had no relish for a sea voyage, which the Queen's now became, to Genoa. However, *Lady Charlotte Campbell* joins the Queen at Genoa, and goes on with her afterwards to Milan, where (let it be observed) Bergami's family lived. This is a very material fact. The Attorney-General dwells upon such persons *leaving* the Queen, as he has the foolishness to call it; but he never dwells on such persons *joining* her. You will have observed, that one of her English followers, Mr. St. LEDGER, *left* her, as it is called, at *Brunswick*, before she entered Italy, and, of

course, *before she saw Bergami*. This fact is *slipped over*. Why did this gentleman stay behind? Because he did not choose to travel further, to be sure. These persons were all going on their *own pleasure*; and it was not their taste to keep travelling about. It is *impossible*, that Mr. St. Ledger could have taken any offence at the amours of Bergami, and yet it is certain that he staid behind. Why, then, are we to impute the staying behind of the others, one after another, to any other cause, than that of their own taste; or, probably, the state of their health? Look at the Queen's tours, and you will see, that it required no common *strength of body* to endure the fatigue of them; and here alone are we to look for the cause of her attendants *dropping off* from her, as it has malignantly been called.

But, to return to *Lady Charlotte Campbell*, how came she to join the Queen at Genoa, after Lady C. Lindsay had "dropped off" at Leghorn? Had the rumours never reached her? Rumours could reach the well-dressed rabble at the west-end of London, but they could not reach from Naples to Genoa, though all the babbling servants of the Queen were there! It is impossible to believe, that Lady C. Campbell had heard of the rumours; and yet it is next to impossible to believe, that she should not have heard of them, if it had been they which induced Lady C. Lindsay to drop off at Leghorn. But, there is something of much more im-



portance than this in the fact of this lady's joining the Queen, and much more worthy of our best attention. The lady could not join the Queen of her own mere emotion. She could not come into her house and travel in her carriage along with her, and live with her, of her own authority. Who sent her to the Queen? In consequence of what did she "join" her? To hear the Attorney-General, one would think that the Queen was a sort of army, that men, so to be deserted from and "joined" at pleasure. No! no! it must be believed, that the Queen did not keep an *army*, or *troop*; it must be believed, that people could not come and live with her, at their pleasure; it must be believed, that Lady C. Campbell joined the Queen at the Queen's own request, or, at the very least, with her Majesty's consent; this must be believed; and, believing it, it is impossible to believe the charges against the Queen, though sworn to by ten times the number of creatures now in the *redoubt*, and interpreted by an Italian *Murphy*, living in that fortress, and acting under the instructions of the Solicitor of the Exchequer.

For, what have we here before us? A woman plying on the most indecent intercourse with her servant; sleeping with him every night; hanging upon him and hanging about his neck by day; more fox-sick than any girl of sixteen ever was; unable to live out of the sight of her paramour; unable to restrain herself even before her

male servants; living in a state the mere description of which would excite a blush even in a brothel; and we see this woman taking into her house an English lady to be a witness of her way of life, and to convey an account of it to England; and doing this too, when she was on her way to the neighbourhood of Bergamo's family! To believe all this is impossible. There is no man living who can believe it. And yet all this must be believed, and firmly believed too, before we believe the Italian witnesses and the Attorney-General.

If the Queen's conduct and inclinations had been what the Attorney-General says they were at Naples and on the road to Gaeta, and especially if the other English ladies had "dropped off" in consequence of that conduct, which they could not have done without her suspecting the cause, if such had been the case, (and who so apt to suspect as those conscious of guilt?) if such had been the case, I put it to any man, and more particularly to any woman, whether the Queen would have wanted another English lady in her house? No; she would have rejoiced at having got rid of those who had "dropped off"; she would have kept them in future at a distance; she would have avoided them as thieves, avoid watchmen and police-officers; she would no more have taken Lady C. Campbell into her house than a hen would take a weazle into her nest.

This one notorious fact is an

answer to all the statements of the Attorney-General, and to the swearings of all his witnesses; and this fact is stated by the Attorney-General himself. "The Queen might take Lady C. Campbell as a blind." For what, when she is represented as having even at this time, and long before, set all appearances at defiance; as having lost all shame; as being completely infatuated and devoted; as having, in short, given herself up wholly to the embraces, day and night, of Bergami. Why, then, should she take an *English Lady*? For society? no: for she hated all society; but that of her paramour. She could endure no interruption: and yet she voluntarily took this English Lady into her house; which, if the Attorney-General's charges were true, and the swearings of his witnesses any thing but what they are, she could have done for no earthly purpose other than that of enabling Lady C. Campbell to witness, and to send to her husband a faithful and detailed account of, her amours with her servant! Can we believe this? Can we believe such a thing of any woman breathing? And yet this we must believe; or we must disbelieve the Attorney-General and his witnesses.

It appears, that Lady C. Campbell remained with the Queen from March, 1815, to May or June, 1816. What! was she all this while in the same house with the Queen without hearing of the adulterous intercourse? Can any one believe, that a lady would be so long under

the same roof without hearing of things, or of any of the things, such as those alleged against the Queen? No man can believe it. Yet, this Lady remained more than a whole year in the house! If she did hear of the amours, she was no better than a *band* to remain under the roof; and she was besides guilty of *misprision of treason*. Therefore, we are to believe, that she did never hear of those amours; and yet we cannot believe this, without believing that the amours are a fabrication.

The Queen went from Genoa to Milan. Here was a fair opportunity for Lady Charlotte Campbell to stay behind. Yet she did not. She went after the Queen to Milan. She followed her thither! and she "dropped off," that is, staid behind, when the Queen set out on a long journey to Venice. However, the Hon. Mr. BURRELL "joined" the Queen before she took this journey, accompanied her in the journey, and "dropped off" as she was returning. But she was, about the same time, "joined" by Mr. Howland and Mr. Flynn, who had been in the King's service: two officers of course. When these "dropped off", we are not informed: probably when she was about to go on her sea-voyages, they having, perhaps, had enough of sea-voyages before to last them their lifetimes.

How loudly do all these "joinings" speak in refutation, how conclusive are they in condemnation, of the statement of the Attorney General, and how completely they shut our ears

against the testimony, collected by the Milan Commission, and marshalled under the banners of the *Solicitor of the Treasury*! Is it possible, I ask, for Messrs. Burrell, Howland, and Flynn, in May, 1816, to have been ignorant of the rumours, if such had been afloat at Naples from November, 1814, to March, 1815; and if the facts which gave rise to them had been daily and hourly increasing in number and in flagrancy? No action of a person so conspicuous as the Queen could be hidden. Her actions would, if of a scandalous nature, necessarily be the topic of every conversation, especially amongst the English. And, though men might be less delicate than women on this score, it is not to be believed, that, if these gentlemen had heard such rumours; and had had the smallest reason to believe in them, they would have gone of their own accord to "join" the Queen; while, as in the case of Lady C. Campbell, it is impossible to believe, that the Queen would have invited them, or, indeed, permitted them to live under the same roof, where she was leading such a licentious life; and that, too, while she well knew, that the proof of that licentious life was eagerly sought after as the means, the sure and infallible means, of her ruin, degradation, and everlasting infamy.

Thus, then, in order to believe the assertions of the Attorney General and the swearings of his witnesses, we must believe *all*, nay *all*, these English Ladies and Gentlemen to have been bawds and pimps and traitors;

or, that they were all completely blind and deaf; and we must further believe, that the Queen, while she was carrying on an adulterous intercourse, the proof of which borne to England, would be sure to render her infamous, and even deprive her of the means of enriching her paramour, availed herself of every opportunity of securing to her enemies the means of producing that proof! These are the monstrous things, which we must believe, before we can believe the Attorney General and his troop of Italian swearers.

The thing harped upon by the Attorney General, from the beginning to the end, as the great corroborating proof of the guilt of the Queen, is the power which Bergami possessed over her. The swearings are, he sees, worth nothing without corroborating facts, proved by English witnesses, or, notorious in themselves. For this purpose it was, that he introduced the English Ladies and Gentlemen, in order to make their "leaving" the Queen corroborate his insinuation about rumours, and those rumours corroborate the swearers drawn out of the Fortress. He was compelled, however, to notice "joinings" as well as leavings; and, upon the whole, instead of a corroboration, he has produced the most convincing proof of the falsehood of his statement. At last he gets rid of all his English attendants, and asks; whether this be not a proof of the criminal intercourse. The simple fact, as appears from the dates, is, I dare say, that the English attendants

had no relish for voyages by sea; and that they preferred remaining at ease in Italy to visiting Jerusalem at the expence of certain toil and great possible danger. But if their "leaving" the Queen be to be looked upon as a corroboration of the Italian swearers, ought not the "joining" of other English to be looked upon as refuting those swearers? She is not accused of ever having dismissed an English attendant; and we see, that she is always ready to take such attendants. And therefore the circumstances relating to the English attendants are, as clear as day-light, proofs against her enemies.

The power of Bergami over the Queen is, as I observed before, the other grand war-horse of the Attorney-General; and I should say, that, if it were clearly proved by credible witnesses, or by notorious facts, that he did possess and exercise great power over her, that alone, without any swearing at all, would convince me that he had been absolutely her bed-fellow. For, when we consider the relative situation in life of the parties, it is impossible to believe, that he could have obtained power over her by any means but one, and to confess the existence of that one is to confess the truth of the charges.

The Attorney-General says, that his Italian witnesses will swear to a great many acts proving the existence of this power; and they may, for me, swear till doomsday. I shall notice no proofs of this power, which do not rest on the testi-

mony of other witnesses, or on facts of notoriety. The only one of the former description that is brought forward is this: that the Queen, when on board the *Clorinde* frigate, preferred sitting at table with Bergami (now become her Chamberlain) to sitting at table with the Captain (Peckell), to the exclusion of her Chamberlain. The story told by the Attorney-General is this; that Peckell, who had, sometime before, known Bergami to be a mere servant, standing behind the Queen's chair, had the impudence and insolence, I call it, to tell her, that he would not sit at the same table with Bergami; and that the Queen, instead of resenting this, took some time to consider, and then resolved, that she would have another table, and sit with her Chamberlain. The Attorney-General dwells greatly upon this, seeing that it is to be proved by Peckell. He says that her going on board, and not resenting the conduct of Peckell, is a strongly presumptive proof of consciousness of guilt; and that her resolving to dine and sit with Bergami is a proof of his power over her; as much as to say, that she dared not exclude him from the table at which she herself should sit.

Now, in the first place, the Queen had no choice as to going into the ship. She must go in that ship, or in none. Then, as to not resenting the insolent conduct of Peckell, what could she do more than she did? She could not knock him down, as he deserved. She did that honour to her Chamberlain, which

she did not do to him; and this was all she could do; and she could do nothing less, unless she had submitted to the dictation of this insolent Captain. This was what he wished, of course. In this he was disappointed; and, therefore, he might likely enough ascribe to the power of Bergami, a step which it was absolutely necessary for her to adopt, in order to shew, that she was not under the power of Pechell. It may not be wholly unnecessary to add, that this Pechell is a son of a Sir Thomas Pechell, who was, at that time, a Gentleman Usher to the late Queen, from whose court it is well known the present Queen had, not long before, been excluded.

The facts of *notoriety*, brought forward to prove this power of Bergami over the Queen are, as far as I can discover, only those relating to the introducing of his own family into the house of the Queen and to the riches heaped on him by her Majesty. The Attorney-General insisted strongly on this. He returns to it again and again. He insists upon it as complete corroboratory proof of the unlimited power of the Chamberlain over the Queen. And, in order to impress it strongly on our minds, asks if it be common for whole tribes to be thus fastened upon employers. To which I answer, that nothing is either more common or more natural. As to all the stuff about the rank that the parties fillad, I care not a straw. Whether the women were called maids of honour, or cook maids, or milk maids, it makes

not a feather in the scale. He had got a good fat place himself; he was diligent, zealous and faithful; and, it required no great pains to persuade the Queen, which might also be the fact, that all his family wore of the same description. When men, or women, get into place themselves, they are always striving to edge in their relations. There is nobody, rich or poor, who does not know this well. He, or she, who first gets in and finds good picking, instantly calls the relations to partake, as naturally as a hen clucks her chickens to her when she has found any thing good for them to eat. In proof of this we, in this country, need only open our eyes. No sooner did Addington (now Sidmouth) who had been a mere sessions-lawyer, get into the Treasury, than he clucked in brother Hilcy, brother-in-law Bragge, his own son, Golding, Bond, and every creature belonging to him. Mr. Canning clucked in Mrs. Hunn and Miss Hann. Huskisson clucked in his wife. What has Castlereagh and what has Liverpool clucked in, good God! *Whole families of children* have been clucked in by some. Six or seven children at once. Look at the "*Peep at the Peers*:" look at that, Mr. Attorney-General, and blush at your proof of the power of Bergami over the Queen! He will say, that it has been the King's pleasure to settle pensions on innumerable relations of men in place and power at different times. And is not a Queen to exercise her pleasure as well as

a King is to exercise his pleasure. Look at the "*Peep at the Peers*," and you will find, that the court-favourites, who feed upon us, are not content to cluck round them *mothers, sisters, and brothers*. You will find, that they have fastened upon us, uncles, aunts, cousins, relations near and distant, from the fourth to the tenth degree: wife's relations: wife's brother's wife's relations: daughter's husband's relations. In short, we are saddled with such tribes as never were seen, except of the Children of Israel. Look at the "*Peep at the Peers*," under the words, *Hertford, Liverpool, Westmoreland, Londonderry, Balcarras, Beaufort, Lauderdale, Sydney, Gordon, Wellesley, Watersford*; and, in short, look into any page of the work; and then say, what impudence it was in the Attorney-General to cite this introduction of Bergami's family as a proof of his possessing over the Queen a power founded on an illicit intercourse with her Majesty.

It will be observed; that the Queen's situation was a very singular one. She was not only in a *foreign country*, but, as she knew well, she was living amidst *spies*, and, as she had but too good reason to suppose, was exposed to even *bodily danger*. It was, therefore, very natural, that she should draw round her a particular family, amongst whom she found, whether from motives of interest or not, a disposition to be obedient and faithful to her. She, the Attorney-General says, *preferred* this Bergami family before

English gentlemen and ladies of education, while the Bergamis were wholly *uneducated*. This last may be as false as the rest of the story; but, if true, what ground of charge is here? Though they might not have been bred in courts, they might be much more agreeable and instructive companions than courtiers; and much more likely to be *faithful* too. Mr. Alderman Wood and his family are not courtiers; but who will say that they are not more worthy of the society and confidence of the Queen than are the heroes of the "*Peep*!" Recollect, that it was a *polished courtier*, who tendered the money and uttered the threat at St. Omers. The family of Bergami might be, and I dare say was, composed of very agreeable and useful persons. The Queen was merely passing away her time in Italy; and, it was perfectly natural for her to prefer the society of persons, amongst whom she could live without that restraint and formality which she must have observed amongst courtiers.

So that, even supposing what the Attorney-General says to be true with regard to the *low birth* of Bergami's family; here is no proof at all of his power over the Queen. But there is a *child* introduced! A second child. And the Attorney-General seems to wish to have it *believed*, that this child *was really the Queen's*. The child was, he says, in the summer of 1815, about two or three years old; so that, if this was the Queen's child, she must have had it, at

least, a year and a half *before she left England*, and, of course, before she saw Bergami! We know that, upon reflection, such an idea must appear monstrous; but his business was to *prevent reflection*; to *blacken her Majesty* in such a way, that no one should take time to reflect on the subject. To assert all manner of evil things of her, and leave those assertions to work upon the public mind in preparing the way for her destruction.

Malignity, however, sometimes works against itself; and that has been the case here; for, of all the persons of the drama, this little squaling lady, of only three years old, serves the cause of persecution the least. The Attorney-General tells us, that Bergami brought this his child to the Queen. What man is not ready enough to shew his *pretty* children, and what man does not think his own the prettiest in the world? Besides, he might naturally hope, that the Queen would do something in the way of *providing for the child*, especially as he must have known her fondness for children, because it is *impossible*, that he should not have found out the history of little Austin. Thus, then, as a *father*, his conduct was perfectly natural: it bespoke a man of sense, and one anxious to get a good provision for his family. But, as a *lover*, as a *paramour*, his conduct was the most unnatural that ever was heard of. Could this man, this keen and clever man, possibly believe that he should gain in the affections of

his mistress by putting into her arms a child that he had had *by another woman*? Children are called the *pledges of love*; but was it ever before heard of in this world, that a lover made his court by bringing to his mistress a child that he had had by another woman!

Nevertheless, the Queen is, in order to keep up the exhibition, said, by the Attorney-General, to have been *very fond* of this child; *excessively* fond of it; that she called it *princess*, and that the child not only called her *mama*, but *cried after her when she left it*, preferring the Queen to her nurse. All this I can easily believe, though coming from the lips of the Attorney-General. It shews how fond the Queen is of children, which, indeed, was well known before. Every father and mother knows how cunning the little creatures are. They distinguish, even at six months old, persons fond of children from such as are not. Their sagacity in this respect is quite surprising. I have observed it, and remarked upon it, a thousand times. The Queen is one of the persons who are *excessively* fond of little children; and, let me ask, what, in woman or man, can be a more amiable trait?

Thus, upon the supposition, that the Queen had *no improper* feelings towards Bergami, the conduct of both was natural and consistent; but, if the Attorney-General's assertions were true; then the conduct of both was a monster in human nature. There is scarcely one of



us, except, perhaps, the Attorney-General, who has not, first or last, been in love; and, did it ever enter into our hearts or minds to be doatingly fond of a person, and, at the same time, excessively fond of a child that that person had had by another?

FIELDING says, that, when a woman is fond of a man, and especially when she has had the possession of him, "she will go above half way to hell, to prevent another from participating with her." Nothing can be truer than this; and will she, then, do any thing to keep her constantly in mind, that another woman has participated with her? Thus Government-Lawyer, this Ex-officio Gentleman, represents the Queen as fonder of Bergami than ever woman before was fond of man; so excessively doating that she lost all sense of every other consideration; and he wishes us to believe, that this doating woman, while she was ready to kiss the ground that this man walked upon, was almost *equally fond of the pledge of his connexion with another woman!*

This is too monstrous to be believed. It is a thing which cannot be true. It is against nature. To believe it is to give human nature the lie. And are we to give human nature the lie rather than reject the assertions of the Ex-officio advocate and the swearings of his Italian witnesses? This great fondness for the child was wholly incompatible with the asserted fondness for the father; and, if we were, for one moment, to suppose, that the taking and the

adopting of the child were proofs of Bergami's power over the Queen, why should we not ascribe a similar power to the father of little Austin, which father is, I believe, a pensioner at Greenwich!

But the Queen gave the Bergamis an estate. Why not?

She did not place them on our pension-list; she gave what she gave out of her own savings.

And, what more proper and just than to make the future life easy of a man and his family; to whom, probably, in that cut-throat country, beset as she was by spies and ruffians, she owed her very life?

We are told, that Bergami's bed-room was always near hers; and, we shall find, that there was a very sufficient reason for this; for, without a guard, she would have been dead and buried long and long ago.

When a man, an officer in our pay, could get into her house, and break open her drawers, who will believe, that a nightly guard of her person was not necessary?

She felt gratitude to the man, who had so long and faithfully served her; and she gave an estate: that is to say, a sort of farm!

Our government has given Wellington a farm that has cost us, seven hundred thousand pounds, besides pensions of more than twelve thousand pounds a-year.

The services of Wellington to us are not to be compared to those of Bergami to the Queen.

The services of the former are doubted by thousands, while those of the latter were real and undoubted.

That famous man, Sidmouth, has an estate too. He



has a palace and the use of a royal park. That gallant chief, the sometime lover of *Mrs. Clarke*, has also an estate, granted out of lands, which were public property. But, good God! Only think of the immense sums, swallowed up by families, to no member of whom any service can be traced; and then think of a farm, given to Bergami, being taken as a proof of his absolute power over the Queen, and this power ascribed to his criminal connexion with her!

However, as to his power over the Queen, the fact not only becomes glaringly false, but the very idea ridiculous, when we look at other parts of her Majesty's conduct, which are matters of public notoriety. First, observe, that Bergami was anxious to get his family about the Queen. To get them in to be living upon her. To get them to share largely in the pickings; and at last he got an estate from her. Thus, then, he was anxious to enrich himself. This is represented to us by the Attorney General. — Secondly, observe, we are told that his power over the Queen was absolute; that she humbled herself in all manner of ways to gratify him; that she even mended his clothes; and, in short, was ready to do any thing, even to the washing of his shirt and the blacking of his shoes. This is the picture which is given us of her submission to his will. Spaniel dog was never more submissive to his master than our Queen was to this Bergami. — Thirdly, observe, that the Queen received a clear thirty-five thou-

sand pounds a year from England; which money, if the other parts of the story were true; which money, mind, if the fact of his power over the Queen were not a lie, was just so much money placed at the absolute disposal of Bergami. — Fourthly, observe, then, that he did not take this money to himself; that he did not lay it out upon estates in Italy; but that he, who, one would have thought, would have liked travelling no better than a footman likes to whet knives, chose to lay this money out in long and wearisome journeys about Italy, into the Austrian territories, through Germany, over the Alps; and, in tiresome, fatiguing and dangerous voyages by sea! Is not this a monstrous supposition? Mind, the money was his; it was his choice that was to be followed; it was his taste that was to be consulted; he had about him a fondling woman that was a mere worm under his foot, and he chooses several times to embark on board English men of war; he chooses to visit all the islands in the Mediterranean; he chooses to sail to the Barbary coast; he chooses to purchase a polacre, and to sail in that most uncomfortable sort of vessel from port to port, from island to island, amidst all sorts of inconveniences and perils; he chooses to visit ancient Greece, and to go even to Jerusalem to see the ruins of that once famous city; to view the spot where the temple of Solomon stood, and to visit the sepulchre of Jesus Christ; a low, illiterate, vulgar-minded cou-rier, who had been half harass-

ed to death a few years before in Buonaparte's Russian campaign: yea, this man chooses to spend thirty-five thousand pounds a year in this manner, laying it out upon attendants, upon inn-keepers, upon captains and crews of vessels, upon camels, guides, and God knows what, instead of keeping it to himself; living at a snug house in the Milanese, which, by the bye, the Queen must have best liked, too, and purchasing estates 'till they swelled out into principalities! Every tongue will exclaim; every unbribed tongue; every unperjured man will exclaim, *this is a lie!*

Then, can it possibly be believed that it was his desire to expend the money in this way; and yet, if it was not his desire, it was the Queen's desire; as it unquestionably was. Look, then, at her journies and her voyages. Read the list of places that she visited. All that is venerable in antiquity; all that is rare in art and in nature; all that could tend to enlarge and enrich the mind; all these were manifestly the objects of her enquiry and her pursuit. Let me ask, then, whether a mind could have been so occupied, and be, at the same moment, sunk into the lowest and filthiest enjoyments of the lowest and most filthy sensuality? Would a woman, abandoned to lustful enjoyments, have encountered fatigues and perils almost every day of her life for a series of years, and that, too, for the manifest purpose of storing her mind with knowledge? Would such a woman have spent her

money and her time in visiting Athens, Utica, and Jerusalem? Would a woman so lost to all sense of every thing but mere criminal lust; would such a woman have spent her time and encountered continual peril for the sake of acquiring a knowledge of countries and of the relics of antiquity? To believe this is utterly impossible; and yet we must believe this or believe the Attorney-General to be the most viperous slanderer that ever opened a pair of lips.

Observe, again, that the Attorney-General tells us that this power of Bergami over the Queen, and consequently the licentious and foul intercourse between them, continued up to the time of her Majesty's departure from St. Omers for England. Now then, behold a woman sunk in sensuality, lost to every feeling of honour and of shame, doating upon a man, clinging round him every night and lolloping upon him every day; caring for nothing in the whole world but for the enjoyment of the person of this man: behold this woman thus sunk, thus possessed, upon the bare reading of an English newspaper, by which she finds that the king is dead and that her name is left out of the Liturgy, writes instantly to the prime minister, remonstrates with him upon the injustice of such omission, and requests that her name may be instantly put into the mouths of the English people in their prayer. *This we know to be a fact*; and this simple fact gives the lie direct to all the disgusting representation of fi-

centiousness, and to all the base attempts to make us believe that Bergami possessed an absolute power over her. If he had possessed that absolute power; if she had been the mender of his clothes and worse than his spaniel dog, would she ever have written that letter? The Attorney-General says that she saw with none but his eyes. Would he, a Roman Catholic, have suffered her to write that letter? Would he have cared a straw about the Liturgy, the Church, the Crown, or about England itself? Would he have cared about any thing but the money? and could any thing in the world have been so contrary to his natural wishes as for the Queen to do or to say any thing tending in the most distant degree to the removal of her fortune out of his clutches? To believe that the Queen and that Bergami could have thus acted with regard to the Liturgy at the same time that they were living in the state which the Attorney-General has described, is impossible; and yet we must swallow this impossibility, or the Attorney-General is the vilest of slanderers.

We know, too, that the moment her Majesty heard of the King's death, she *resolved on her return to England*. This is a fact well known. We have the word of Mr. Alderman Wood for it; for to him she wrote to send her a vessel to Leghorn to bring her home. From this time forwards, all was impatience on her part to return to England. These are well-known facts. These rest not

upon the assertions of an Attorney General nor upon the swearings of Italian witnesses, brought forward by the Solicitor of the Treasury. Now, then, look once more; disgusting as the picture is, look once more, at the slanderous and wicked description given of the Queen by the Attorney General. There she was, living in all the luxurious enjoyments of debauchery. She was in the arms of a man that she doated upon. She was lost, totally sunk and gone, as to every thing but this man. From this man she must separate if she came to England; and yet, she is teasing her friends to death to get her back to that very England. And at last, her impatience becomes so great, that amidst a host of difficulties and dangers, she encounters a journey enough to half kill a stout man in order to do that which must necessarily separate her from her paramour. As if this were not enough for us to believe, we must further believe that this all-powerful paramour, who was very fond of enriching his family, not only gave his consent to her departure; but still served her as one of the persons necessary to the success of the expedition, and became himself instrumental in sending away from himself the sum of at least thirty-five thousand pounds a year! This is all true: every word of it is true; or, the statement of the Attorney General is an impudent and atrocious heap of falsehoods.

At last, the Queen actually arrives at St. Omers, and if any man can believe: no, I will not

put it in that shape: if any man can look at what passed there; and after having looked at it fully and fairly can deny that the statement of the Attorney General is a falsehood, such man must be a malignant and black-hearted villain. Before she arrived at St. Omers, there might possibly exist doubts in her mind, or rather in the mind of Bergami, for, you will observe she saw only with his eyes: there might, I say, possibly exist doubts, previous to this time, as to whether the same sum of money would be furnished her annually if she did not return to England. This is almost impossible; but it is possible. However; when she arrived at St. Omers, and Bergami with her; not only was all doubt of this sort removed, but they found that they could now have the security of receiving fifty thousand pounds a year instead of the thirty-five thousand pounds a year which they received before. They found, on the other hand, that if the Queen persisted in coming to England, she was to be prosecuted by this tremendous Government, and, if found guilty, deprived of all maintenance for the future, and probably of life. Yet in the face of all this; with consciousness of guilt, the Queen instantly resolves to come and face her enemies; while, with a certainty of losing fifty thousand pounds a year, the interested and all-powerful paramour suffers her to hasten to the English shore! Any thing so monstrous as this was never before tendered for the belief of man; any thing so out of reason and

of nature; any thing so completely impossible never was before stated in the way even of hypothesis. And yet, this monstrous absurdity; this thing out of reason and out of nature; these facts, to believe all which we must believe the parties to have hated themselves; even all this we must swallow and believe to be true, or we must believe the statement of the Attorney-General to be a lie. To reason further upon the subject would be irksome to myself and offensive to the understanding of my readers, who will long ago have exclaimed; "say no more: we are satisfied;" "the Queen is innocent and "her accusers the basest of criminals."

Let those accusers now work their way. They think that by sending forth daily portions of swearings from the fortress, they shall, by little and little, wear away the honest indignation of the public. They are deceived. They have this time over-reached themselves; and they will find to their cost, that though they have been able to gag the mouths and cramp the fingers of Englishmen, they have not made one single step towards blunting their feelings, towards enfeebling their minds or corrupting their hearts. It has always been a distinguishing characteristic of the people of this country, to sympathise with the oppressed, and to lend assistance to the weak in their struggles against the strong. And this character will now be displayed in protecting against her enemies a Queen, whose

only real faults are her generosity, her love of the people and her hatred of tyranny and oppression. Her Majesty has, even in her travels and voyages, in her pursuits, while abroad, rendered herself an object worthy of the highest admiration. Nothing but greatness of mind: nothing but a mind worthy of a Queen, worthy of a woman placed above other women; nothing but this could have produced a desire to see so many countries and to acquire so large a stock of knowledge. But her base enemies, instead of joining in the admiration which this is so well calculated to excite, seem to have received an additional stock of hatred from the source of the applause and admiration of others. The Queen's character and conduct are an honour to the country. They are, too, a promise of a possibility of our seeing better days; and, whatever her ene-

mies may think, the nation will, upon this occasion, be true to itself, and will stand by her with that steadiness, constancy, and valour for which it has always been famed.

WM. COBBETT.

# PEEP AT THE PEERS.

This work is sold at No. 269, Strand.—Price *four-pence*.—A miscalculation as to the cost of print and paper, led to the selling of the first printed for *two-pence*.—It contains as much as of *hundred pages* of common print in an octavo form.—This work every man ought, at all times, to have in his house.—Let us only have *this* in our houses, and, they may make a *Censorship* law as soon as they please.

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 37.—No. 7.] LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPT. 2, 1820. [Price, 6d.

TO HER

MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY;

*A Letter presenting her with Information, and most humbly tendering her Advice as to certain Important Matters.*

London, 27th August, 1820.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

Occupied, as your Majesty's mind must be, with the measures necessary to your defence against the foul charges hatched by your enemies, it must inevitably follow that you still remain uninformed as to many things, to be well acquainted with which deeply concerns you; and, also, that you stand in need of being cautioned in time against new contrivances, new inventions, new traps, the object of which will be to prevent you from deriving full benefit from the victory which you will certainly achieve. Your Majesty is embarked, and is taking part, in a terrible conflict on a troubled sea. Your

attention is too much engaged by the perils that surround you; you are necessarily too much absorbed by the feelings inseparable from your situation, to take a clear and calm view of objects at a distance, and to calculate, with any degree of precision, upon what is likely to come after the conflict is over.

To humble individuals like myself, who stand as spectators upon the shore; who feel strongly for your Majesty, but whose want of power, whose humble means, and still more humble abilities, restrain us from attempting to take part in the dreadful struggle; to us it belongs to reflect on what is passing, on what is likely to come to pass; on present prospects and on future contingencies; and thus, to use that safety which the humbleness of our station secures to us; to use that safety in digesting, for your Majesty's gracious consideration, such information as we think likely to be useful, and, in the true spirit of obedient and faithful subjects, to

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tender to your Majesty such advice as we think likely to be conducive to the good of your Majesty, and to the safety, honour, and dignity of that throne, of which your Majesty is so well calculated to be, at once, the support and the ornament.

It is one of the great advantages of the press, that it enables those] who never could hope to approach their Sovereign in person, to approach him in a manner little less effectual. The press in this country has been greatly shackled, but still it lives; and to destroy its effects, the thing itself must be totally destroyed. The press brings every man capable of making use of it, at once into the presence of the person who is addressed through this channel. In this way I have the honour now to stand before your Majesty; and, with all humility and sincerity, with unobtrusive zeal and with a mind free from every interested bias, I tender to your Majesty the result of much reflection upon matters in which you are deeply interested.

First, it becomes me to notice the impression, which the proceedings in the House of Lords

have produced upon the public mind. I was very early in promulgating my conviction, that it was principally upon *the people* that your Majesty had to rest for protection. I was amongst those who did themselves the honour to meet their heroic and persecuted Queen on the top of *Shooter's Hill*. I, at that moment, waved a bough of laurel as your Majesty mounted the top of the hill, and at a distance of not many feet from your carriage. I had long been acquainted, and well acquainted, not only with the persecutions that you had endured, but with the real causes of those persecutions. My feelings were very strong at the moment to which I have alluded; but I observed attentively the immense multitudes whom I saw that day; I discovered that all felt alike; I knew that what I saw was a sample of the whole mass of the community; and I concluded, that that whole community would step forward, if necessary, in support of your Majesty. *Public opinion*, notwithstanding all the laws that have been passed against Liberty of the Press and Liberty of Speech; public opinion is still powerful in England; and,



whatever hopes may be entertained to the contrary, nothing great in point of importance; nothing permanent in point of duration, can possibly be effected in opposition to public opinion. Tyrannical acts may be perpetrated for a while; foolish or wicked measures may be adopted; but, at last, these will be swept away and public opinion will prevail.

That opinion, as to the nature of the proceedings commenced against your Majesty, has been loudly and decidedly expressed. Great ability and great zeal has been discovered by your Majesty's eminent counsel; but even his astonishing powers, though quite sufficient to make his opponents and your enemies hang their heads, would have been of no avail without the cheering echo of public opinion. He has cheered the public and the public have cheered him; and, as far as the case has hitherto gone, a case more triumphant never presented itself to the world.

Your Majesty's own conduct has, however, been the great pilot in this tempestuous sea. Your integrity, your firmness, your promptitude, your undaunted courage; these have inspired

us all with confidence, have kept our zeal and activity alive. At every stage your conduct has been marked with wisdom. In tracing you from St. Omers, where the crawling courtier first presented you with a *douceur* and next tried the power of a threat; in tracing your Majesty from that spot which will become renowned by your heroic conduct; in tracing you from that spot down to the House of Lords to face your accusers in person, we see, in every act of your Majesty, some new proof that you deserve our love and admiration.

As to the proceedings themselves, taken as a whole, they have disappointed us only in this, that, so many crafty men, employed for so long a time, and having such powerful motives to urge them on, should not have made out a something clad in a little more of probability. Upon any particular part of the evidence produced it is not my business to remark, nor would it be becoming to remark on it in a letter addressed to your Majesty. By the choice of your judges it has gone forth to the world; and the world has already passed its decision upon it, without waiting to hear one



single word of what your Counsel have to urge in its refutation. The public, like a Grand Jury, 'as already thrown out the Bill, even upon the *ex-parte* statement of your accusers.

Still, there are a few points in the Attorney-General's charge against you, with regard to which it is right that your Majesty should be correctly informed of the public opinion. We have observed that he began his charge on a Saturday; that he finished it on the succeeding Monday; and that, one single witness (a discarded servant of your Majesty), was enabled to occupy the rest of Monday, and great part of the Tuesday.— Here were *three whole days* for the Attorney-General's slander to sink gradually into the public mind, without a possibility of even a cross-examination to come forth to arrest the progress of this deadly poison! I beseech your Majesty to note this circumstance well. It is a circumstance of great importance.— It was, upon the effect of this poison that your base enemies and calumniators counted for that *re-action*, which they had taken such uncommon pains to make the public believe would be produced. From

the time of your Majesty's landing up to the day of the trial, these enemies had been promising themselves a *re-action*; and the speech of the Attorney-General, together with the evidence of the first witness, both of them drawled out to unparalleled length, were intended to produce this *re-action*. They failed of producing it. They did, indeed, produce a *stagnating* effect upon the public for three days; which, by the by, proved the honesty and sincerity of that public; but, at the end of the three days, the tide turned, and your enemies were overwhelmed with public indignation.— Never more will those enemies see a glimpse of hope. Their conduct now shows that they have no hope; and all that they expect is, that they shall be able to draw themselves off with impunity; which, if they effect it will be owing to that only fault of your Majesty, too great a disposition to forgive; but which fault, you have now been taught that it would be extremely dangerous to indulge in for the future.

The Attorney-General is not only a lawyer of great experience himself; but he had, in the preparing of his charge,

many other lawyers abler than himself to advise with and to prepare his charge for him; therefore, we are, at first sight, surprised, that he should have asserted things, which he knew he could not prove, even by his own witnesses. But when we consider, that *re-action* was the object of the charge; when we consider that the charge was intended to turn the tide of public opinion and to lay reason asleep; then our surprise ceases and we can account for the monstrous falsehoods stated in that charge. Of these monstrous falsehoods, however, I shall particularly mention but one, and that one is of so beastly a nature that I dare not speak of it in the terms which he made use of.

I allude here to that part of his charge, wherein he speaks of the exhibitions of Leone. After deploring the *painful* situation in which he was placed; and the great *difficulty* with which he could bring himself, even in the discharge of his imperious duty, to name the horrid thing that he was about to name; after, in short, using every expression calculated to produce a belief that it gave him pain inexpressible to enter upon the horrid description; after all this,

he brought out the beastly charge expressed in words the most beastly that ever flowed from a pair of beastly lips. He described the act performed before your Majesty. He did not flinch; but brought fully out the filthy words; and, taking the whole of what he said together, it was next to impossible for the public not to believe, that he must have had evidence to support the beastly description. Yet, after all, when he brought his evidence, even that evidence attested to no such a thing; and that horrid act which he had described so minutely; that nasty, beastly act, his witnesses called A BUFFOONERY! In short, this act, the like of which never was described before, even by two persons in private conversation, dwindled, at last, down into an exhibition as common in the streets of Genoa, Rome, Naples, and even in Gibraltar, as are the exhibitions of dancing dogs and dancing bears in the streets of London. Upon inquiry, we find, that this species of buffoonery is so common in Italy as to form part of the public diversions; and, indeed, it is well known that all our own buffoons come from that

country; and we know, besides, that this very species of buffoonery has often been exhibited, not only in the travelling Theatres at fairs in England, but even in the Theatres in the Metropolis!

From one instance of this kind, we draw inferences applicable to the whole series of charges; and our conclusion is, and must be, that if your enemies could hatch a charge like this, they would stop at nothing.

We have observed very carefully upon all the previous arrangements as to this trial.—Every circumstance that has arisen during the trial, has served to elucidate the motives for those previous arrangements. In this mode of proceeding against your Majesty, we have observed all the principles of law, all the precautions necessary to the security of the accused laid prostrate; and we now see the reasons why they were laid prostrate. Your Majesty's heroic determination, as expressed in your letter to the King, gave satisfaction at the time when it first met the public eye; but it now gives infinitely greater satisfaction. Your enemies thought apparently to gain time. They calculated upon their great pow-

ers of delusion; but time has performed its usual task; that is to say, it has given a death-blow to falsehood.

Your Majesty ought to be informed, that every day adds to that love and admiration which the people felt towards your Majesty upon your first arrival; and that it also adds to that anxious desire that has always been entertained, that your Majesty will submit to no compromise, let the apparent dangers be what they may; that you will do no act which shall seem to say that you decline the contest whatever may be the shape that it may assume; but that you will make a stand for the full possession and enjoyment of all and every one of your rights as Queen of this kingdom, not bating, in the smallest particular, of any one of those rights.

Numerous are the claims which your Majesty has to our duty as well as to our admiration and confidence. We are not a selfish people. We do not shut our ears to the things sworn against your Majesty; but, when we recollect the swearings of 1803; when we recollect that there were oaths in abundance to sustain the false and infamous charge of pregnancy, delivery

and giving suck; when we recollect that there could be found wretches of English birth base enough thus to perjure themselves in order to insure your destruction; when we recollect this; and that your great protector and your child were then alive; when we recollect these things, we should be the most unjust and most cruel of human kind if we could affect to rely upon any swearings against you in the present case. We clearly see that this evidence has been got together for the purpose of keeping you out of the country or driving you from it. We see the proof of what your Majesty stated in your letter to the King; that his own Ministers at Foreign Courts, and that the Foreign Courts themselves, had been made agents in this horrid enterprize; and can we possibly believe that such uncommon pains would have been taken if there had not been some uncommonly great object at stake?

By your Majesty's persecutions we have been made acquainted with your real character. Before this time, we regarded you as persecuted, as unjustly treated, as cruelly hunted down. But, until now, we did not know that we had the

honour to have for our Queen, a woman who had spent her money and her time in a pursuit after knowledge: we did not know that which we now do know, that your Majesty had travelled over a considerable part of Europe, part of Asia and part of Africa; that you had travelled by land, more than ten thousand miles; that you had voyaged, by sea, more than fifteen thousand miles; that you had sailed from, and entered, nearly one hundred sea-ports; that you had visited more than two hundred renowned cities and famous places of antiquity; that you had witnessed and observed upon the religions, laws, customs, manners, arts, sciences and products of more than forty distinct peoples; that you had been upon the land where the Israelites were held in bondage; that you had traversed part of the wilderness which they traversed under the guidance of Moses; that you had been to Jerusalem and visited the tomb of Christ; that you had visited every island and place where the Apostles preached; that, during these travels and voyages, you had voluntarily endured hardships, and encountered dangers such as no man

without compulsion ever before endured and encountered ; that, in times of the greatest peril, when even the boldest sailors felt alarm, your Majesty never discovered fear ; and, in addition to all these, we now know, that when your Majesty was in the Barbary States, you, to your immortal honour, employed your money as well as your powers of persuasion to obtain the liberty of numerous Christian slaves, and to send them home to their native country and their disconsolate friends. Your Majesty's uniform kindness, benevolence and generosity were well known to us before. But, it remained for your enemies to make us acquainted with these striking proofs of your greatness of mind. In our Liturgy, that Liturgy from which the name of your Majesty has been withheld, we particularly pray for the deliverance of captives, and the prayer was instituted, too, for that particular description of captives, whom your Majesty found in the hands of the Barbarians of Africa. How well did you perform your duty ! How truly did you shew that you were a zealous Christian in *deeds*, and not in words ! When those who advised your name to

be left out of the Liturgy, reflect on this act of your Majesty, can they look back to their advice without feelings of shame ! The captives whom you delivered ; the parents, the wives, the children, the brethren of those captives, will bless your name, and will hand it down with blessings to their posterity. And shall we, Englishmen and Englishwomen, be insensible to your great and glorious acts, while those acts live in the heartfelt gratitude of foreigners !

Not to hold your Majesty in admiration would bespeak us to be a nation of the "*basest populace*," as Lord CASTLEREAGH described us to be. We are not guilty of this shameful want of judgement and want of feeling. We are proud to be able to boast of owing duty to such a Queen, who is an honour to us as well as to her sex. All nations think they have a right to claim a share in the merits of their Sovereigns. We reflect with some degree of self-importance, that it was by the fruit of our labour that your Majesty was enabled to perform your wonderful travels and voyages. We take to ourselves some degree of merit for having earned that money by the sweat of our

brow, which enabled your Majesty to acquire so large a stock of knowledge; to do good to so many human beings; to raise the humble and needy, and to set the captive free. Your Majesty thus becomes closely identified with ourselves; and you are naturally dearer to us, taking us as a whole people, than any other human being possibly can be.

Then, when we reflect upon the smallness of the sum with which your Majesty performed these great things, and compare it with the largeness of those sums, which others spend in luxury, frivolity, and in all sorts of debasing amusements and pursuits, it is impossible that the contrast should not strike upon our minds with irresistible force. The whole sum allowed to your Majesty annually was not the half of what is spent in *secret services*; it was little more than a half of what is still given to French and other Emigrants; and it was little more than a third of what is annually given to the *poor* clergy of the enormously rich church of England. One single sinecure office, which has only recently been diminished, amounted to nearly as much annually as your Majesty had to

expend in all your praise-worthy and magnificent objects and pursuits; and there will be expended in an attempt to degrade your Majesty, more of our money than you expended in the six years in the maintaining of your state, in the performing of your travels and your voyages, in the acquiring of all that knowledge with which your mind must be enriched, in duly preparing yourself, and rendering yourself worthy of the exalted station which you were destined to fill; and in relieving distress wherever you found it, and taking the captives from the hands of barbarians.

This comparison is made, at once, by us without reflection. It strikes us without being sought for. It forces itself upon our minds; and, along with it comes the conviction of your Majesty's innocence. None but a great mind could have been engaged in such pursuits. None but a generous heart could have felt delight in the liberation of the captive, who had never been seen before by the benefactress, and never was to be seen by her again. Here we see true greatness of mind; true nobleness of spirit; here we see something worthy of being call-

ed Royal. How many names have found their way into the calendar of Saints for deeds less truly meritorious than those of your Majesty!

And, how then are we to believe the vile accusations put forth against you? How are we to believe that all this greatness of mind, all this nobleness of sentiment, were found in a person devoted to the most degrading of pleasures? Without more ado, we dismiss the vile charge; we say it is a base calumny; we gather ourselves round your Majesty and think ourselves dishonoured for ever if we but for one single moment suffer ourselves to be suspected of want of devotion to your cause. We are prepared for every extremity: we look not at little points of difficulty or of danger: our determination is founded upon a general view of the matter: our hearts tell us that your Majesty will not be sacrificed, because we can see nothing to produce evil to you which must not necessarily produce evil to ourselves.

According to present appearances, your enemies have two difficulties before them of equal magnitude. In the opinion of some persons, it would be less dangerous to those enemies that your Majesty should be convicted than that you should be acquitted. For my own part, I do not know on which side the danger to them is greatest. But of one thing I am very certain; and that is, that nothing will shake your Majesty in the love and admiration of the people, including, in the word people,

the whole of the efficient part of the community. If the prosecution fail, new intrigues will be attempted; new endeavours to remove your Majesty from these protecting shores; even new calumnies will be invented; unless your Majesty reject every proposition of compromise, and resolve, at once, to enter upon the full and complete enjoyment of all your rights.

It is necessary that I speak plain here in print, having no other means of communicating my thoughts to your Majesty. *I like very much the greater part of the proceedings of the Meeting in Mary-le-bonne.*—The noblemen and gentlemen assembled there have done themselves great honour, and all their intentions are unquestionably good. But, there is one part of the proceedings, which I view with great suspicion; not as to the motive; but as to the effect. To raise a fund to be presented to your Majesty, would, in my opinion, if the money were received, have a very injurious effect. It would seem to say, that your Majesty had a reliance other than that which you ought to have on the justice of the whole nation. It would place your Majesty upon a footing with some oppressed private individual, who has not the power to carry on a contest with the Ministry. It would seem to be an *abandonment of your own rights*; which rights are clear and definite, and without the enjoyment of which rights, your Majesty must be in a state of degradation, whenever you cease to carry on a

struggle for them. To accept of support, doled out by a *set of Trustees*, however respectable in themselves and however worthy their motive, would be a great humiliation of your Majesty and a source of great grief to the people. You are the rightful Queen of the Kingdom; that immense sum, the Civil List, is granted, in great part, for you. All its provisions and establishments contemplate a Queen as well as a King. To you they belong as much as they belonged to the late Queen, and, therefore, neither directly nor indirectly, ought any part of them to be abandoned.

It is an old maxim of politicians that power is to be maintained by the same means by which it has been acquired. Your Majesty has gained your power over public opinion by your firmness and resolution; by the loftiness of your character and your language. These have given a tone to the minds of the people, who feel as you feel; and therefore, to preserve that tone, your Majesty must act as you have acted. It is not money; it is not houses, furniture, horses, carriages, liveries and other outward and visible signs of grandeur, that have made so many millions of hearts devoted to your Majesty. It is your own conduct; it is the confidence inspired in that conduct, and by your language. You have poured your own soul into the breasts of the people. Creatures that never felt before have been inspired and worked into feeling by your Majesty. And, therefore, to maintain this spirit which

will carry you successfully through ever danger, and cause you to triumph over every enemy, there must be no abatement in that high, dignified and lofty attitude which your Majesty has assumed.

To accept of pecuniary support at the hands of *Trustees*, whoever those *Trustees* might be, would be as degrading to your Majesty as a similar act on the part of the King would be degrading to him. It belongs to the *nation*, and that, too, through the hands of its regular constituted authorities, and in the regular and constitutional mode, to provide for the maintenance of your Majesty's dignity and splendour. By the side of the King is your Majesty's place. To hold your station and your courts, as Queen, is your right; and for this right, your Majesty must contend to the last. Some of the slippery sycophants; some of the filthy knaves, who have been at the bottom of the machinations against your Majesty, are beginning to say, that "though the proof of some parts of the charges against you may fail, still there will be enough proved to cause the Bill of Pains and Penalties to be passed in a mitigated form, so as to render it improper for such a person to hold a Court."

I beseech your Majesty to pay particular attention to this. It is thought by these knaves; these cunning and precious knaves; that, by thus blackening your Majesty without proceeding to any very violent act against you, and by making you what they call a *handsome pe-*



cunary allowance, the feelings of the people will be blunted; and that your Majesty, finding yourself of no public importance here in this great country, will very soon remove to some other, carrying with you the dirt that has been flung upon you, and leaving the field clear to your enemies.

These knaves deceive themselves in this, their calculation; but I am uncommonly anxious to guard your Majesty against doing any thing that shall cause one single person in the country to believe, that any decision, however mitigated, would induce you to give up, for one single hour, the assertion and the pursuit of your rights.—Every word you utter, ought to strengthen the people in the conviction that you will fulfil the solemn pledge given at the close of your letter to the King, which letter, your Majesty ought to be informed, has surpassed, in point of circulation, and probably ten thousand times surpassed, any thing that ever before found its way to the press. Your Majesty should be informed that it has been circulated through every avenue in this kingdom, from one end of it to the other; that it has been re-published in all the journals of France, Spain, Holland, Germany and Italy; and that, in short, the whole civilized world are in possession of your Majesty's just complaints, your noble views and intentions. This country is the centre of the civilized world. All man and woman-kind have their eyes upon your Majesty. They have seen your pledge and they wait

for the result. Your Majesty is, in short, destined to be the greatest personage that the world ever yet produced, unless, what is not to be believed, you were now, when complete victory is within your reach, to stop suddenly short in your career in support of your rights, which are, in fact, also the rights of the nation.

Your Majesty's glory will be of the true and sterling stamp; it will not have been acquired by bad means; but by means the most honourable, the most praise-worthy that the human mind can conceive. You have not sought for it. It has been brought to you by the hand of persecution. There has been nothing ostentatious in your conduct. Your whole life appears to have been marked by an anxious desire and a never-ceasing activity to relieve the distressed and to promote the happiness of others. The charge of going to your chamberlain's bed to inquire how he was when he was ill, brings out the fact even from the mouths of your base accusers, that you went, also, to the bedside of your man-cook to inquire how he was when he was ill! And this brings out the fact, that it was your uniform practice to visit, in your own person, every creature belonging to your family that was in a state of indisposition. That it was your uniform practice to inquire with your own lips from the sufferers themselves what was the cause and state of their ailments. That it was your uniform practice to see with your own eyes that they had proper attendance and

suitable accommodation. These detailed proofs of your rare humanity, of your unparalleled condescension and benevolence, of your matchless goodness and tenderness of heart: these have been produced to us by your calumniators. Had you never been accused of crimes the most foul, your bright virtues would never have come to light.

The whole of your life has been by your enemies proved to have been a life of real charity, and of tenderness towards persons in distress, such as never was before found in human being. In no one single instance do we discover a desire to make known to the world any of your good and gracious acts. Your Majesty has a monument of fame, raised by the hands of your enemies. Little did those enemies imagine what they were doing. They, calculating upon what is commonly seen in life, that great tenderness is rarely united with stern and inflexible resolution; that the tender bosom generally recoils at dangers, and desists from the pursuit even of well known right, if, in that pursuit, perilous consequences be involved: your enemies calculating in this way were unable to estimate the character of your Majesty. They should have perceived that your extraordinary benevolence and tenderness of disposition was accompanied with zeal, activity, and courage, equally extraordinary; they should have considered that, to set the captive free; to send him home to restore happiness to his disconsolate pa-

rents and children; it had been necessary for your Majesty to encounter hardships and perils yourself; and hence they should have drawn the conclusion, that, it was unnatural to suppose that your breast would be wholly devoid of resentment of injuries so outrageous as those they were prepared to heap upon you; and still more unnatural to suppose that you would not feel a desire to incur some risk, to encounter some hardship and some peril, for the sake of a people who had shown so much attachment to your Majesty as that shown by the English people from the hour of your landing. Your enemies have calculated wrongly, and those calculate wrongly, now, who imagine that your Majesty is to be degraded and shoved out of the country by any thing that they can say or do.

Standing as your Majesty does, openly opposed to a faction which has involved this once happy country in every species of ruin and misery; a faction well known to the whole civilized world; a faction upon whom the Spaniards, the Neapolitans, the sound part of the French, every man in the world that possesses or sighs for, freedom, has his eye: standing as your Majesty does opposed to this faction, all the world has its eyes upon you; and thus, by your enemies, you have been placed upon a pinnacle more conspicuous than that occupied by any other human being. In such a state, every act and every word is of con-

sequence. It requires more than human wisdom and foresight to do or to say much in your Majesty's situation, and to do or say nothing wrong; but there is one rule never to be departed from; and that is, to do, or say, nothing, from which any human being can collect that your Majesty can, by any means, be brought to flinch from your noble resolution, expressed in your letter to the King. That letter is our Polar Star. To that we look; and on the spirit, which that letter breathes, we rely for your Majesty's restoration to rights and dignities, so clearly your own, and so essential to the nation's honour and tranquillity.

We are now, may it please your Majesty, in no sort of anxiety or uncertainty as to your Majesty's *innocence* of the foul charges brought against you. We know that you are as innocent as you were in 1806. The testimony now giving against you is more a subject of *curiosity* than of *interest* with the people. But, we look with great interest to the *consequences*; and, relying firmly on your Majesty's wisdom and resolution, we are full of hope, that those consequences will prove permanently beneficial to the people as well as to the throne.

I am,

With the most profound respect,  
Your Majesty's most faithful  
subject and servant,

WM. COBBETT.

## PEEP AT THE PEERS.

It is curious to observe what a *hubbub* this little work has made in the political world. It used to be thought, "that a *cat* might look at a *King*;" and yet, it would seem, that, now-a-days, poor Englishmen must not venture even to *peep* at a *peer*! The Authors, or, rather, the Compilers of this useful little work have sent me the following letter in their defence. I should insert it as a measure of justice; but, I have the further motive of gratitude; for, I have no scruple to say, that, in this work, I have purchased more valuable knowledge for *fourpence*; yea, for a single *groat*, than I ever before purchased, in all the books that I ever possessed, and those books have cost me many hundreds of pounds. My readers have often heard me complain of the *confused manner*, in which the place, pension and sinecure lists were made out. The difficulty, or, rather, the impossibility, that I experienced, was, to get together *the whole* of what one man, or one family, received. This is now done for me, as far as relates to the *Peers*; and most sincerely do I thank the laborious compilers. They very

modestly decline all merit except that of mere collectors of information. But, they deserve a much higher sort of praise. They have not *created* any thing, indeed; but they have given great utility to an useless mass. They have not discussed political subjects: but they have furnished a *clue* in political science, such as never was possessed before. They have not descanted on our system: they have not *argued* about "that which is called "the *envy* of surrounding nations and the *admiration* of the world:" they have exhibited it to every eye. Nobody can fail to understand it that understands the *Numeration Table*. These gentlemen have explained the "*admiration of the world*," by *pounds, shillings and pence*. For this I again thank them; though I must confess, that I feel a little ashamed, that they have taught the public more in *one single week*, than I have been able to teach in *twenty long years*! I now insert their letter, which I think highly worthy of attention.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE POLITICAL REGISTER.

London, Aug. 24, 1820.

SIR,

We beg permission to trouble you with a line or two on the very rude attacks which have been made upon our little compilation, called "*A Peep at the Peers*." The Lord Chancellor has described it as being *full of lies*; but, his Lordship *conscientiously* declined pointing out any one of those "*lies*." It would not be to behave like gentlemen for us to *retort* upon his Lordship; and, therefore, we shall only say, that our work is *true* (mere errors excepted), and that, while our *consciences* are clear, we do not envy him that *conscience*, to which he is everlastingly appealing.

LORD LAUDERDALE complains, that 36,600*l* a-year are put down to him, while he does not receive a *farthing* of the public money. Now, Sir, is this fair? We put down 2,300*l*. to him, "as the *usual* allowance "to *retired ambassadors*." He is one; but, if he do not receive the *usual* allowance, it may be, that he was not abroad long enough. We had no *list* to refer to; and, if it were an error, the fault was not ours.

The rest of the sum, namely, 34,300*l.* a-year, is put down to his family, all but 600*l.* which he receives in trust for six females of the name of HAY.—Does not he receive this money? And, of what consequence is it to the public, whether he keep it, or pay it over to somebody else? But, it is rather curious, that this complaint of his lordship should have led to a discovery, which (after taking off his own supposed pension) will, we believe, augment the sum total against his name, as will appear in our second edition. A chapter on riders might be useful!

The MARCHIONESS of STAFFORD (or some one for her) has complained, that we have put down to her a pension of 300*l.* a-year; and, those who accuse us of this falsehood, assert, that she has not now, and never had, a pension. In answer to this, we say, that, in a report, laid before the House of Commons, and printed on the 29th of June, 1808, are the following words: "*Gower, Countess, now Marchioness of Stafford, pension, 300*l.* a-year.*" Now, Sir, who is it that states falsehoods?

You will do us the justice to observe, Sir, that we have distinctly stated in our preface, that we have no authentic pension-list of a later date than 1808. We were, therefore, compelled to confine ourselves to that; but, surely, we were not to reject that, and thus be disabled from making out any ac-

count at all. If that list be not correct now, let the Ministers and our Representatives give us another. Until they do that, we shall use the old list as a matter of course.

Nevertheless there are some few errors in our work; and, very far were we from pretending, that it was without errors. Some obliging correspondents have furnished us with means of correcting several mistakes.—These corrections we shall make directly; and, for that purpose, we shall publish a SECOND EDITION very soon; though, to say the truth, the errors are of an amount perfectly insignificant, when compared with the mighty whole.

Lord Lauderdale is reported to have said, that the article respecting his family was intended to intimate, that, in his vote on the Queen's case, he would be influenced by the money he received! Sir, we repel this charge with indignation. Let any one look at the observations in our preface, and see what foundation there is for such a charge. So far from any such imputations, we have distinctly said, that we pretend not to determine, whether this mode of employing the public money be a good or an evil; that we have merely stated facts, leaving others to argue on them, and to draw their own conclusions.

We are, Sir,  
Your most humble servants,  
THE AUTHORS.

*Mr. BROUGHAM's Arguments in favour of the Rule of the House of Lords, to allow of the re-cross-examination of the Witnesses against the Queen; together with his Reply to the ATTORNEY and SOLICITOR GENERAL on the same subject.*

TUESDAY, AUGUST 29.

Mr. BROUGHAM.—He could not disguise the very great difficulty he felt, on the part of her Majesty, when called upon to address their Lordships on this point. He should feel it much easier to object to the course prescribed by their Lordships, than to point out any other course. First of all, their Lordships would suffer him to remind them that the difficulty was none of their (the Counsels) making. If any difficulties, be they numerous or be they few; if any obstacles, be they less or be they greater in their nature, presented themselves to their Lordships, none of them were his. The person patronizing this bill had, indeed, urged, that it was more for his interest to proceed by this bill; they (her Majesty's Counsel) on their part, and on her part, had objected. Although it seemed good to the wisdom and justice of their Lordships to reject the course pointed out by her Majesty's Counsel, and to adopt that pointed out on the other side, if a difficulty had now arisen, her Majesty's Counsel

might say that it had arisen from rejecting their proposal, and adopting that of the other side. It was a sufficient reason which he urged, which any man in his situation would urge, why extraordinary indulgence should be extended to him, that he and his learned friends who were with him, had been thwarted in their petitions, hampered in their course of proceedings, never gratified in any one object, and that all the difficulties which were complained of, and which he might say his learned friend on the other side now complained of, arose, not from any refusal to the other side, but from having their wishes gratified. Even to the very last act of this great national drama, every objection urged by them had been resisted by their Lordships, and they had now decided, they (her Majesty's Counsel) not having been heard. He was not ready to propose another course. They were offered a situation not only perfectly different from that in which they had stood last Saturday, after they had been put to their election, and had made their election, but in a situation not so good—in a much worse situation than that in which they had stood from the beginning till eleven o'clock on Saturday last. Upon every point formerly arising as to the course of proceeding, they had not been heard at all. Upon the petition presented against the course adopted, it had been decided against them that they were not to be heard. Upon the second step, upon what he

deemed much more valuable, what he deemed not an extraordinary claim, but what he deemed the privilege of every party in every suit—in every private suit between A. and B., and in every criminal prosecution—he meant the specification of the places where the alleged acts were committed, and the times, within a reasonable certainty and a reasonable latitude—a specification which was given in every case, not only of high treason (for the analogy there went only to the list of witnesses), but in every case the county was specified. Upon this second point they had been refused, and without being heard. They were referred, such was the specification of the charge, to three of the four quarters of the globe. It was not in Middlesex nor in Durham that the offence was charged to have been committed, but the charge extended over Europe, Asia, and Africa; over countries, cities, and villages; over provinces, kingdoms, or empires; inhabited or uninhabited; wildernesses, seas, rivers, towns, or cities, in all this variety of countries. This was their peculiar situation. It was peculiar that there was no *venue* in this case, because in every case the *venue* was an essential particular. This defect was of peculiar weight, and occasioned peculiar difficulty in the defence, when no offence at all had been committed. If her Majesty had sinned any where, she might have some suspicion of the place to be charged, and by consequence

some anticipation of the sort of evidence to be adduced to support it. But because she was not guilty, and had not been, for aught that had appeared in evidence, in the places where the offence might be alleged to have been committed; because she was thus innocent, she could not conceive the places of the alleged offence, or the persons in those places who should give evidence. This second essential point their Lordships had decided against them without hearing them. In this manner their Lordships had decided that they should proceed with the trial of her Majesty, under what he must bring his organs of speech to call a Bill of Pains and Penalties. Their Lordships had decided that this mode of proceeding was of right and necessity, which they—he would not say considered of wrong and unnecessary—but which they denied to be of right and necessity. A compensation, he had thought, had been offered to them for all those disadvantages, and it did appear to them; humbly endeavouring to accomplish their duty according to the orders of their Lordships, (but they were now more than ever sensible of their utter inability to understand the orders of their Lordships), they did venture to hope they had attained to the meaning of their Lordships' orders, and they conceived that, in their peculiar situation, not of their own seeking, but of their Lordships' making, some advantages were to be allowed them to meet the peculiarity of difficulties which

their Lordships in their wisdom had devised. They conceived that to meet the peculiar difficulty, another peculiarity was ordained by their Lordships as an advantage that might compensate in some measure the disadvantage. They little thought that when this advantage came to be sifted, it would be found simply the common advantage which every defendant enjoyed as a clear, absolute, indisputable right, which every party, as well as every defendant, was invariably allowed. They little thought that when they had recovered from the two refusals which he had mentioned, and from which they had recovered only by that which alone had induced them to make themselves parties to this proceeding, they little thought that all was to be taken away again, and that they were to hear their Lordships say to them, "You have no advantage; true it is that your situation is peculiar in point of hardship, but for that very reason you shall have no peculiar advantage. The mischief is new, extraordinary, and unparalleled. The more innocent your client is, the less able must she be to make a defence. But no novel advantage must be given you to resist the extraordinary pressure. Whenever you claim an extraordinary remedy, then we tie ourselves down by forms—then we refer to the proceedings in courts of law—then we quote the practice at *nisi prius* and in the Old Bailey, and we give you not what is the right

of every defendant in every action and in every prosecution." Their Lordships had created the peculiar difficulty, and they were therefore bound to afford a peculiar remedy. If the Bill was unparalleled, if the proceeding against the Illustrious Defendant was without parallel with respect to the facts, or details, or principle, in any one judicial proceeding in the world, then was it equally unparalleled to deny the relief required by the extraordinary nature of the mischief, which in their minds was up to the present hour unparalleled. In the case of the Duke of Norfolk, the noble defendant (the Duchess) had every advantage given to her by their Lordships which she could desire. It was not true that she had only a list of the witnesses; it was not true that she had only the places and times specified. She had objected to the vagueness of charges embracing seven parishes and five months, and asked to have the months applied to the parishes; and their Lordships had allowed that, and ordered the month and the place of every act of adultery to be specified, and a second amended particular to be given in for this purpose. Thus it was in August at Windsor, in September at St. Margaret's, in October at some other parish, &c. Four days had been allowed afterwards to prepare for meeting those charges, so that she could go to Windsor, and to the other places, in order to obtain evidence. This was not all; it was not true that this was all



she had been allowed. He should rest his argument upon the case of the Duke of Norfolk in 1691. He could refer to that case for a sanction to all he claimed on Saturday. The Duchess's proctor attended on their Lordships: they were aware that the proctor was a solicitor in Doctors' Commons. He would mention, as it was material to the understanding of this point, the order of proceeding, as he found it in their journals. On the 14th day of January, 1691, the order was made for the particulars. On the 16th the specification was ordered. On the 19th the objection was made to the generality. On the 23d the witnesses for the Duke were brought to their bar, and two whole pages of their journals contained no other matter but this examination in *initialibus*, to use a civil law expression. The examination extended to names, marriage, abode, &c. The proctor stood in the very situation in which he (Mr. Brougham) had stood last Saturday, and he was allowed to examine in the precise terms in which he had proposed to examine on Saturday. He cross-examined thus: "Did you serve any other master before your present master? When did you leave him?" He would implore their Lordships' attention to what had been their practice in the case to which he alluded. On the 19th a further and more minute specification was called for, and also allowed. On the 23d witnesses were produced at the bar by the then Duke of Norfolk. The whole

of these proceedings would be found upon their Lordships' journals, two pages of which were actually filled up by the specifications allowed to the solicitation of the accused. All these proceedings were, he repeated, allowed in *initialibus*, as was the expression in civil law. All these minute particularizations their Lordships, upon their journals, would be found to have allowed in the case to which he alluded: and yet, notwithstanding the most extraordinary detail of apparently guilty facts—three or four witnesses indeed spoke, in their examination-in-chief, to the fact of finding the Duchess actually in bed with her paramour, and another spoke of what had occurred in terms too revolting to delicacy for him to repeat; yet, notwithstanding all these proofs and circumstances, a few questions in cross-examination, had had such an effect as to induce their Lordships to throw out the bill. The case to which he alluded, was one, where proof to ocular demonstration was tendered and taken, and yet the bill was rendered a nullity by the cross-examination of the witnesses. So much for the case of the Duchess of Norfolk, in 1691. He did not mean to anticipate any thing in the way of reply to the arguments used by the learned Counsel on the opposite side. On the present occasion such a line of argument would be quite premature; indeed, it would be more—it would be quite irregular, unjust, nay, indecent. If it were possible that the example had been set up of

premature comment upon any arguments he might have commenced and left unfinished, then he should say that the example was one, which would be more honourable in the breach than the observance. He could not believe, however, that such an example had been set him: still less could he believe that it came from any noble person on whom would hereafter lie the responsibility of deciding "upon his honour" on the whole merits of this case. To believe that an example of such a kind could be set in such a quarter, would be to credit the existence of a monstrous indecorum, where all was no doubt pure and unsullied. If, however, the example were set even in so high a quarter, he must refrain from following it; he must in common decency keep clear of a course which he thought utterly indecorous and indefensible. But he would come to the more material part of what he had now to address to their lordships. Did they, he asked, with an earnestness that he trusted bespoke his anxious suspense for a reply, mean now to retract what was termed "the extraordinary advantage" which from the outset they were disposed to give to his illustrious client in the progress of the case? Was this promised advantage (to use the term applied to it) to be now withdrawn? And were the counsel for the Queen to be now placed in one part of the conduct of this cause, as parties were placed in the ordinary course of proceedings in courts of law, while in another part of the pro-

ceedings they were to be placed in quite a different situation from that in which such parties were placed in the courts below?—Was this advantage, then, to be taken from them in one part, and were they in another to encounter disadvantages in which no party was ever placed in any court under either ordinary or extraordinary circumstances? In any way in which their lordships could place him, he had disadvantages to encounter on the part of his client, which no person could have imposed upon him before the ordinary tribunals of the land. These disadvantages arose out of the very nature of the anomalous mode of proceeding which had been instituted. "O my Lords, (exclaimed Mr. Brougham) monstrous indeed will be the disadvantage to which we shall here be exposed, in comparison with the situation in which the courts of common law would place us, if your lordships will now tell us that the course of your proceeding, and the only course will be, first to hear the examination-in-chief, then the cross-examination, then the re-examination, and after that nothing but what shall be previously submitted to the opinion of your lordships: no question to be asked a witness except through your lordships; no series of uninterrupted questions to be allowed us in the situation in which we are placed. If this shall be your lordships' final and irrevocable decision, then, I repeat, monstrous will be the disadvantages which must environ us in the performance of

our duty; and still more monstrous is it to tell me, that this is done in conformity with the ordinary rules of law." He implored their lordships to pause before they placed him in such an embarrassing situation, and before they suffered it to be pretended that it was justified by any analogy with the practice of the ordinary tribunals. The accused in the courts below had, upon the very form of the proceeding against him, the place where the crime was said to have been committed; in a criminal case, indeed, the law gave him this information. It was idle, therefore, to talk of any analogy between this course of proceeding and that in any of the courts below, when the very essence, as well as the form proposed to be set, showed not an analogy but a contrast. And yet this was the fair, the full, the candid manner in which practice of the courts below had been quoted before their lordships. All he wanted was, that they should abide by the practice of the Courts below; he desired no more; that was all he asked at the beginning, and he now asked nothing more, when, as he believed, their proceedings were about to come to a close. All he conjured of their lordships was, that they would take these rules as a whole, and not frighter them away partially; not to adhere to them rigidly where they fettered the Queen, and depart from them to benefit the King. He again repeated, that all his illustrious Client desired was evenhanded justice; with it she

was safe, without it innocence conferred no security. He had been told that he was to enjoy in this case an extraordinary advantage, not enjoyed by an accused in any ordinary case; for that, after the whole evidence of the prosecution had been gone through, his illustrious Client might have two months to prepare her defence. He wished indeed he could take comfort from this, which some were pleased to call an extraordinary advantage. But where were the boasted enjoyments of this extraordinary advantage? Just let their lordships look for a moment at the situation in which he should stand before any ordinary tribunal. Would the witness there retire from Court, as he must here, without undergoing the test of a cross-examination at the instant, from a counsel well prepared by previous information to enter into minute details? In any ordinary court was the accused liable to have his Judges prejudiced by the daily publication of *ex-parte* evidence under all the influence which was incidental to such a situation? Not only had the illustrious accused this prejudice to encounter from the daily publication of what did occur, but superadded to this, she had to encounter the propagation of the vilest falsehoods. For instance, in an Evening Paper of Saturday it was stated, that when the evidence came to the marks of adulterous intercourse in a bed, it was stopped. Now that was a gross and deliberate falsehood; it was too a wilful one, and fabricated for a

base purpose. These infamous lies were the more dangerous from the circumstances of their being published as a representation of facts occurring before their lordships. He prayed their lordships to see the absolute nullity they would make of his cross-examination, if they confined it to the "extraordinary advantage," as it was called, of showing special cause for putting each question, and then putting it through their lordships. To avail himself of this extraordinary advantage, he was in the first place left without materials. How was he to pursue the cross-examination of a witness, whose face he never saw until he was produced to give his evidence? Such was the case of the female witness whose examination was suspended: she spoke of occurrences at Carlsruhe, and that was the first time he had ever heard of such a place as having any relation to this case. To call upon him, therefore, now to cross-examine this witness, was, in fact, to extract from him a confession of his ignorance of any thing upon which he could cross-examine her. Such was the state to which he was reduced by the ignorance of names, of dates, of time and place, in which it had pleased their lordships to keep his Illustrious Client. The consequence of the step already taken by their lordships became more intricate for him, from the circumstance of the great distance at which this investigation was carried on, from the places through which her Majesty had journeyed during the long period of six years ;

over this space and along that journey he had to cast his eye, without mark or guide to fix it on any spot which it might be advisable to measure for the purposes of her Majesty's defence. Their lordships, with a view to obviate this difficulty, had promised to afford a delay of two months, to seek the necessary information, from which was to be drawn the materials for her Majesty's defence. Much better would it have been, had their lordships afforded that information which would have rendered any delay unnecessary. It was very easy for noble lords to say that they ought to regulate their course by the practice of the Courts below ; but did they not recollect, that in all judicial tribunals, any delay, so far from being considered advantageous to the accused, was felt to be directly the reverse? With that feeling it was always considered prejudicial to the party on trial, if even a single day intervened between the opening of the case and the defence of the accused. The prejudice of this delay was avoided by the very nature of the forms of judicial proceedings in this country. If the case were of a civil nature, the declaration contained a full specification of the charge ; if of a criminal nature, the same information was communicated either by the indictment or by the information. Such were the wholesome provisions of the English law : the descendants of the framers of it may have become wiser than their ancestors, and may lay down new rules for their own

conduct. Until, however, this was done, he agreed that the established forms and practice of the courts below ought to regulate their lordships' proceedings; and all he conjured or desired was, that he should, on the part of his Illustrious Client, have the benefit of these forms and of that practice. Did their lordships believe that there was so much magic in the dress of a counsel at their bar, or such a charm in his education and legal acquirements, as that he could at sight of a witness whom he never saw, nor ever heard of before, strike upon all those points of character and conduct which it were necessary to sift to ascertain moral credibility, and at once to enter upon a cross-examination with as little preparation as he could read from his brief? He would for a moment suppose a case which would show the difficulty in which their lordships' rule of proceeding would, if rigidly adopted, place him. Suppose that in three or four weeks hence he discovered anything which went to destroy the testimony already given by any witness. Suppose that a witness, A. B., had received a sum of money on condition of his swearing against the Queen—nay, further, that the passing of this Bill of Pains and Penalties was to be a condition antecedent to the payment of the money. All the noble and learned lords who heard him at least, and he trusted all their lordships generally, would be struck with the powerful effect which this disclosure, if substantiated by proof, must have upon

the nature of the evidence previously given; and yet, however important such testimony might be, if the proposed rule were adopted, he should be unable in the face of that rule to tender such evidence. How could he produce the evidence, unless he were permitted to call back, suppose, the last witness, and ask her, was such and such the fact? If she admitted it to be true, then she disqualified herself from being a witness; if she denied it, then he should have to offer proof of the facts out of the mouths of other witnesses.—Their lordships knew that counter-declarations formed a large part of the materials for cross-examination. He would appeal to those of their lordships who had had experience in Courts of Law, how often a knowledge of such counter-declarations had been elicited by a sifting and persevering cross-examination. A counsel cross-examining had to feel his way with a reluctant witness: he had to get his answers just as he could, and to compare and collect the parts in his progress; he had, as it were, to eviscerate the truth from the witness. It was in vain to say this could be done if a counsel were to proceed step by step, with each question put (if they were put) through the medium of their lordships, and liable every moment perhaps to the demurrer of the learned counsel opposite. When their lordships talked of any analogy with the proceedings of the other courts of law, he begged to ask at what period since the foundation of those

counts, under the guidance of upright Judges, had a counsel been called upon to cross-examine as he (Mr. Brougham) would be called upon, if their lordships laid down the rule against which he now contended? To call such a mode of proceeding a cross-examination would be a mockery of the term; to tell a counsel that he might cross-examine after the manner he was allowed in a court of law, and to tell him, in the same breath, that he must lay a ground for each question, and have it then put *ex gratia* by their lordships, was to render his task a nullity, and a mockery of the sanctioned practice before the Judges of the land; and this, too, was to be conceded as a favour, which, in any of the courts below, and from any of the revered Judges who presided in them, he should disdain to accept in any other way than as an undoubted right. It was on these grounds he humbly submitted to their lordships, that they would not now place him in a different situation from that in which he supposed he stood, by their lordships' considerate attention. He hoped now, that the expectation held out to the counsel for the Queen were to be realized, and that they were not to learn that their lordships' rule of one day was not to be their guide for another. If it was the will and pleasure of their lordships that the counsel for the Illustrious Accused must act under restrictions like these, which trampled the fair and full perform-

ance of their duty; if it was their final command that her Majesty's Counsel, during the remainder of these proceedings, were merely to sit at their lordships' bar, and grace by their corporeal presence the business of each successive day; if that, he repeated, was their lordships' irrevocable decree, then he hoped at least that he and his learned friends would be permitted to revise their first resolution of trying to assist her Majesty in the conduct of her defence. He still, however, relied upon the sense of justice which must ever reign in their lordships' breasts, and that the influence of that good feeling would save her Majesty's Counsel from being placed in such a predicament. It was fit, before he concluded, that he should correct himself respecting a statement of their lordships' minutes, if they would so far permit him to aver against the record. It was stated, that when he had a former witness called back, he wanted merely to inquire into one specific fact, without going into any further examination, but that the limits prescribed had been exceeded. He admitted the irregularity of such a course, but only wished to pledge himself not again to ask for the re-examination of a witness until he came to open his case for the defence. In any thing that had occurred, he by no means meant to yield his right to pursue that line of ample cross-examination for which he now humbly, but he trusted

effectually, contended at their lordships' bar. He concluded by apologising to their lordships for the time he had occupied them, and for which the only excuse he had to offer was the paramount importance of the point for which he contended.

Mr. BROUGHAM then commenced his reply to the Attorney and Solicitor-General, by stating, that little had been offered on the other side requiring an answer. He could not, however, allow their lordships to separate without setting himself right with regard to misquotation (undersigned of course) which he was supposed to have made from their lordships' Journals. It was easy to mis-state a case, and easier to assert that a case had been mis-stated. The Counsel on the other side were very sharp, but it would have been well for them to have been accurate as well as sharp. The Attorney-General had fallen into an error, though he was aided and accompanied by the Solicitor-General, who generally spoke with great contempt of every body but himself, and their lordships. He (Mr. Brougham) made this exception, because the Solicitor-General had been pleased to bestow his high commendation upon their lordships: though not lawyers, in the excess of his approbation he had admitted, that their lordships had put some questions to the witnesses in a form sufficiently judicious. (*Order, order.*) He was merely repeating what had been said by his learned friend,

who had not been interrupted while expressing his most satisfactory approbation: it was a tribute from one who filled the high office of the King's Solicitor-General; it was of considerable value, and he (Mr. Brougham) trusted it had been received by the House with becoming gratitude. Let it be recollected that this came from the Solicitor-General; the only lawyer, at least the only accomplished lawyer of the profession, according to the opinion of some of his friends, who, by the by, monopolized that opinion as he did the knowledge of the law. (*Laughter.*) The Solicitor-General had too a most able coadjutor; and between them both it might be said that they had exclusive possession of all law, all the wisdom, all the talent, and all the accomplishments on the present occasion. In truth, the counsel for the Queen had only one or two books to which they referred, and which they held up as a screen against the desperate severity of the attack just made upon them. Much had been said regarding the case of the Duchess of Norfolk; but while his learned friends, relying on their own resources, only furnished themselves with Cobbett's State Trials, he and the Queen's Solicitor-General had been obliged to provide themselves with the original Journals of the House. The other side relied on the octavo edition, while the original folio, which would be evidence in a Court of Justice, (if he might be allowed

to state what would be evidence, not so much in the face of the judges of the land, and of their lordships, as in the overawing presence of that greatest of all law authorities, the Solicitor-General, by whom he had been rebuked within the last half hour,) had been produced in opposition to it. From that folio it was evident that all that the Attorney-General advanced was founded in error, and that all that he (Mr. Brougham) had said was confirmed by indisputable fact. God forbid that he should glory or triumph over the amazing powers of his learned friends; but it did happen, that about half an hour ago, and in this House, for he had no objection to specify times and places with the utmost possible precision, he had read the 46th and 47th pages of the Journals of the House of Lords, where was stated the whole of what he had ventured to submit. It there appeared that the proctor of the Duchess of Norfolk, had asked many questions of the witnesses, in order to furnish himself with the means of ascertaining their conduct and character: he had inquired of Margaret Edmonds where was her last abode, whether she was single or married, with whom she now lived, and other interrogatories of the same sort; after which she was sworn, and not till then. The same course was pursued with Anne Burton; she was asked if she were a maid (he had ventured to put no such question to the witness of Saturday), whether she always had lived in Chancery-lane;

whether she had been servant to the Lords Ferrers and Devon, and whether at the time of examination she lived at her own cost and charges: to the last, much to her credit, she answered in the affirmative. Then she was sworn, and not till then; and the same mode was pursued with 20 other witnesses, one of the last of whom was Richard Owen, and he was asked whether he was kept by the Duke of Norfolk. But, said the Attorney-General, from his great authority, Cobbett's State Trials, no copy of charges and no list of witnesses was given; but from the Journals it was clear that the contrary was the truth. The Duchess petitioned for them, but a difficulty was for a time thrown in the way by a Latin protest delivered in by the Proctor, which, for the more easy comprehension of the House of Lords, must first be translated into the vulgar. At length, however, the list was furnished, and most complete it was, for it went over the life and occupation of every witness for six or eight preceding years, and then three further days were allowed to the Duchess for inquiry.—Therefore, he said, with all possible humility and deference to the learned self-complacency of the Solicitor-General, with whom he was far indeed from putting himself in competition, for all that he (Mr. Brougham) had acquired had come rather by the grace of God than by any industry or merit of his own, that the case completely bore him out in all the observations he had made.



The ATTORNEY-GENERAL begged to be allowed to remark, that the charges against the Duchess of Norfolk only included a period of five months, and not of five years.

MR. BROUGHAM answered, that if time were of any consequence to his argument, he could show here that the Attorney-General was again in error, for the specification allowed to the Duchess extended from January, 1685, to August 1691; and if the same course had been adopted with regard to her Majesty, she would at this moment have stood before the world in a very different situation. So much for the Attorney-General. He (Mr. Brougham) felt infinitely more awe in approaching his most learned coadjutor, because he knew his habit always was to tell the opponent who "touched near him"—"Go away, Sir; you are no lawyer—you can be no lawyer—you are only the Queen's Attorney-General, but I am the King's Solicitor-General; therefore I am a lawyer, and a most accomplished lawyer." That was a fact he (Mr. Brougham) could not dispute or traverse, and that alone was enough to deter him from attempting to grapple with any of the arguments adduced: he felt a conscious inferiority; he was aware that he was far below the King's Solicitor-General in rank and in knowledge: the Solicitor-General might say that he was only "a little lower than the Angels," and a very little it was, if his own opinion were to be taken: the wonder therefore was, that with all his

learning and greatness he could condescend to mis-state the arguments used against him. He (Mr. Brougham) felt the highest admiration for the great man of whom he was speaking; nothing he could say could add one leaf to the wreath of laurel he had obtained—nothing he could advance could give one more spark to the glory both he (the Solicitor-General) and his powerful coadjutor had been daily increasing during this investigation, and before the patrons of this Bill, to whom they were indebted for their well-merited professional promotion. *Proprio Marte* they had acquired immortal reputation, and melancholy it was to reflect, that even these men, the most illustrious and exalted of their species, had still some taint of the frailty of our common nature. Not only had they mis-stated arguments, but they had substituted one for another. He (Mr. Brougham) had never said, that in a civil suit the defendant was entitled to a particular of time and place, but that he had a right to such a particular, as added to the contents of the declaration, made it a matter of absolute certainty that he could not be taken by surprise, but must come prepared into Court. If this were not furnished, a Judge would make an order for the purpose, and in his own little experience (never comparing it with that of the King's Solicitor-General) this had been done over and over again. But this was not a civil action, nothing like a civil action; and he asked whe-

ther, in all criminal proceedings, certainty was not by law secured to an individual accused? A man committed for a felony to York Castle, and put in a course of trial in Yorkshire, knew that the offence must be charged to have been committed there; but here the crime was extended over many years and over many quarters of the globe: Europe, Asia, and Africa were charged as the scenes of her Majesty's adultery. In the same way an indictment was not for a series of felonious acts: it was for picking the pocket specifically of A. B., and not for a pocket-picking intercourse of seven years of a man's life; and there was hardly an instance of a person being put upon his trial in this country who was ignorant of the precise nature and extent of the charge, and of the place where the offence was alleged to have been perpetrated. A great deal had been said about the necessity of laying down a rule as a guide for the future: far be it from him to object to the utmost regularity, but it did seem a little strange that all of a sudden men's minds were directed to proceedings of this kind, as if Bills of Pains and Penalties were hereafter to form a great chapter in the law of the land. Resolutions might be made by the House not to draw certain matters into precedent, but that was a bungling way of doing business, and he would seriously ask their lordships if they were bound here to act as if Queen Bills were to become in future as common as Turnpike-road

and Canal Bills? The argument had been pushed even thus far; it was said, that it was better that the individual in this particular case should suffer than that a permanent rule should not be established.—Surely this argument, if good for any thing, might be pressed both ways, for he might ask their lordships to lay down a rule favourable to the Queen, and pressing hard upon her accuser, in order that in future it might be adhered to inflexibly. Why was all the load to be cast upon the weaker party? Why was a rule to be made at the cost of the Queen only? The rule of law, and the ordinary merciful presumption of judges was, that it was better that ten guilty should escape than that one innocent should suffer; but now it was to be reversed at the instance of those two sages of the profession, and ten innocent were to be punished that one guilty might not avoid the merited sentence. But the Queen was in a situation of great disadvantage compared with her prosecutors; her acquittal, nay, even her conviction, could not be pleaded in bar of any further proceeding: this Bill might be withdrawn and amended, again withdrawn and again amended; *toties quoties* new measures might be offered to their lordships against the Queen, and, session after session, she might be put upon her trial.—This was no slight difference; and another important distinction had been demonstrated already by the evidence, that the Queen's accusers had a power of procur-

ing witnesses which she could not enjoy. Not only were large sums at their command—not only was force used where bribery failed, but the foreign force (for the conclusion was irresistible) used to bring the King's witnesses would not be employed to make those of the Queen come. Further, the same force found effectual in driving the King's witnesses over would be exerted to keep the Queen's witnesses back. He did not profess to be so deeply skilled in human nature as his learned friends; but he guessed that the same power which said to one man, "Go over to give evidence against the Queen," was not likely to tell another, "Go you to give evidence in her favour." He might assume even more: the government which told the King's witnesses to stay away from England at their peril, would warn those of the Queen to go to England at their peril. Upon these grounds he left the case with the House, without at all pretending to be able to estimate either the importance of new impending difficulties, or of those in which it was already involved. He had, of course, no right to offer any advice or suggestion to their lordships; and perhaps—

— "Should they wade no more,  
"Returning were as tedious as go  
o'er."

### ADDRESSES TO HER MAJESTY.

The following Address has been presented to her Majesty from the city of Litchfield:—

"TO HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY,  
QUEEN CAROLINE, LAWFUL CONSORT  
OF HIS MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY  
GEORGE THE FOURTH, KING OF THE  
UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN  
AND IRELAND,

"We, the undersigned, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, inhabitants of the city of Litchfield, beg leave to congratulate your Majesty on your accession to the dignity of Queen Consort of these realms, and on your arrival in this kingdom; and to express our admiration of that firmness and decision of character with which your Majesty refused to compromise your honour and your interests, which are so intimately connected with the honour and interests of the state, for the pecuniary considerations held out to you by his Majesty's ministers.

"We beg leave to offer our sincere condolence to your Majesty on the loss of those endeared relatives, whose friendship and protection formed in other days an insurmountable barrier to the unmanly and intriguing malice of your enemies.

"We view with the utmost disquietude and alarm, the unjust and unconstitutional proceedings instituted against your Majesty in the House of Lords; by which it is intended to bring your Majesty to the form of a trial, neither recognized by law, nor sanctioned by justice.

"As loyal subjects of the Crown, and as determined supporters of that glorious constitution, which, when it throned the King in power, fenced the people round with just laws and sacred privileges, we are happy in this assurance, that of our at-

tachment to your Majesty, to record our dissent from that system of policy by which the passions of the King have been excited, and his judgment misled; and which would seek to degrade and dethrone your Majesty by a legislative measure, which is without precedent, except in the worst period of our history."

To which her Majesty was pleased to return the following gracious answer:—

"I rejoice to find that the spirit of constitutional loyalty is animating the inhabitants of the city of Litchfield; and they have had the courage to exhibit that spirit in this honest declaration of their attachment to a Queen in adversity.

"Injustice has always a natural enemy in the heart of man. Can I then wonder that the barbarous injustice by which I have been so long persecuted, should have found such a determined foe in the hearts of Englishmen, though I cannot boast of having been much cheered by the sympathy of our venerable hierarchy! The members of that sacred corporation have not, in general, stepped forward with that alacrity of benevolence, which is the best characteristic of unsophisticated piety, to pour oil and wine into my bleeding wounds; or to sooth me with that soft balm of genuine kindness, which is supposed to be perpetually descending from the tree of evangelical charity, that covers the sanctuary.

"The real elevation of sovereigns is in proportion to the

rank which they hold in the affections of the people. The hatred of nations is the true ignominy of kings. It is that which deprives the Crown of its lustre, and makes the sceptre weaker than a reed.

"If I should be deprived of my constitutional rights, and my royal dignity, my degradation will be less real than that of my oppressor. I shall rise in the estimation of mankind; but he, whose persecution has made so large a portion of my life one continued scene of inquietude and misery, will not readily conquer the strong aversion he has incurred, or recover the good opinion he has lost.

"As far as any Monarch partakes of the imperfections of humanity, he is liable to be governed by his passions; but when the passions preside at the helm of governments, nations perish in storms."

The following Address has been presented to her Majesty from the parish of St. Matthew, Bethnal Green.

"TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

"The loyal and dutiful Address of the Vestrymen of the Parish of St. Matthew, Bethnal Green, in the county of Middlesex, in Vestry assembled.

"May it please your Majesty,

"We, your Majesty's most dutiful and faithful subjects, the Churchwardens, Overseers, Governors, and Directors of the Poor, and Vestrymen of the

Parish of St. Matthew, Bethnal Green, beg to approach your Majesty to offer our sentiments of condolence and congratulation at this momentous and important crisis.

"The painful bereavements with which it has pleased Providence to visit your Majesty, are events which have proved as calamitous and distressing to your Majesty, as they have been subjects of deep sorrow and affliction to this portion of your Majesty's people: and it is with feelings of unaffected regret, that we condole with your Majesty upon these acute visitations, so afflicting in their consequences to your royal and parental heart, and so disappointing to the hopes of all your Majesty's loyal and affectionate subjects.

"The arrival of your Majesty in this country, after an absence of several years, was an event which we hailed with sincere pleasure and gratification; and we congratulate your Majesty upon your late return to a people who have never ceased to feel a participation in your many persecutions and sufferings, or to admire the firmness and generosity of your Majesty's mind.

"Much as we lament the determination which has been adopted of preferring certain charges against your Majesty, which in their nature and proof are so repugnant to all moral feeling, so pregnant with objectionable consequences, and so hostile to every sentiment of British justice and generosity; yet, in our estimation, the mode of proceeding, which marks the

progress of the accusation against your Majesty, is infinitely more important to the proper administration of public justice, and the interests of every subject in the British empire. Venerating the constitution of this great nation, and being firmly attached to the House of Brunswick, we have beheld with profound sorrow and regret the extraordinary proceedings adopted towards your Majesty. Those principles of public justice which form and govern the course of the accuser, and also the safeguard and protection of the accused, appear to us to have been violated in the case of your Majesty; and a method of proceeding anomalous in its constitution, and oppressive in its character, has been instituted, alike detrimental to your Majesty's cause, and to the liberties and privileges of the people of this country.

"In reviewing the various efforts directed against your Majesty's honour and peace, and the numberless insults which have been offered to your Royal Person, combined with the futile attempt to seduce the integrity of your Majesty by a proposition to compound your Royal and legitimate Rights and Title; we know not whether most to admire the magnanimity and dignity of mind which instantly detected, despised, and exposed such machinations, or to express our indignation and disgust upon such attempts and practices being disclosed.

"The severe trials to which your Majesty has been subjected, and the defeat of every at-

lack which has hitherto been directed against your Majesty's honour and dignity, impresses us with the unalterable conviction that the daughter of the illustrious Duke of Brunswick, the Consort of our Royal Sovereign, and the Mother of our ever-to-be-lamented Princess Charlotte, is worthy of the honour, devotion, and loyalty of the People of this Country: and that accusations preferred and supported by efforts every way reprehensible, and by means the most objectionable, will, if persisted in, be a source of lasting regret to ourselves, but at the same time a subject which cannot fail of animating on behalf of your Majesty the feelings of every honourable, independent, and generous mind."

To which Address her Majesty returned the following gracious answer:—

"The Churchwardens, Overseers, and Vestrymen of the parish of St. Matthew, Bethnal-green, are requested to accept my cordial thanks for this spontaneous tribute of affectionate regard.

"The present mode of proceeding against me in the House of Lords, may well alarm those who have any regard for the political welfare or the moral interest of the nation. Though the primary object of the Bill of Pains and Penalties is to divorce me from his Majesty, yet it is hypocritically pretended that his Majesty is not a party in the case. An abstract term is employed, in order to cover the deception, and the state is substituted for his Majesty. But the

state, if it means any thing, must mean the people, collectively considered; but the people, collectively considered, instead of desiring a dissolution of my marriage with his Majesty, have expressed the most indubitable desire that that marriage may not be annulled, but that I may remain Queen Consort of these realms, and be invested with all the rights, privileges, and immunities which the law has appropriated to that Royal dignity.

"To pretend that his Majesty is not a party, and the sole complaining party in this great question, is to render the whole business a mere mockery—the reprobation of the good, the jest of the thoughtless, and the contempt of the wise. His Majesty either does or does not desire the divorce which the Bill of Pains and Penalties proposes to accomplish; if his Majesty does not desire the divorce, it is certain that the state does not desire it in his stead; and if the divorce is the desire of his Majesty, his Majesty ought to seek it on the same terms as his subjects; for, in a limited monarchy, the law is one and the same for all: or otherwise, the mere volition of the Monarch is paramount to the law; and the Government becomes a despotism."

The following Address was voted unanimously at one of the most numerous meetings that ever took place in the Common Hall of Sheffield. It bears the signatures of upwards of eight thousand inhabitants of the town of Sheffield:—

" TO HER MAJESTY CAROLINE, QUEEN CONSORT OF HIS MAJESTY GEORGE THE FOURTH, KING OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, &c.

" The loyal and dutiful Address of the inhabitants of the town and vicinity of Sheffield, in the county of York.

" We, your Majesty's most faithful subjects, beg leave to approach your Majesty with unfeigned professions of affection for your royal person; and to congratulate your Majesty on your return to this country—a country that now calls you Queen, and which we regret that your Majesty should ever have left.

" In addressing you on this occasion, permit us to assure your Majesty, that the many deprivations you have sustained, have touched a chord in our hearts, and bound us to your royal person by the tenderest ties of sympathy. Since your first arrival in this country, great and various afflictions have befallen you; the prop and stay of your illustrious House has been withdrawn by the hand of death; his late Majesty George III. King of England, your most gracious friend and powerful protector, now slumbers in the grave; and that sainted spirit, who called you mother—she on whom a nation's hopes and highest expectations were fixed, and whose untimely death filled every heart with mourning, and every eye with tears, can no longer solace you with her affection.

" Sincerely lamenting these deprivations, to which your Majesty has been subjected, we

offer you our condolence; and under the new affliction that now assails you, we heartily and most unfeignedly pray, that your Majesty, aided by the affections of a loyal people, may finally triumph over your accusers, and put to shame the foolishness of evil men. We heartily disapprove of and sincerely condemn that spirit of hostility, which has too evidently characterised the strange proceedings instituted against your Majesty; and the mode in which they have hitherto been carried on, we regard as harsh, oppressive, and repugnant to the liberal spirit of that constitution under which we live.

" In this free expression of our condolence, our wishes, and opinions, permit us to assure your Majesty of our admiration of the magnanimous conduct you have invariably displayed under circumstances and charges revolting to your nature, and which we are fully persuaded nothing but a feeling of conscious innocence could have enabled you so nobly to sustain.

" THOMAS RAWSON,  
" Chairman."

Her Majesty returned the following most gracious answer:—

" I shall never be unmindful of the obligation which the inhabitants of the town of Sheffield and its vicinity have conferred upon me, by this honest testimony of their fervent zeal for my interest, their tender sympathy for my sorrows, and their generous resentment of my wrongs.

" Though benefits ought to

be written in marble, and injuries in the dust, yet the injuries I have endured have been too many in number, and too grievous in kind, to be readily obliterated from my recollection. But, though my memory retains the impression, I have not suffered the spirit of revenge to rankle in my breast. It would have been well for me, and perhaps not ill for the country, if my oppressor had been as free from malice as myself; for what is it but malice, of the most un-mixed nature, and the most un-renting character, which has infested my path, and waylaid my steps, during a long period of twenty-five years? Malice of this description, of such long continuance, and such extraordinary intensity, has certainly been productive of great misery to myself; but I may well repress the sentiments of revenge, when I reflect that it must have been productive of much more inquietude in that mind which could listen to its suggestions, and in that bosom which could cherish a spirit so adverse to goodness, and so incompatible with happiness."

Her Majesty returned the following gracious Answer to the Address from Bolton, in the county of Lancaster:—

"The inhabitants of Bolton, in the county of Lancaster, and its vicinity, have convinced me, by this unaffected testimony of their regard, that they sincerely sympathise with my sufferings, and that they consider the injuries done to me as done to them-

selves. Every loyal subject immediately identifies his interest with that of his Queen; for, it is only by supporting his Queen against her enemies, that he can protect himself from the peril of tyranny; or his children from the certainty of servitude.

"If the desperate faction, which is at once an enemy to the general liberty, and to individual happiness, shall succeed in accomplishing the project of my degradation, the nation will have no safeguard against the inroads of despotism. When every sacred principle of the Constitution, every protecting rule of the Law, every hallowed maxim of Equity, can, in the person of the Queen, be outraged with impunity, what is to preserve any other subject from similar oppression?

"That system cannot be good which is at war with the spirit of the age—which cannot exist without diminishing the common stock of national liberty, without stopping the free circulation of opinions, or abridging the intellectual freedom of man. That system cannot be good which can extinguish the charities of neighbourhood, abate the love of country, and produce the desire of expatriation. Men will run away from misery; but that misery must be extreme which causes them to forsake the graves of their fathers, and to leave the land of their nativity.

"When the people of England so generously sympathise



with my sufferings, I should have no heart at all, or only a heart of stone, if I did not participate in their sorrows, and condole with their wrongs. My sympathies all harmonise with those of the people, we have one common interest; and that interest is one and indivisible."

Her Majesty's Answer to the Address from Bridport was as follows:—

"It affords me great satisfaction to find, that the worthy inhabitants of the Borough of Bridport are so cordially attached to the best interests of their Queen, and that they so feelingly deplore the losses, and so warmly deprecate the indignities, I have experienced.

"As malignity and falsehood usually, in the end, mar their own projects and defeat their own schemes, I trust it will be so in the present instance; and that my triumph over my enemies will be accelerated by the favour with which I have been persecuted.

"In presuming to sit in judgment on my conduct, and to question my moral fitness

for the high station which I occupy, the House of Lords have begun to institute a precedent, that may, sooner or later, be attended with the most momentous consequences. If the question of moral fitness be applicable to a Queen Consort, why may it not hereafter be applied to the Monarch on the Throne? Some future House of Lords, following the righteous example which the present has set, of a moral inquisition into the life of their Queen, may, in its wisdom, determine to wreat the sceptre from any King who is not a perfect pattern of sobriety, chastity and godliness. But as those who assume the office of moral censors, ought themselves to be exemplary in every virtue, perhaps the people may hereafter step in and inquire whether the inquirers themselves can endure the moral ordeal of a similar inquisition? If he only, who is without sin, is to cast the first stone, may it not be a religious duty in me to invoke the mercy of a Higher Power upon that tribunal which, in my case, is so gravely exercising the incongruous functions of the Accuser, the Judge, and the Legislator."

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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## TO THE REFORMERS.

*On the Real Cause of the Persecutions carried on against the Queen.—On the Manner in which the Public Money is expended.—On Lord John Russell and the Whigs.*

London, September 6, 1830.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-SUFFERERS,

I addressed you, when the Queen first arrived. I then told you, that this affair would, before it was over, do more in explaining the real character and views of our wicked adversaries, than ever had yet been done. If you look back to my Letter, to the Regent, No. 1, published in the Spring of 1819, you will there see clearly explained all the conduct of our enemies towards the Royal Family. The motives for that conduct were also fully explained. I then de-

tailed many instances of that policy, which has constantly had for its object to make the Royal Family and the people hate and suspect each other; in order that both might be the more easily tyrannized over.

The same motive has actuated this band of men; or, as her Majesty herself calls them, this *greedy junto*, upon the present occasion. Nothing was so well calculated to rouse their apprehensions as a Royal Personage, so endowed as to mental capacity, so full of integrity, possessed of so many amiable qualities, as the Queen. The arrogant and greedy junto always hated her. They hated her because she was so well deserving of public love and confidence. But, to see her return and to exercise the functions of Queen, after all the experience she had gained in her travels, filled them even with

terror. They were not ignorant, if we were, of the proof that she had given of the wonderful extent of her understanding, of her dauntless intrepidity, of her rare humanity; and, which made them hate her more than all the rest, of her openly avowed attachment to the cause of liberty.

They knew that we should hear, in time, of her great and glorious acts. They knew that we should be informed of the manner in which she had expended the comparatively trifling sum which she had been allowed annually, though she herself never boasted and never even mentioned her numerous acts of humanity and generosity. They knew that we should be informed that she employed her purse and all her powers of persuasion to set captive Christians free on the coast of Barbary; and that, when at Athens, she opened the jail doors of the debtors. They knew that we should soon discover her incessant care and anxiety with re-

gard to the needy and the oppressed. They knew that her fostering hand could never be kept still while misery was to be discovered in the land. They clearly foresaw that, in her gracious condescension, in her ever active benevolence, in her industry, vigilance and watchfulness as to the public good, in her tenderness towards the people upon all occasions: they clearly foresaw that in all these we should find the constant temptation to make comparisons that would place their arrogance, their ignorance, their greediness, and their brutal hardness of heart, in a light ten thousand times more odious than that in which they before appeared to our view.

Here we see the cause and the only real cause of all the efforts to degrade her Majesty, to keep her from the country, and, when arrived in it, to drive her from it. I beg you, my friends, to *pin your attention down* to this point. Be not

amused with any other cause. This is the real cause; and from this fact the most important inferences are to be drawn. The pretence of preserving the morals of the country must be false; because her Majesty might have enjoyed a princely income at our expence; might have lived all her days in that infamous state which has been so falsely ascribed to her; might have been sent away in a Royal Yacht, or in a Ship of War; might have been introduced as Queen of England at a Foreign Court, there to have lived in open Adultery under the title of Queen of England. It is, therefore, impossible that to preserve our morals could have been the object. Again, can it tend to the preservation of our morals, to lay before us those filthy and disgusting details, which have now been, during three weeks, daily drawn forth from the mouths of creatures who have been brought all the way from Italy at our

expence; who have been shut up in a fortress, into which they have been brought by night, and to describe whose lives and characters would require the tongue or pen of a man familiar with all the phraseology of a brothel. It is impossible therefore that to preserve our morals could have been the object.

And, as to the *feelings of the King*: as to the feelings of the pretended injured husband: as to the object being to relieve those feelings, how false and how detestable the pretence! If the object had been to relieve his feelings, is it possible that it could have been attempted to send his wife and Queen to live as such at some foreign court in open adultery all her days? Could this have relieved the feelings of an injured husband? Are his feelings to be relieved by the beastly charges and the mass of beastly evidence given against his wife, even supposing the whole to have been as true as it is notoriously false? Besides,

upon the supposition that the enemies of the Queen thought the charges true, they must have been assured that the husband's conduct would not pass without strict enquiry; and that though the wife should prove guilty, *his feelings* would undergo punishment such as human feelings have seldom been known to experience.

Therefore, in whatever light we view the matter, we see that the pretences about the morals of the country and the feelings of the King are totally false; and that all the efforts to banish the Queen from the country arose solely out of that dread which the arrogant and *greedy* *Junco*, under whose lash we have so long been smarting, arose out of their dread, that in her Majesty, the Queen, the oppressed part of the people would find a friend, a prop, a support, a foundation of hope of better days. I beg you to *pin down* your attention to this point; and you will find, that this per-

secution of her Majesty has precisely the same motive as that of all the persecutions, carried on against the Reformers. This is a thing never to be lost sight of; for, if we do not keep it steadily in view, we shall not only be at a loss to account for the past and present conduct of the enemy; but, we shall be unprepared for what is yet to come.

You are not to conclude, that because the enemies of her Majesty have brought their affairs into a desperate state, they were driven into the measures that they have adopted. They certainly never would have entered on the struggle, if they had imagined, that things would ever have come to the present pass. Mark their progress: when they uttered the threats at St. Omers, they expected it to be effectual. They were disappointed in that. When they brought forth *Gran Bagns*, they did not know, nor did they imagine, that they should have the

nation to contend against. Recollect, that the Green Bags made their appearance *before* the Queen arrived in London. Those Bags were sent to the Houses about the time that her Majesty was coming up Shooter's Hill, and full two hours before she came and caused that memorable shout from Westminster Bridge. I am of opinion, that, if that shout had been heard a day sooner, we never should have seen the Bags.

We see what a mess, what a pickle, the *trial* has put the Queen's enemies in; and we call them fools for *choosing* to have a trial. Fools enough they are; but, I must do them the justice to say, that I firmly believe, that they were not fools enough to think of a *trial*, at the time when they filled the bags! I believe, that, at *that* time, they had no thought of a trial of any sort. I believe, that they intended to propose *Secret Committees*, and, as in our case,

in 1817, to bring in a Bill, and pass it, if possible, upon the reports of those Committees; and thus to dispose of the Queen without any more ceremony.— This is my opinion; and, why should they not take this course? They had *precedent* for it all through. In 1817, Green Bags had been filled; secret committees had been formed, reports of those committees had been made, and, upon those reports, without either House seeing or hearing any evidence, a Bill was brought in and passed, in a few hours, which bill enabled the Ministers to shut up, in any prison that they pleased, any one that they might choose to suspect of *treasonable practices*, and to keep him in prison as long as they pleased, without any charge made against him, without letting him know who were his accusers, and without any evidence at all of which he had any knowledge. Petitions were presented, pledging the petitioners to prove the *reports*

to be false, and praying that those petitioners might be heard. These petitions were rejected. The Bill was passed. Numerous innocent and most worthy men were seized, had their dwellings rifled and their papers taken away, were shut up in prisons, kept there for nearly a year, and then turned out to go home to their ruined families, without any trial, and without ever being informed of any offence that they had committed or of any accuser. And, after all this, another Bill was passed to protect against the penalties of the laws, all those who had transgressed the provisions even of this horrid dungeoning act.

Why, then, are we to suppose, that it was meant to give the Queen any trial? I am quite satisfied, that it was not meant; and, that the talk about a trial would never have been heard, had it not been discovered, that the people never would have suffered her to be sacrificed in the manner that the calumniated

Reformers were in 1817. This discovery was very soon made; and then it was, that her enemies began to talk about a trial. So that we are not to set their present miserable state down to premeditated measures. They were so far from premeditating what they have done in this way, that they never even thought of it, until it was pressed upon them as a last resort to get rid of the Queen. And, here again, that has happened which they did not expect. They calculated upon a reaction on the opening of their case. They thought, that two days of horrible detail from the Attorney-General, and one day of Majocchi's evidence would turn the tide. This expectation was let out by the Public Accuser himself, who took, in his foul and scandalous speech, occasion to observe, that his Italian witnesses would, IN A FEW DAYS, be able to walk the streets in safety! The Courier of the Monday chuckled,

and so did the *flogger and flogger* and his associates; the *thumb-screwer* on the same evening. They thought they had gained their point. They thought that the Queen would be speedily deserted. So that, they have *miscalculated*. They have been brought into their present situation by enormous judgment; and not by their own wishes and intantion.— Their plans were good; but have been rendered abortive by unexpected events; as well as contrived expeditions are oftentimes frustrated, and end in defeat instead of victory, by the rain and the winds, or some other unexpected occurrence.— The enemies of the Queen are bright youths; but when we find that there are men, "whose *own inclinations are not under their controul*," we can hardly be surprized, that even such bright geniuses as these are unable to controul the thoughts and wishes and feelings of the people.

The former deeds of the

*flogger and his associates*; the deeds of Edwards, Monument, Adams, Dwyer, Oliver, Castles and Vaughan and associates, were all fresh in our minds. The perjuries of 1806, against the Queen, were all brought back to our recollection. We had recently heard the employing of blood-selling spies openly avowed and defended. And, with all this on our minds, how were we to be made to believe, that the enemies of the Queen would be destitute of people to *swear* against her? And, when we say, that, as, I trust, I have clearly shewn in *my answer to the Attorney-General*, that the charges against her were in the face of *reason* and of *nature*, how was a reaction to be, by such swearing, produced in our minds?

I have now read, with great care, all the evidence up to this day; and I most solemnly declare, that I believe her Majesty to be perfectly innocent of every charge preferred against



her. Taking into view the characters of the witnesses, their own confessions, their letters, their pay, and all the other strange circumstances, I should look upon myself as a most wicked man, if I were to find even an enemy and a notoriously bad man guilty upon such evidence. And, am I, then, to find a woman of great mind and of most virtuous habits guilty upon that same evidence? The heart of man revolts at the thought; and such has been the decision of the public, who never believed the assertions of the Queen's enemies, and who, even by the evidence produced against her, were confirmed in their disbelief.

The *Jogger* and his crew are in a state of great difficulty.—*Thumbcrews* will be of no avail in this case. The Queen is *not to be driven from the country*. And, if that be not effected, the *junto*, as her Majesty calls them, effect really nothing at all. They must be defeated, do what else

they will. However, what they will do *time* must tell us; and let us hope, that the time will be short.

In the meanwhile let us inquire, a little more fully than we have lately done, in *what manner our money is expended*. I insert, for your information, in another part of this Number, an account of the manner in which large sums were last year employed. You will bear in mind, that, whatever is taken from a people in *taxes*, diminishes, in proportion to its amount, the means of those who pay the taxes, unless they also receive something out of the taxes. If a man pay taxes to the amount of a hundred a year, and receive a hundred a year pension, taxes have no effect upon him, because he is paid the pension out of the taxes. But, if he pay the hundred a year in tax and receive nothing out of the taxes, he *loses* a hundred a year by taxation.

Taxes are, therefore, a de-

action from the means of those who pay them; and, when they are heavy, they cause poverty, ruin, misery, and, amongst the most unfortunate of the people, they frequently cause actual starvation, as they now do in this once-flourishing and happy country. It is, therefore, the business of every man to inquire what is *done* with the taxes. The subjoined account will show you how *some part* of the taxes of last year were disposed of. This account presents a list of what is called the "*grants*." In my next number I will speak of the other sums expended last year; so that, in the course of two or three Numbers, you shall have a pretty clear view of the whole matter. This account is *copied* from the one laid before the House of Commons. It will astound even you, Bat, let the *Six-Act* Gentlemen say what they will, you ought to be made *fully* acquainted with what they do.

*Lord John Russell* has put

forth some very virulent abuse on us from *Tunbridge*. When I was a child gypsies used to go about with "*Tunbridge-ware*." Little cups and saucers, not exceeding a pea in circumference. Pretty little tea-pots to hold about as much as half a hazel nut shell; buckets the size of a thimble; and wooden bowls as big as acorn-cups. These things pleased me mightily when I was in petticoats. Early impressions are lasting; and though, when I came to grow up, I knew that *Tunbridge* was a town, and, like other towns, was inhabited by men and women, and had in it, of course, cups and saucers and tea-pots and buckets and bowels, of the usual size; still, at the first sound of the word *Tunbridge*, the old idea of *pettiness* has always returned; and, while I was reading Lord John's letter, I could not for the soul of me, get the little cups and saucers out of my head. Things, however, that are very petty, may be very

poisonous. Reptiles are far more malignant than beasts of prey.

Lord John accuses the *Reformers* (and he has gone out of his way to do it) of designs to commit *plunder and murder*. He calls *universal suffrage*, that is to say, a voting by all those who are *compelled to lay aside their business, and to come forth and bear arms in defence of the country*, and of his father's estates amongst the rest; he calls *the voting of such men* a plan of organized *plunder and murder*! But, behold, when *Sir M. Lopez* is convicted of the *grossest bribery and corruption*, and is sentenced to three years imprisonment, this same Lord John is the very first to make a motion for the obtaining of the *delinquent's pardon*; and which pardon has *actually been granted*! Mark this well! He *talks* about *Grampound*; but he *does* something for *Sir M. Lopez*!

There are many men in jail for endeavouring to put an end to

*bribery and corruption*. Lord

John has never sued for any, even the smallest, mitigation of their punishment. He can hear of their treatment with as little concern as his relation, Mr. Bennet, can hear of the affair of Theodore Hook, of which, however, Mr. Bennet shall hear a little more when time serves. But, let a man be imprisoned for *bribery and corruption at elections*, and our Tunbridge Youth, the heir of the "Noble House of Russell," flies to his aid as a knight errant to a damsel in distress.

Poh! you silly Whigs! Are you yet so besotted as to hope, that you can deceive any part of the nation? The Corporation of Portsmouth met, the Courier tells us, to discuss the propriety of *Addressing the Queen*; but, they were, says he, dissuaded from it by the *eloquence of Sir George Grey*! And what was the *eloquence* that made him take this part? Look at "*the Peep*." Go! you

silly Whigs! Go, range yourselves under the banners of Castlereagh at once. Become pioneers of his men or foragers or sappers in his service. Go, and hold the stirrups of "the Great Captain of the Age," and share in the well-earned honours he is daily receiving.

The Whigs are now acting, towards the Queen, precisely the part which they have all along acted towards the *Reformers*. They, upon all ordinary occasions, *oppose*, as they call it, the possessors of place and power." They carp, they rail, they even revile. But, as to the *Reformers*, the two factions have always made common cause; and precisely thus it is in the case of the Queen. Both factions want her out of the country. They dispute only about the *means of effecting that object*. Even Sir Gerard Noel, who quits the ministry after having supported them in all their deeds against us, quarrels with Lord Liverpool be-

cause he *provoked the Queen to come to England!* Why, Sir Gerard, this is what *the people* want. They want their Queen to live amongst them. They wish her to remain here; and, God willing, it is her gracious determination to gratify their wishes.

Her Majesty knows the Whigs as well as we do. She has observed all their doubling and twisting. She has seen none of *their* faces in her house, I'll warrant them. She well knows how to set a just value upon *their opposition* to her open foes. She trusts them and relies on them just in the same degree that we trust and rely on them; and in this her Majesty is sure to be right.

For us Reformers the present is a proud day. We see our combined foes, our remorseless persecutors and calumniators reduced to a state, which, if we could forget the past, would excite our pity. We have not been the cause of their trouble

and shame. *We* have had no hand in the affair. They have done the thing themselves. Into a pit of their own digging have they fallen: on their pates has tumbled the mischief which they themselves have hatched. They have falsely accused us of disloyalty. When we humbly prayed for our own rights, they maliciously told us, that we wanted to degrade and destroy the *throne*; and we have lived to see the day, when it is we who have to stand forward to protect the throne against their machinations!

Their troubles were sufficiently great before the arrival of Her Majesty; but, they must needs augment them a thousand fold. And this, too, of *their own good will and pleasure!*

There wanted but an *incident*; and that incident they themselves have not only *created*; but, they have created it, too, in despite of the prayers of the people! They are now crying out "revolution." Well; if

they have it, it is of their *own making*. We have had nothing to do with it; and, if it come, be the consequences on their own heads. They have not listened to our warnings or our prayers. We have exhausted all the sources of supplication; and we have exhausted them in vain.

The dangers are, at this moment, of such appalling magnitude, and of so menacing an aspect, that no man, who thinks at all, and who feels as he ought to feel for his country, can think of them without some degree of dread. All might be quietly and happily settled *even yet*. But the *means* that occur to me, though I am satisfied of their justice and benignity as well as of their efficacy, I *dare* not state in print.

All *lessons* seem to be thrown away on those who manage our affairs. As the evil becomes more manifest, they seem to grow more obstinate in adhering to it; and, I dare say, that,

when the natural and apparently inevitable result come, they will ascribe the accompanying sufferings, not to *their system*, but to a want of its not having been acted upon *with sufficient vigour and rigour* ! As SANGRADO ascribed the death of his patients, not to their swallowing rivers of hot water while the last drop of blood was drained from their veins ; but to their not having drank sufficiently and not having been sufficiently bled ; so, when the Old Bourbon tyranny was torn to pieces by a long-oppressed and enraged people ; " Ah ! " exclaimed the run-away Noblesse and Clergy, "*Le Roi étoit trop bon : le régime étoit trop doux.*" The king was too good : the government was too mild ! Impudent and insolent wretches ! Even expulsion from the country they had oppressed only made them more obstinately adhere to their spirit of oppression !

When France became plunged into confusion, and when the

arm of popular vengeance was at work, we were told of " the horrors of the revolution." This was a misnomer : we ought to have been told of " the horrors of the tyranny " that had produced the revolution. We do not blame the man, who commits a frantic act in consequence of a wound received from a robber : we blame the robber. We blame the cause and not the natural effect of that cause. A wife, driven to madness by the cruelty of a husband, may, in a fit of rage, kill even her own children ; but, it is the husband that we have to blame. Much wrong, much suffering, must arise, for a while, out of a release even from the worst of despotisms ; but, this wrong and suffering must be ascribed to the despotism, and not to the acts by which a people are released from it. For, if this were the case, a despotism could never be put down ; and all mankind must, upon principle, acknowledge themselves to be

born to be slaves. If we were to allow of this doctrine, what would become of our boasts, that our forefathers fought and bled for their liberties? Fighting and bleeding, and especially in civil war, are "*horrors*;" but, these *horrors* are justly ascribed to the tyrant, in fighting against whom the assertors of freedom shed their blood, and not to those assertors of freedom.

As to the present case, it seems impossible for us to avoid a great shock of some sort or other. What it will be, when it will come, no man can say; but, let it come how and when it may, I most anxiously hope, that every angry and vindictive feeling will be lost in our desire to provide for the safety and to promote the happiness of our country. Let every one of us resolve to imitate the conduct

of that truly Great and Glorious Queen, in defending whom we have gained so much glory for ourselves, who, though injured more than any other human being, has always shown that her magnanimity was greater than even the horrible malignity and cruelty of her enemies.

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. Addresses are coming in to Her Majesty, from all parts of the country, in such rapid succession, that she will shortly have her whole time occupied in receiving them. Thus, in England, the Government is trying a Queen, and the people are addressing her; while, in Scotland, the Government is executing a man, and the people are cheering him! These are strange things to behold! It does look much like

"the rays of surrounding ad-  
"miration and the admiration of  
"the world;" or, at least, this  
must be a singular sort of envy  
and admiration.

The Address from KIMPTON,  
in Hampshire, is worthy of par-  
ticular notice, having been pre-  
sented by the *parish-priest*,  
the Rev. Mr. FOULKE, whose  
name, when we consider what  
has been the conduct of the  
Clergy generally, ought to be  
held in honour. ARCHDEACON  
BATHURST also ought to be  
noticed as having taken an ac-  
tive part in the Address from the  
County of Norfolk.

Never did either King or  
Queen before receive marks so  
unequivocal of universal respect,  
love and admiration; and never  
did nation do itself so much  
honour, as this nation has done  
itself upon this occasion.—Will

the Peers pass the Bill? Will  
they pass the Bill?—About ver-  
rens!—Mr. Christopher Nut-  
chinson, brother of Lord Mat-  
chinson and others, says that  
these are horribly satirical  
words. They mean: "we shall  
"see". And we shall see, un-  
less our eyes be put out, in ad-  
dition to the tying of our  
tongues and the cramping of  
our fingers.

I have this moment heard of  
the *Attorney-General's applica-  
tion for delay, in order that  
more Italian Witnesses may  
arrive to give evidence against  
the Queen!!!*—Will this be  
granted? Will this be granted!  
If it be .....but I dare  
not say what I think! You must  
say it for me.

This delay has not been grant-  
ed.



I have just read the summing up of the *Solicitor-General*. It is merely a repetition of the *Charges of the Attorney-General*, with the addition of an attempt to sustain the *credibility* of the *Witnesses*! If these witnesses *swear truly*, then the Queen has been a lewd woman; but, who is there, in this whole kingdom, that *believes that they have sworn truly*, any more than those did, in 1806, who swore, that she had been *pregnant*, had been *delivered*, and had given *suck*? Talk of *swearing*, indeed: here was *swearing* enough to convict any body. But, it happened then, that the *real mother of the child was at*

*hand to disprove the swearing*. That was a case that admitted of *proof of its falsehood*. The present stories *admit of no such disproof*. All here must rest upon the *credibility of the witnesses themselves*. And, would any man find his neighbour guilty upon the evidence of *Majocchi, Dumont, and Sacchini*?—In short, the trial of the persecuted Queen is over. She is no longer on her trial. The trial is now going on *somebody else*. To the satisfaction of us all, the Queen remains *spotless*. We have now only to see *what stains will affix themselves on others*.

## PEEP AT THE PEEPS.

TO THE EDITOR.

London, Sep. 3, 1820.

SIR,—Many thanks for the powerful aid which you have had the great goodness and condescension to give to our little work, of which we now offer a *Second Edition* to a discerning and an indulgent public.

We have, at the suggestion of Lord Lauderdale, made the correction as to his lordship's supposed pension; and we beg leave again to state, that the error was, owing to no fault of ours. We had no list to go by; and, therefore, the fault must rest with those who ought, long since 1808, to have furnished new lists. However, as to the *total of the family of Maitland*, we have found, that we omitted, in our first edition, that a sister of the Earl is the wife of a *Dashwood*, who has an office at the Cape, worth, as we suppose, 4,000*l.* a year. So that, if we did the Earl's family *wrong*, it was in understanding the extent of *their services*, and not of their *emoluments*.

Several other omissions have been pointed out to us. We have supplied these omissions; and we have thereby added

more than twelve thousand pounds to our grand total.

Really, Mr. Cobbett, we have taken but a PEEP at this vast subject. With your countenance and protection we propose to persevere in our humble endeavours. You have often told your readers that *this* is the real source of the *National Debt*. We thought your idea rather wild; but, when we consider the immense sums swallowed up in this way; when we see, that there are individuals, who have received, each of them, probably more than three quarters of a million of money within the last 30 or 40 years, we are disposed to come over to your opinion, and to think seriously of that re-funding system, at which, when you first spoke of it, we used to smile, thinking that you yourself were joking.

We observed, in our *Preface*, that we had included nothing as the value of *patronage*. It is quite impossible to make any thing approaching to a correct estimate of the amount of *patronage*. But, as the appointment of the *Targatherers* of all descriptions is a matter, which is well known to belong to the "*Higher Orders*," it may not be amiss to state, that the collect-

ing and managing of the Taxes, in the year 1819, cost the nation no less a sum than 4,249,236 pounds sterling!!! That is to say, a sum equal to the support of 1,062,306 labourers, labourers' wives and children, during that whole year; allowing 20 pounds a year for the labourer, his wife and three children.

However, Sir, those are views of the matter that we confess ourselves disinclined to enter on. Be it our humble employment to collect materials; and let others use them for the purpose of inference. In order to render our collections as complete and as useful as possible, we venture, Sir, to trespass on your goodness so far as to request you to insert for us a few questions, which we shall number, and to which we request some of your intelligent readers to send us an answer, through the channel of our publisher; and, if by post, we request the postage to be paid, the direction being "to the Authors of the PEEP AT THE PEERS, No. 260, Strand, London." There is such a thing as intercepting letters. It will be best, probably, to send them by a safe hand. In cases, where the answer cannot be full, or positive, a hint may be of use. A

friend may, to use the hunter's expression, *put us upon the scent*: and, indeed, the game we pursue are, at times, extremely wily and shy. They not only shift their ground frequently, but change their outward appearances, and some of them their very names. They are of all sizes, from the *tyger* down to the mouse. Sometimes they go about roaring at us in open day; but, at others, we find them crept into the sly corners or coiled up in the folds of the system.

Having thus premised, we proceed to state the questions, which at present occur to us. We have the Pension and Sinecure List of 1806 before us; and in them we find:

1. *Barlows*, four ladies, *Sophia*, *Maria*, *Louisa*, and *Catherine*, with pensions of 50*l.* a year each.
2. *Careys*, two ladies, 150*l.* each. They have very pretty names; *Lavinia Matilda*, and *Amelia Sophia*.
3. *Jenkinson*, Elizabeth (now *Cornwall*), 150*l.*
4. *Howards*, Lady Mary and Lady Elizabeth, 150*l.* each.—*Who do they belong to?*
5. *Harnages*, three ladies, *Dorothy*, *Mercy* and *Mary*, 20*l.* each.

6. *Randals*, three ladies, Susan-  
na, Martha and Elizabeth;  
50*l.* each.
7. *Linds*, three ladies, 50*l.* each,  
Henrietta, Maria, Lætitia.
8. *Cookes*, three ladies, Penelope  
Ann, Eliza, Maria; 150*l.* the  
first; the others 175*l.* each.
9. *Cabells*, four, Mary Turner  
Cabell, Ann Elizabeth, Tho-  
mas Scutt, and Robert Da-  
vies; each 50*l.* a-year.
10. *Dents*, two, Sophia and  
Cotton; 50*l.* a-year each.
11. *Hadjaxes*, six, Gertrude,  
Charlotte, Marianne, Caroline,  
Catherine, Elizabeth, 60*l.* a-  
year each.
12. *Piersons*, four, Sarah, Fran-  
ces, Mary, Diana Ann, 27*l.*  
a-year each.
13. *Herries*, Mary Ann, 300*l.*,  
Catherine, Isabella Maria, Ju-  
lia Mary, 150*l.* each.
14. *Southey, Robert*, 200*l.* This  
pension was granted in 1807.  
Who is this man? Is it the  
*apostate poet*?
15. *Locks*, three ladies, 200*l.*  
a-year each.
16. *Cockburns*, EIGHT ladies,  
with 700*l.* a-year amongst  
them. Jane, Mary, Fanny,  
Harriott, Elizabeth, Matilda,  
Margaret and Ann.
17. *Belilo*, a widow and three  
children, 80*l.*
18. *Master*, three boys, 100*l.*  
a-year each. Henry, St. Vin-  
cent Frederick, and Richard  
Thomas. *Sir Abraham Hume*  
receives this in *trust*.

This may suffice for the pre-  
sent. What we wish is, that  
some correspondent would be  
so good as to point out whom of  
the "*Higher Orders*" these  
little ladies belong to. We want  
to trace them. There are great  
numbers of these *family-par-*  
*ties*; and what we aim at, is,  
to be able to shew, how it hap-  
pens, that they should have been  
selected for support in this way.  
The reader will please to bear  
in mind, that the list, from which  
we take the above names was  
printed, by order of the Ho-  
nourable House, in 1808; so

that, the Masters and Misses of that day must now be grown up gentlemen and ladies. But, until we are furnished with a *new list*, (which, we suppose, we never shall,) we must go by the old list, concluding, as we have a right to do, that, if many have *dropped off* since 1808, there must be many who have, since that year, *come on*.

We should like to get at some correct information about the *holders, renters, and lessees of Crown-lands, Houses, Manors, Mines, Light-houses*, and other things, held under what is called "*the Crown*;" that is to say, under the *Public*; seeing that the King now receives nothing from that source; but re-

ceives a compensation in the Civil-List. This property is immense in amount.

Since our **SECOND EDITION** went to press, we have received several *hints* and pieces of *information*. We shall attend to these. We shall make further inquiry; and make, or not, corrections accordingly. It is surprising how *few* errors we have committed. But, we desire to make our work perfect.

Accept, Sir, our apologies for this unwarrantable trespass on your time and room, and believe that we remain, with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient servants,

**THE AUTHORS.**

AN ACCOUNT,

*Shewing how the Monies given for the Service of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, for the year 1819, have been disposed of; distinguished under their several heads, to the 5th day of January, 1820.*

SERVICES.

NAVY.

|   |           |    |   |
|---|-----------|----|---|
| For Wages for 20,000 Men, including 6,000 Royal Marines; for Thirteen lunar Months, at the rate of 2l. 3s. 6d. per Man per Month .....  | £565,500  | 0  | 6 |
| For Victuals for the said 20,000 Men; for Thirteen lunar Months, at the rate of 2l. per Man per Month .....   | 520,000   | 0  | 0 |
| For the Wear and Tear of the Ships in which the said 20,000 Men are to serve; for Thirteen lunar Months, at the rate of 2l. 1s. per Man per Month .....   | 533,000   | 0  | 0 |
| For defraying the Ordinary Establishment of the Navy; for the year 1819.....  | 2,483,913 | 12 | 7 |
| For defraying the Charges of what may be necessary for the building, re-building, and repairs of Ships of War in His Majesty's and the Merchants Yards, and other extra Works, over and above what are proposed to be done upon the Heads of Wear and Tear, and Ordinary; for the year 1819 ..... | 1,631,028 | 0  | 0 |
| For the purchase of Provisions for Troops and Garrisons on Foreign Stations, and the value of Rations for Troops to be embarked on board Ships of War and Transports; for the year 1819,  | 419,319   | 0  | 0 |
| For the Expense of the Transport Service; for the year 1819 .....   | 284,321   | 0  | 0 |
|   | 6,436,781 | 12 | 7 |

ORDNANCE.

|  |         |   |    |
|--|---------|---|----|
| For Ordnance for Sea Service on board the Ships in which the said 20,000 Men are to serve; for Thirteen lunar Months, at the rate of 7s. per Man per Month ..... | £91,000 | 0 | 0  |
| On Account, for the Ordnance Service for the present year .....  | 250,000 | 0 | 0  |
| In full for the Charge of the Office of Ordnance for the Land Service for Great Britain; for the year 1819 .....   | 386,222 | 3 | 11 |

|  |           |    |    |
|--|-----------|----|----|
| For defraying the Expense of Services performed by the Office of Ordnance for Land Service for Great Britain, and not provided for by Parliament, in the year 1818 .....   | £20,094   | 18 | 10 |
| For defraying the Expenses of Reduction for the Ordnance Military Corps; for the year 1819 ...   | 10,000    | 0  | 0  |
| For the Charge of the Office of Ordnance for Great Britain, on account of the Allowances to Retired General Officers, to Superannuated, Retired, and Half-pay Officers, to Officers seconded, to Officers for good Services, and to Wounded Officers, to Superannuated and Disabled Men; also for Pensions to Widows and Children of deceased Officers, late belonging to the several Ordnance Military Corps; for the year 1819 ... | 275,667   | 18 | 0  |
| For defraying the Expense of the Allowances to Superannuated, Retired, and Half-pay Officers, to Officers seconded, and to Officers for good Services, to Superannuated and disabled Men, also for Pensions to Widows and Children of deceased Officers, late belonging to the several Ordnance Military Corps in Great Britain, and not provided for by Parliament; in the year 1818  | 6,072     | 8  | 8  |
| For the Charge of Allowances, Compensations and Emoluments, in the nature of Superannuated or Retired Allowances, to persons late belonging to the Office of Ordnance in Great Britain, in respect of their having held any Public Offices or Employments of a civil nature, and also for the Charge of Widows Pensions; for the year 1819 .....   | 34,484    | 2  | 6  |
| For the Charge of the Office of Ordnance for Ireland; for the year 1819 .....  | 101,008   | 15 | 4  |
| For the Charge of the Office of Ordnance in Ireland, on account of the Pay of Retired Officers of the late Irish Artillery and Engineers, and of Pensions to Widows of deceased Officers of the same; for the year 1819 .....  | 12,000    | 0  | 0  |
| For the Charge of Allowances, Compensations and Emoluments, in the nature of Superannuated or Retired Allowances, to Persons late belonging to the Office of Ordnance in Ireland, in respect of their having held any Public Offices or Employments of a civil nature, and also for the Charge of Widows Pensions; for the year 1819 .....   | 4,500     | 0  | 0  |
|  | <hr/>     |    |    |
|  | 1,191,000 | 0  | 0  |

FORCES.

|   |            |    |    |
|---|------------|----|----|
| For defraying the Charge of His Majesty's Land Forces for Service in Great Britain and on the Stations abroad, (except the Regiments employed in the Territorial Possessions of the East India Company;) from the 25th of December, 1818, to the 24th Dec. 1819, both inclusive, being 365 days ... | £2,258,176 | 11 | 2  |
| For defraying the Charge of His Majesty's Land Forces for Service in Ireland; for the same time   | 740,937    | 8  | 10 |
| For defraying the Charge of General and Staff Officers and Officers of the Hospitals serving with His Majesty's Forces in Great Britain and on Foreign Stations (except India) for the same time .....  | 116,021    | 1  | 8  |
| For defraying the Charge of General and Staff Officers and Officers of the Hospitals serving with His Majesty's Forces in Ireland; for the same time.....   | 34,784     | 14 | 11 |
| For defraying the Charge of the Allowances to the principal Officers of certain Public Departments in Great Britain, their Deputies, Clerks, and contingent Expenses; for the same time...  | 189,858    | 14 | 1  |
| For defraying the Charges of a like nature in Ireland; for the same time.....   | 18,694     | 16 | 7  |
| For defraying the Charge of Medicines and Surgical Materials for His Majesty's Land Forces on the Establishment of Great Britain, and of certain Hospital Contingencies; for the year 1819 .....  | 21,555     | 17 | 11 |
| For defraying the Charge of ditto, ditto, for service in Ireland; for ditto .....   | 7,460      | 17 | 8  |
| For defraying the Charge of Volunteer Corps in Great Britain; from the 25th day of December, 1818, to the 24th day of December, 1819, both inclusive, being 365 days .....  | 100,000    | 0  | 0  |
| For ditto, ditto in Ireland; for the same time.....   | 21,658     | 15 | 5  |
| For defraying the Charge of Four Troops of Dragoons and Fourteen Companies of Foot stationed in Great Britain, for the purpose of recruiting the Corps employed in the Territorial Possessions of the East India Company, for the same time.....  | 20,684     | 1  | 2  |
| For defraying the Charge of the Pay of General Officers in His Majesty's Land Forces, not being Colonels of Regiments, upon the Establishment of Great Britain; for the same time.....  | 174,379    | 6  | 0  |
| For defraying the Charges of the like nature in Ireland; for the same time.....   | 1,263      | 9  | 3  |



|   |         |    |    |
|---|---------|----|----|
| For defraying the Charge of His Majesty's Garrisons at Home and Abroad, on the Establishment of Great Britain; for the year 1819; from the 25th day of December 1818 to the 24th day of December 1819, both inclusive, being 365 days             | £27,480 | 3  | 11 |
| For defraying the Charge of His Majesty's Garrisons in Ireland; for the same time   | 6,178   | 11 | 0  |
| For defraying the Charge of Full Pay for retired Officers, and unattached Officers of His Majesty's Forces, upon the Establishment of Great Britain; for the same time  | £23,889 | 7  | 8  |
| For defraying the Charge of Full Pay for retired Officers of His Majesty's Land Forces, upon the Establishment of Ireland; for the same time  | 3,338   | 9  | 8  |
| For defraying the Charge of Half Pay to reduced Officers of His Majesty's Land Forces, upon the Establishment of Great Britain; for the same time   | 687,600 | 0  | 0  |
| For Charges of a like nature in Ireland; for the same time  | 49,772  | 0  | 2  |
| For defraying the Charge of Military Allowances to reduced Officers of His Majesty's Land Forces, upon the Establishment of Great Britain; for the same time  | 31,361  | 17 | 6  |
| For Charges of a like nature in Ireland; for the same time  | 1,227   | 14 | 0  |
| For defraying the Charge of Half Pay and reduced Allowances to the Officers of disbanded Foreign Corps, of Pensions to Wounded Foreign Officers, and of the Allowances to the Widows and Children of deceased Foreign Officers; for the same time | 129,750 | 0  | 0  |
| For defraying the Charge of the In-Pensioners of Chelsea Hospital; for the same time  | 42,840  | 8  | 9  |
| For Do. Do. of the Royal Hospital near Kilmainham; for the same time  | 15,681  | 19 | 11 |
| For Do. Do. of the Out Pensioners of Chelsea Hospital; for the same time  | 977,582 | 8  | 0  |
| For Do. Do. of the Royal Hospital near Kilmainham; for the same time  | 108,006 | 14 | 2  |
| For Do. Do. of Pensions to be paid to Widows of Officers of the Land Forces and Marines, upon the Establishment of Great Britain; for the same time   | 84,580  | 0  | 0  |
| For Charges of the like nature in Ireland; for the same time  | 19,542  | 2  | 2  |
| For defraying the Charge of Allowances on the Compassionate List of Allowances, as of His Majesty's Royal Bounty, and of Pensions to Officers for Wounds; for the same time   | 168,532 | 12 | 1  |

|   |            |    |    |
|---|------------|----|----|
| For defraying the Charge of Allowances to the Reduced Adjutants of the Local Militia in Great Britain; from the 26th day of December 1818 to the 24th day of December 1819, both inclusive, being 365 days.....   | £20,732    | 0  | 0  |
| For defraying the Charge of Allowances, Compensations, and Emoluments, in the nature of Superannuation or Retired Allowances, to Persons belonging to several Public Departments in Great Britain, in respect of their having held Public Offices or Employments of a civil nature; for the same time.....      | 20,094     | 6  | 9  |
| For Charges of the like nature in Ireland; for the same time.....   | 7,843      | 41 | 62 |
| For defraying the Charge of Fees expected to be paid at the Exchequer on Issues for Army Services for the British Establishment; for the same time.....   | 35,000     | 0  | 0  |
| For defraying the Charge of Corps ordered to be disbanded or reduced in the year 1819; for the clothing of Cavalry Regiments, the Establishments of which were reduced from the 25th day of December 1818; and for Two Regiments of Cavalry, up to the dates of Embarkation for Service in the East Indies..... | 197,244    | 14 | 8  |
| For defraying the Charges incident for the year 1819, for the Pay and Clothing of Corps reduced in Ireland.....   | 6,009      | 16 | 9  |
| For the Service of the Barrack Department in Great Britain; for the year 1819.....  | 123,500    | 0  | 0  |
| For the supply of Bread, Meat, and Forage, Coals, Candles, Straw, and Furniture for the Troops in Great Britain, and for the casual Supplies for the Troops on Foreign Stations; and also for the Pay of the Commissariat Department; for the year 1819.....  | 380,300    | 0  | 0  |
| For defraying the Charge of the Disembodied Militia of Great Britain; for the year 1819.....  | 189,574    | 14 | 4  |
| For Do. Do. of Ireland; for Do - - - - -  | 126,385    | 7  | 5  |
| For defraying the Extraordinary Expences of the Army for Great Britain; during the present year 1820.....   | 1,200,000  | 0  | 0  |
| For Do. Do. Do. of Ireland; for ditto - - - - -   | 20,000     | 0  | 0  |
| To defray the Expence of the Commissariat Department in Ireland; for one year, ending the 24th December 1819 - - - - -  | 148,532    | 0  | 0  |
| To defray the Services of the Barrack Department in Ireland; for one year, ending Do. - - - - -   | 73,032     | 8  | 0  |
|   | <hr/>      |    |    |
|   | £8,782,470 | 4  | 7  |

*For defraying the Charge of the CIVIL ESTABLISHMENTS  
under-mentioned; viz.*

|   |         |    |   |
|---|---------|----|---|
| Of the Bahama Islands, in addition to the Salaries now paid to the Public Officers, out of the Duty Fund, and the Incidental Charges attending the same, from the 1st day of January to the 31st day of December 1819 ..... | £3,301  | 10 | 0 |
| Do. Dominica, from Do. to Do.....   | 600     | 0  | 0 |
| Do. Upper Canada, from Do. to Do.....   | 10,300  | 0  | 0 |
| Do. Nova Scotia, from the 1st day of January to the 31st day of December, 1819 .....  | 13,440  | 0  | 0 |
| Do. New Brunswick, from Do. to Do.....  | 6,757   | 10 | 0 |
| Do. Cape Breton, from Do. to Do.....  | 2,190   | 0  | 0 |
| Do. St. John, (now called Prince Edward Island), from Do. to Do.....  | 3,490   | 0  | 0 |
| Do. Newfoundland, from Do. to Do.....   | 5,978   | 0  | 0 |
| Do. New South Wales, from Do. to Do.....  | 16,825  | 0  | 0 |
| Do. Sierra Leone, from Do. to Do.....   | 16,687  | 15 | 0 |
| To make good the Deficiency of the Grant of Parliament for the year 1818; to enable His Majesty to provide for such Expenses of a civil nature, as do not form a part of the Ordinary Charges of the Civil List.....        | 79,164  | 8  | 0 |
| To enable His Majesty to provide for such Expenses of a civil nature as do not form part of the Ordinary Charges of the Civil List; for the year 1819 .....   | 300,000 | 0  | 0 |
| To defray the Salaries to the Officers, and Expenses of the Court, and Receipt of Exchequer; for the year 1819.....   | 6,500   | 0  | 0 |
| To defray the Expense of the Houses of Lords and Commons; for the year 1819 .....   | 14,515  | 0  | 0 |
| To defray the Salaries and Allowances to the Officers of Lords and Commons; for the year 1819 .....   | 22,401  | 0  | 0 |
| To make good the Deficiency of the Sum granted in the last Session of Parliament, to defray the Salaries and Allowances to the Officers of the Houses of Lords and Commons.....   | 923     | 4  | 0 |

|  |         |    |   |
|--|---------|----|---|
| Towards defraying the Expenses of Works, and Repairs of Public Buildings; for the year 1819 .....  | 241,974 | 0  | 0 |
| To defray the Expense of confining, maintaining and employing Convicts at home; for the year 1819 .....  | 74,932  | 0  | 0 |
| To defray the Extraordinary Expenses that may be incurred for Prosecutions, &c. relating to the Coin of this Kingdom; for the year 1819 .....  | 8,000   | 0  | 0 |
| To defray the Expense of Law Charges; for the year 1819 .....  | 20,000  | 0  | 0 |
| To defray the Charge for printing Acts of Parliament for the two Houses of Parliament, for the Sheriffs, Clerks of the Peace, and Chief Magistrates throughout the United Kingdom, and for the acting Justices throughout Great Britain; also for printing Bills, Reports, Evidence, and other Papers and Accounts for the House of Lords; for the year 1819 ..... | 17,000  | 0  | 0 |
| To defray the Expense of printing the Votes of the House of Commons, during the present Session of Parliament .....  | 2,200   | 0  | 0 |
| To defray the Deficiency of the Grant of 1817, for printing 1750 Copies of the 72d Volume of Journals of the House of Commons .....  | 145     | 9  | 0 |
| To make good the Deficiency of the Sum granted in the last Session of Parliament, for making good the Deficiencies of the Fee Funds in the Departments of the Treasury, three Secretaries of State, and Privy Council .....  | 18,449  | 4  | 0 |
| To make good the Deficiency of the Sum granted in the last Session of Parliament, for defraying the Contingent Expenses and Messengers Bills in the Departments of the Treasury, the three Secretaries of State, and Lord Chamberlain .....  | 9,189   | 16 | 2 |
| To make good the Deficiencies of the Fee Funds in the Departments of the Treasury, three Secretaries of State, and Privy Council; for the year 1819 .....  | 60,727  | 0  | 0 |
| To defray the Contingent Expenses and Messengers Bills in the Departments of the Treasury, three Secretaries of State, and Lord Chamberlain; for the year 1819 .....   | 73,700  | 0  | 0 |
| Towards defraying the Charge of the Royal Military College; for the year 1819 .....  | 8,000   | 0  | 0 |

To complete the Sum required for defraying the Charge of do. from the 25th day of December, 1818, to the 24th day of December, 1819, both inclusive, being 365 days...£17,173 18 10

25,173 18 10

Towards defraying the Charge of the Royal Military Asylum, for the year 1819..... 8,000 0 0

To complete the sum required for defraying the Charge of do. from the 25th day of December, 1818, to the 24th of December, 1819, both inclusive, being 365 days..... 28,482 17 7

36,482 17 7

For His Majesty's Foreign and other Secret Services; for the year 1819..... 80,000 0 0

For making good the Deficiency of the Grant of 1818; for defraying the Expense of printing Bills, Reports, and other Papers, by Order of the House of Commons, during the last Session of Parliament..... 4,987 12 3

To make good the Deficiency of the Grant of 1818, for printing 1,750 Copies of the 73d Volume of Journals of the House of Commons 213 14 11

To defray the Expense of printing Bills, Reports, and other Papers, by order of the House of Commons, during the present Session of Parliament..... 21,000 0 0

To defray the Expense that may be incurred for reprinting Journals and Reports of the House of Commons; in the year 1819 - 3,000 0 0

To defray the Expense that may be incurred for printing 1,750 Copies of the 74th Volume of the Journals of the House of Commons; for the year 1819 - 3,500 0 0

To defray the Expense incurred for printing 1,250 Copies of the 50th Volume of Journals of the House of Peers - 1,671 2 0

For defraying the Deficiency of the Grant of 1818, for the Charge of printing Acts of Parliament for the two Houses of Parliament, for the Sheriffs, Clerks of the Peace and chief Magistrates throughout the United Kingdom, and for the Acting Justices throughout Great Bri-

|   |           |    |   |
|---|-----------|----|---|
| also for printing Bills, Reports, Evidence, and other Papers and Accounts for the House of Lords  | £2,577    | 8  | 5 |
| To defray the Amount of Bills drawn or to be drawn from New South Wales; for the year 1819  | 100,000   | 0  | 0 |
| For discharging Interest on Exchequer Bills, Irish Treasury Bills and Mint Notes  | 1,570,000 | 0  | 0 |
| One hundredth part of Forty-three Millions of Exchequer Bills; authorized, in the last Session of Parliament, to be issued and charged upon the Aids granted in the present Session, to be issued and paid by equal Quarterly Payments to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, to be by them placed to the Account of the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt; for the year ending the 1st day of February, 1820 | 430,000   | 0  | 0 |
| To make good the Deficiency on the 5th day of April, 1819, of the Fee Fund at His Majesty's Receipt of Exchequer  | 28,097    | 17 | 4 |
| The following Services are directed to be paid, without any Fee or other Deduction whatever:  |           |    |   |
| To defray the Expense of confining and maintaining criminal Lunatics; for the year 1819   | 2,777     | 0  | 0 |
| To defray the Expense of the National Vaccine Establishment; for the year 1819  | 3,000     | 0  | 0 |
| For the Relief of American Loyalists; for the year 1819   | 11,000    | 0  | 0 |
| To defray the Charge of the Superannuation Allowances or Compensations to retired Clerks, and other Officers formerly employed in the Lottery Office; for the year 1819.  | 251       | 10 | 0 |
| To defray the Charge of the Superannuation Allowances or Compensations to retired Clerks and other Officers formerly employed in the office of the Commissioners for Auditing the Public Accounts; for the year 1819  | 2,442     | 0  | 0 |
| To defray the Charge of Do. Do. formerly employed in His Majesty's Mint; for the year 1819  | 999       | 0  | 0 |
| To defray the Charge of Do. Do. to one of the late Paymasters of Exchequer Bills; for the year 1819   | 266       | 13 | 4 |

|   |         |    |   |
|---|---------|----|---|
| To defray the Charge of the Superannuation Allowances or Compensation to Persons formerly employed on the Military Roads in North Britain; for the year 1812 - - -  | £458    | 0  | 0 |
| To pay the Superannuation or retired Allowance to Master William Bell, formerly Master Shipwright at Kingston, in Canada, at the rate of 150 <i>l.</i> per annum, from the 30th day of June 1818 to the 30th day of December 1819 - -   | 925     | 0  | 0 |
| Towards defraying the Expense of building a Penitentiary House at Milbank; for the year 1819 -  | 60,000  | 0  | 0 |
| To defray the Expense of the Establishment of Do. from the 24th day of June 1819 to the 24th day of June 1820 - - - - -   | 21,000  | 0  | 0 |
| For defraying the Expense of making an Inland Navigation from the Eastern to the Western Sea, by Inverness and Fort William; for the year 1819 - - - - -  | 50,000  | 0  | 0 |
| For the support of the Institution called "The Refuge for the Destitute;" for the year 1819 -   | 5,000   | 0  | 0 |
| To enable His Majesty to grant relief to Toulonese and Corsican Emigrants, Saint Domingo Sufferers, Dutch Naval Officers and others, who have heretofore received Allowances from His Majesty, and who from Services performed or Losses sustained in the British Service, have Special Claims upon his Majesty's Justice or Liberality - - - - - | 52,662  | 14 | 1 |
| Toward the Repair of Henry the Seventh's Chapel; for the year 1819 - - - - -  | 3,169   | 15 | 0 |
| To defray the Salaries and Allowances and Expenses for the Commissioners under the Treaties with Foreign Powers, for preventing the Illicit Traffick in Slaves; for the year 1819 -   | 24,800  | 0  | 0 |
| To be applied towards the expence to be incurred in the management of the British Museum; for the year 1819 - - - - -   | 10,019  | 16 | 8 |
| To enable His Majesty to pay the same to the Governors of the Bounty of Queen Anne, for the Augmentation of the Maintenance of the Poor Clergy, according to the Rules and Regulations by which the Funds of that Corporation are governed - - - - -  | 100,000 | 0  | 0 |

Towards enabling his Majesty to make Provision for the Augmentation of the Maintenance of the Poorer Clergy of Scotland, to be issued and applied pursuant to the Provisions of any Act passed for that purpose - - - £10,000 0 0

To defray 3 years and 95 days Interest due on the Sum of 300,000*l.* granted to the Portuguese Government in pursuance of a Convention signed at Vienna on the 21st day of Jan. 1815 - 49,904 2 2

To defray the Expence of sundry Improvements between Bangor Ferry and Chirk Bridge, in North Wales; for the year 1819 - - 15,000 0 0

For the Expence of Works carrying on at the College of Edinburgh; for the year 1819 - 10,000 0 0

To defray the Expence of sundry Works proposed to be done in and about the Harbour of Holyhead; for the year 1819 - - - 12,500 0 0

To defray the Expence of the Repairs upon the Cobb at Lyme Regis; for the year 1819 - 13,300 0 0

For the Board of Agriculture; for the year 1819 1,000 0 0

For defraying the Expenses of maintaining and repairing the British Forts on the Coast of Africa; for the year 1819 - - - 28,000 0 0

To pay the Superannuation Allowances or Compensations to Andrew Allen and Edward Stanley, Esqs. two of His Majesty's retired Consuls Abroad; for the year 1819 - - - 1,175 0 0

To enable His Majesty to issue, and cause to be paid to General Boyd, a Citizen and Officer of the United States of America, in consideration of the Saltpetre exported under the King's Licence, as Remuneration for a Service formerly rendered to this Country, in the East Indies, and for the Expenses and Trouble incurred in the prosecution of his Claim - - - 6,000 0 0

For defraying the Charges of preparing and drawing the Lotteries for 1819, &c. - 18,000 0 0

*For defraying the Charge of the following SERVICES IN IRELAND, which are directed to be paid Net in British Currency:*

For the Remuneration of certain Public Officers in Ireland, for their extraordinary trouble in 1819 1,153 16 11



|  |         |    |    |
|--|---------|----|----|
| For defraying the probable Expenditure of the Board of Works in Ireland; for the year 1819   | £22,882 | 0  | 0  |
| For defraying the Charge of Printing, Stationary, and other Disbursements, for the Chief and Under Secretaries Offices and Apartments, and other Public Offices in Dublin Castle, &c.; and for Riding Charges and other Expenses of the Deputy Pursuivants and extra Messengers attending the said Offices; also Superannuated Allowances in the said Chief Secretary's Office; for one year ending the 5th of January, 1820 | 20,884  | 0  | 0  |
| For defraying the Expence of publishing Proclamations and other matters of a public nature, in the Dublin Gazette and other Newspapers in Ireland; for one year ending ditto   | 9,692   | 0  | 0  |
| For defraying the Expense of printing 1,500 Copies of a compressed Quarto Edition of the Statutes of the United Kingdom, for the use of the Magistrates of Ireland, and also 250 Copies of a Folio Edition of the same, bound, for the use of the Lords, Bishops, and Public Officers in Ireland   | 3,459   | 0  | 0  |
| For defraying the Expence of Criminal Prosecutions, and other Law Expenses in Ireland; for one year ending the 5th day of January, 1820  | 23,076  | 0  | 0  |
| To defray the Expense of apprehending Public Offenders in Ireland for one year ending ditto  | 1,000   | 0  | 0  |
| For completing the Sum necessary for the Support of Non-conforming Ministers in Ireland; for one year ending the 5th day of January, 1820  | 8,661   | 1  | 7  |
| For the Support of the Seceding Ministers from the Synod of Ulster in Ireland; for one year ending the 26th day of March 1820  | 4,034   | 15 | 8  |
| For the Support of Protestant Dissenting Ministers in Ireland; for one year ending the 5th day of January, 1820  | 756     | 0  | 0  |
| For paying the Salaries of the Lottery Officers in Ireland; for one year ending the 24th day of June, 1819   | 1,741   | 16 | 11 |

For the Establishment and Maintenance of the Public Navigation in Ireland, vested in the Directors of the Inland Navigation; for the year 1819 - £4,480 0 0

For carrying on the Works at Dunmore Harbour; in the current year - 12,000 0 0

To carry on the Works at Howth Harbour; in the current year - 6,700 0 0

For clothing the Battle Axe Guards for 18 months, commencing from the 1st day of June 1819 683 1 6

For defraying the Charge of Clothing of His Majesty's Officers of Arms, Pursuivants, and State Trumpeters in Ireland, for three years, commencing the 17th day of March 1819 - 1,071 13 10

To defray the expense of the Police and Watch Establishment of the City and District of Dublin; for the year ending the 5th day of January 1820 26,600 0 0

To provide for Fever Cases in Ireland; for the year ending Ditto - 10,000 0 0

To provide Utensils and Implements of Manufacture for the use of the New Bridewell, in Dublin 1,000 0 0

To pay the Salaries of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Duties, Salaries and Emoluments of the Officers, Clerks and Ministers of Justice; in all Temporal and Ecclesiastical Courts in Ireland; for one year ending the 6th day of January 1820..... 7,200 0 0

To enable the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland to issue Money from time to time, in aid of Schools established by Voluntary Contributions..... 3,000 0 0

To make good the Advances made from His Majesty's Civil List in Ireland, pursuant to Addresses of the House of Commons, of the 8th day July 1817, and the 2d day of June 1818, for the remuneration of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Fees and Emoluments of Officers of the Courts of Justice in Ireland..... 17,076 18 5

To defray the Expense of building Charobes and Glebe Houses, and of purchasing Glebes in Ireland; for one year ending the 5th day of January 1820..... 2,230 0 0

|   |         |    |   |
|---|---------|----|---|
| To further defray the Expense of building Churches and Glebe Houses, and of purchasing Glebes in Ireland; for one year ending the 5th day of January 1820 .....   | £18,461 | 0  | 0 |
| To defray the Expense of the Trustees of the Linen and Hempen Manufactures of Ireland; for one year ending the 5th day of January 1820, to be by the said Trustees applied in such manner as shall appear to them to be most conducive to promote and encourage the said Manufactures ..... | 19,938  | 9  | 2 |
| To defray the Expense of the Commissioners for making wide and convenient Streets in the City of Dublin; for one year ending the 5th day January 1820 .....   | 11,000  | 0  | 0 |
| To defray an additional Allowance to the Chairman of the Board of Inland Navigation in Ireland; for the year 1819 - - - - -   | 275     | 18 | 5 |
| To defray the Expense of putting the House of the Royal Irish Academy, in Grafton-street, into perfect repair - - - - -   | 300     | 0  | 0 |
| To defray the Expense of supporting the Protestant Charter Schools of Ireland; for one year ending the 5th day of January 1820 - - - - -  | 24,000  | 0  | 0 |
| To defray the Expense of the Foundling Hospital at Dublin; for one year ending do. ....   | 30,000  | 0  | 0 |
| For supporting the House of Industry, Hospitals and Asylum for Industrious Children in Dublin; for one year ending do.....  | 32,000  | 0  | 0 |
| To defray the Expense of supporting the Richmond Lunatic Asylum in Dublin; for one year ending do.....  | 6,665   | 0  | 0 |
| To defray the Expense of the Hibernian Society for Soldiers Children; for one year ending do...   | 9,200   | 0  | 0 |
| To defray the probable Charge of the Hibernian Marine Society in Dublin: for one year ending do.  | 1,500   | 0  | 0 |
| To defray the Expense of the Female Orphan House, in the Circular Road, near Dublin; for one year ending do. ....   | 2,500   | 0  | 0 |
| For supporting the Westmoreland Lock Hospital in Dublin; for one year ending the 4th day of January 1820 .....  | 8,000   | 0  | 0 |

|  |             |   |   |
|--|-------------|---|---|
| For supporting the Lying-in Hospital in Dublin; for one year ending the 5th day of January, 1820 .....   | £3,300      | 0 | 0 |
| To defray the probable Expense of Doctor Stevens's Hospital : for one year ending the 5th day of January 1820.....   | 1,400       | 0 | 0 |
| To defray the Expense of the Fever Hospital and House of Recovery, Cork-street, Dublin; for one year ending do. ....   | 4,500       | 0 | 0 |
| To defray the Expense of the Hospital for Incurables in Dublin; for one year ending do.....  | 460         | 0 | 0 |
| To defray the Charge of the Establishment of the Roman Catholic Seminary in Ireland; for one year ending do. ....  | 8,928       | 0 |   |
| To defray the Expences of the Association incorporated for discountenancing Vice, and promoting the knowledge and practice of the Christian Religion; for one year ending do. .... | 3,430       | 0 | 0 |
| For defraying the Charge of the Green Coat Hospital of the City of Cork; for one year ending do.   | 100         | 0 | 0 |
| For defraying the charge of the Cork Institution; for one year ending the 5th day of January 1820  | 2,300       | 0 | 0 |
| To defray the Expences of the Society for promoting the Education of the Poor of Ireland; for one year ending do. ....   | 5,538       | 0 | 0 |
| To defray the Expences of the Dublin Society; for one year ending do. ....   | 9,200       | 0 | 0 |
| To defray the Expences of the Farming Society of Ireland; for one year ending do.....  | 3,000       | 0 | 0 |
| To defray the Civil Contingencies in Ireland; for the year ending do. - - -  | 20,000      | 0 | 0 |
|  | <hr/>       |   |   |
|  | 20,506,449  | 8 | 1 |
| To discharge the like Amount of Supplies, granted for the Service of the year 1818, remaining unprovided for - - -   | 8,046,400   | 0 | 0 |
|  | <hr/>       |   |   |
|  | £28,552,849 | 8 | 1 |
|  | <hr/>       |   |   |

N. B. The reader will observe, that the above forms only about *a third* of the year's expenditure. I shall, in my next, give a further account; and, in that, or the next number, shall include a view of the *whole* year's expenditure. At present I wish the reader to look at the above sums *separately*; to mark what each sum is *for*; and to consider **WHOSE HANDS** it falls into!—I shall have very frequently to *refer* to the above account, and, therefore, I strongly recommend to the reader to keep it with care.

Erratum.—In page 534, line 18, of this Number, for "*little ladies*," read "*little deities*."

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# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 37.---No. 9.] LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPT. 16, 1820. [Price 6d.]

TO THE  
SOLICITOR-GENERAL.

*In Answer to his Speech against  
the Queen.*

London, 12th Sept. 1820.

SIR,

I am not one of those, who think that much danger to her Majesty's cause is likely to arise from Mr. Brougham not having been permitted to open his case; because I am convinced, that if the matter were now closed; if not another word were to be heard on the subject, in the House of Lords, the public, this whole nation, the whole world, would pronounce her Majesty innocent of the charges preferred against her, and would also pronounce those charges to have originated in a long-premeditated and slowly-matured conspiracy. But the press has its rights, and amongst these is the right of expressing what men think on subjects connected with the national welfare, whether such expression be necessary, or not, to

the safety of individuals. I am of opinion that your summing up was sophistical; and was intended to assist in accomplishing an unjust, and, by giving countenance to that contemplated and expected end. I, therefore, submit to the public my answer to that summing up.

In doing this, I shall in some degree invert the *order* which you thought proper to adopt; that is to say, I shall begin where you left off. You, after all your efforts to produce a belief in the soundness of your case itself, think proper to conclude with *professions as to motives and wishes*. Voluntary *professions* and *assurances* always excite suspicion as to the sincerity of those who make them; but I recollect no instance, in which offerings of this kind have been made with a worse grace than those made by you. In this case you not only profess for *yourself*, but for all those concerned in the prosecution; Attorney-General, Ministers, and Milan Commis-

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sion; you are *Professor-General*; and, as you thought it necessary to make the professions, it will, I trust, be deemed not improper that I inquire into their sincerity.

You conclude in the following words: "He begged now to be allowed to revert to what had been said yesterday, that the case had fallen infinitely short of the opening of his hon. and learned friend, the Attorney-General. He asked if the case now in evidence was not as strong in the facts and the details as the opening had been, and if it did not justify all which his hon. and learned friend had stated in the discharge of the duty which their lordships had imposed on him? It was impossible for him to sit down without alluding to what had been dragged into every cross-examination, and had been rung in their ears, not only from the beginning to the end of this case, but from the first moment any mention was made of the subject, and for the purpose of involving in reproach every individual who took any part in the proceedings. It was quite impossible for the persons at the head of his Majesty's government not to have established some mode of inquiry; it was quite impossible that they should not have inquired into reports in the highest degree derogatory to her Royal Highness,

and in general circulation in most parts of Europe. He asked them whether it was not their duty to inquire if those reports were or were not true? There was only one mode of doing this: that mode was, to select persons eminent in point of character, of great character for integrity and knowledge, to make that inquiry. Accordingly, as judicious, as proper a selection as could be made, had been adopted. At the head was one known to be a man of the highest respectability—known to possess unimpeachable integrity, and of great skill and knowledge in the laws of his country. He had been at the head of the commission—if commission it was to be called—for the purpose of obtaining, not idle rumour, but evidence of facts, such as could alone be admitted in every court in this country. He asked if any fairer selection could have been made than another gentleman, of whom mention had been made in the course of the proceedings, who possessed great practice in the law. A third gentleman, Colonel Brown, he was not acquainted with; but he was told that his character stood as high as that of any of those who had dared to traduce him. Was he justified, then, in saying that it was a duty upon ministers to have instituted an inquiry into the reports circulated? And was he justified in saying that ministers had exercised a sound

"discretion, liable to no imputation whatever, in selecting persons to conduct the necessary inquiry? He begged pardon if he had occupied their lordships' time too long. He hoped he had fairly stated the evidence in the case. He had been *anxious not to have tortured or discoloured any fact or circumstance*. If he had tortured or discoloured in any degree, he *regretted it*; for he had been *desirous only to do his duty, and not to misrepresent*; and he hoped he might be allowed in conclusion to say, and he said it *from the bottom of his heart, and in the utmost sincerity*; he *sincerely and devoutly wished*, not that the evidence should be confounded and perplexed, but his wish was, that it should be the result of this proceeding; *that her Royal Highness should establish, to the satisfaction of their Lordships, and every individual in the country, her full and unbullied innocence*. Whether this was likely or not, it would be unbecoming in him to offer any opinion. He had only to say, that the preamble of the bill was proved, *unless the proof should be impeached by evidence, clear, distinct, and satisfactory, on the part of her Majesty.*" (*Hear, hear! Order, order!*)

Thus, then, we have from you the profession of a sincere and devout wish, coming from the bottom of your heart, that

her Majesty should be fully and clearly *acquitted*. This is a matter which, taken in connection with the rest of your speech, amounts to a great deal. It is the test of your sincerity and your character. If her Majesty be clearly acquitted, what follows? Why, amongst other things, the everlasting shame and ignominy of the inventors of the Milan Commission; of the parties belonging to that Commission; and of all those who have taken part in the instigating, and in the carrying on of this prosecution. To suppose that the present ministry could remain in power after such an acquittal, is impossible; and, therefore, to believe you sincere in this wish, we must first believe that you most anxiously, most sincerely, most devoutly, and from the bottom of your heart, wish to be turned out of office, and to see blasted for ever all hope of obtaining those emoluments and honours which were the naturally expected reward of that political apostacy, which no man ever falls into without being actuated by a motive sufficient to overcome all the ordinary feelings of our nature.

Give me leave, therefore, to



say, that I not only doubt of your sincerity here, but that I doubt of it as to every part of your statement. I believe you to wish, from the bottom of your heart, that the Queen may be degraded, sunk, ruined in public estimation; and that you may profit from this destruction of her Majesty.

I shall by and bye speak as to the nature of the evidence generally, and shall ~~here~~ remark only on your assertion with regard to the opening speech of the Attorney General. You assert that your case is as strong in facts and details, as it stood in that opening speech. There was no one who doubted, that the swearing would go as far as the opening. But, there was one part of that opening, which was of so odious and hideous a nature, that it was not to be expected that even an attempt would be made to establish it by evidence. The passage of the opening to which I allude is given by the reporter in the following words: "On the return of the Princess from the East, she brought in her train a man named Leone, of the most brutal and depraved manners. This person used to exhibit himself at the Villa

Branchi in the most indecorous and *shameful manner*, the Princess and Bergami being present. The circumstances are so shocking, so disgusting to the mind, that I cannot without difficulty bring myself to mention them to your Lordships, but *it is necessary*. The painful situation in which I am placed, requires that I should make your Lordships understand the nature of the disgusting exhibition, which shall appear by the testimony of various witnesses. This ~~was~~ in the situation I described, used to IMITATE, amongst other things, in the most indelicate manner, the SEXUAL INTERCOURSE, before the <sup>then</sup> servants, in the presence of the Princess."

Now, let it be observed, that, with this odious and detestable charge, thus introduced with apparent trembling reluctance, thus painfully forced from the humane and modest Attorney General; with this charge, thus introduced, that pious advocate closed his long string of accusations, asserting that it should be supported by the testimony of several witnesses. And how has it been supported even by your own witnesses? Why,

after all the attempts that you were able to make to get this most horrible falsehood down in the shape of evidence, it turns out that Leone was an ITALIAN BUFFOON; or, as we call such persons as *Grimaldi*, a CLOWN; and that he exhibited before the Princess and numerous other persons, upon numerous occasions, that which the witnesses called a BUFFOONERY. Nothing more could be extracted than this. It will be proved, I dare say, that the Queen was no more guilty of crime here than ladies in this country are when they see the Clowns on the stage, particularly at the fairs throughout the country. It will be found, I dare say, that she took no particular delight in these exhibitions; but, at any rate, was it not monstrous to accuse her of having had exhibited before her an imitation of the sexual intercourse; to send forth that accusation, premeditatedly to send it forth all over the world, knowing that it must lie for many weeks uncontradicted by evidence; is it not now monstrous in you to say, that the facts and details of the Attorney General have all been made out by evidence? And after this is it not a monstrous attempt at imposi-

tion to attempt to give force to your statement by asseverations of your sincerity in wishing from the *bottom of your heart* that the Queen might be acquitted?

Your next attempt in this closing string of professions is, to acquit the Ministers of all blame in sending out and supporting the Milan Commission. You assert, that it was "*quite impossible*" that the Ministers should not have established some mode of enquiry into the truth or falsehood of the reports circulated in most parts of Europe derogatory to her then Royal Highness. You ask whether it was not their duty to institute such inquiry.

This is going very far back; it invites us to a discussion which you would have done well to leave unprovoked; for, if the reports were so widely circulated, why have you not dared to produce any of those persons, who were the bringers of the reports; for those persons must have possessed some knowledge beyond that of mere *rumour*; and before any proceeding was adopted upon their intelligence, that intelligence ought to have been seen to be well grounded. Besides, if the ministers had heard such reports; and if they really

had had a desire to preserve unscathed the honour of the Royal Family, if that had been their object, they would have sent out some well known friend of her Majesty to give her information of the reports; to warn her of her danger; to beseech her to be more prudent. In short, they would have acted as friends and not as enemies. But, what do they? They listen to all informers, they keep the information secret, they send out spies to watch for turned off servants. They send out lawyers to collect depositions; they make all their preparations for striking the blow; and when they are ready they threaten her with a prosecution if she dare come to England; and at the same time tender her a princely income if she will remain out of the kingdom!

Did this look like anxiety to preserve the honour of the Crown and the Royal Family? Did this shew a deep sense of duty towards the Crown and towards the people? Did all this look like fair, honest and friendly dealing; or did it look like a premeditated plan for her Majesty's destruction as Queen of this kingdom?

The next band that you take

under your protection are the members of the Milan commission. In your praises of Mr. COOKE, it would be unjust to suppose you either more or less sincere than you are in your wishes for the acquittal of the Queen. For my own part I know nothing of him; and shall only say, that I judge of him from his acts; and that his voluntarily taking upon himself such an employment is quite sufficient to make us acquainted with the character of the man. As to Mr. Powell, whom you represent as possessing great practice in the law, I have known nothing of him since the year 1806. He is what the West Indians call a *Mustee*, or a *Quartaron*, I forget which; and he unites the vivacity of the one race with the keenness of the sharpest race of white men. He was a very efficient fellow labourer of mine in that great and Holy work, the demolition of the Aristocratic influence in the City of Westminster. He was the clerk of Mr. PAUL's attorney during the memorable struggle of that brave little man against the haughty and insolent noblesse, and which struggle actually put an end to their power. Mr. POWELL laboured,

not merely in his profession, but as a sincere and able friend of the cause. He wrote placards, he wrote songs; he gave life to the duller mass that we had to deal with; and, in short, he earned what he received, the praises of us all. Not knowing that Mr. POWELL had *changed his politics*, I was at first surprised when I heard his name mentioned in connection with this affair. That change having taken place; he, Sir, having *like you*, and, doubtless, from motives as honourable as yours, undergone a *conversion*, I could at once perceive that a fitter man upon the face of the earth could not have been found to take a part in the Milan Commission. With regard to COLONEL BROWN, whose character, you say, you are told stands as high as that of those who had dared to traduce him; I have to observe, in the first place, that, being an officer in the army, he is wholly dependant for his bread on the breath of the prosecutors in this case. He can, at any moment, be dismissed from the service, and thus be stripped of all means of existence, unless, like your witness, SACCHINI, he was to change his character of officer

for that of subaltern menial servant. On the other hand, it is in the power of those prosecutors to make him a general in two days; to load him with honours in his profession; to make him a Knight of the Bath; to make him Governor of an Island or Garrison; and, in short, to elevate him to any degree. To be a spy upon the actions of another man's wife; to hunt out for witnesses against her; to be associated with a lawyer and an attorney, to get together the furniture of a green bag: these are offices not very compatible with the character of a soldier; and, therefore, it requires something a little more than you have ventured to say in order to give us a high opinion of this COLONEL BROWN.

The persons constituting this secret and lurking junta were well aware of the purposes to which their information was to be applied. They had all lived in England; they had heard of the treatment of the persecuted Queen; they knew in what manner she had been driven from her husband's house; they had heard of the perjuries aimed against her life in 1806: they were well acquainted with

all the unparalleled atrocities committed against her: they must have known of the adventure of the BARON D'OMPTEDA; and, with all this knowledge in their minds, they undertake the office of hunting up turned-off servants, and of raking together every thing that any Italian, however infamous his or her character, would swear against this deeply injured and long persecuted woman. These are facts that nobody can deny. These facts are notorious as the sun at noon-day; and knowing these facts to be true, we want nothing more to give us a correct opinion of the motives and characters of these three men. We want nothing more to enable us to judge of the characters of those, whom the Ministers selected for this memorable undertaking.

You conclude your speech by asserting that the preamble of the *Bill is proved*; and, having thus concluded, the report states that there was a *cheering* in the House! That is to say, Sir, some, at least, of her Majesty's judges and jurors *applauded* you! It is not for me to question the propriety of conduct of the persons who compose the House of Lords; but I may

venture to say, that this was the first time that ever any one heard of judges cheering a counsel at their bar. I should as soon expect to hear a judge *cheer* a good tough swearing witness for the Crown; or, to see him *descend from the bench and shake such witness by the hand!* If their lordships had done either of these things during the trial, it would not have been more odious than to cheer you; and, therefore, I am bound to believe, that, as to this matter, the reporter must have committed a mistake.

Having thus been led by you, to take a view of the origin of this affair, and to enquire a little into the character and motives of the parties concerned in it, I now go back to the beginning of your speech, where you state the line of conduct that you and your colleagues pursued upon receiving directions to support the Bill. But, though it might be convenient enough to you to blink all the previous transactions, from the sending out of spies to Italy, to the commencement of the trial, it becomes not us to be guilty of such blinking; for, on the conduct of the prosecutors, previous to the trial, a great deal depends.—

That conduct serves to elucidate their motives; and, if we find that conduct to be such as to excite a most anxious desire to produce the degradation of her Majesty, we are to carry that important fact in our minds when we are contemplating the evidence that they have finally produced. I, therefore, shall go into these previous transactions; and, if I show that the real object all along has been to keep her Majesty from the country, or to drive her from it, I must necessarily view the evidence brought forward as having that for its object; and if that was the object, I must look at every title of evidence with something a great deal more than suspicion.

In the first place, I think it as clear as day-light, that it was at first intended never to give her Majesty any trial at all. If such had been the intention, why were green bags sealed up sent to the two Houses of Parliament? There were precedents enough for sending Green Bags: for referring these to secret committees; and for passing Bills, at once, upon the report of those Committees. But, for admitting the accused party to trial

after such reports, there were no precedents at all. When the Reformers were put in dungeons in 1817, the Bill was passed upon the sole ground of the Report of Secret Committees. The Reformers prayed to be heard in their defence before the passing of the Bill. They presented Petitions praying to be heard before they were condemned. They declared the Reports to contain falsehoods, and prayed to be permitted to produce evidence at the bar to prove those falsehoods. Their petitions were rejected; and the horrible Bill was passed. I can see no reason, therefore, for supposing that, in the first instance, any trial at all was intended; and my belief is, that the trial was suggested to the prosecutors solely by the loud expression of the public voice.

A trial, a fair, open impartial trial, was what the Queen had no right to object to; and it was what, indeed, she had always courted. But what sort of trial is this to which the Queen has, in the face of her repeated protests, been subjected? To enumerate the circumstances, without any comment on them, will be quite sufficient to give pos-

terity a correct opinion of the nature of this never-to-be-forgotten Trial.

*First*, the pretended evidence is laid before the Houses sealed up, accompanied with a proposition to submit this evidence to secret committees; which committees consisted of the prosecutors themselves, and some other persons of their chusing.

*Second*, the Ministers describe the evidence as amounting to scandalous and heavy charges against the Queen.

*Third*, these same Ministers enter into a negotiation with her Majesty, offering her perfect impunity, a splendid conveyance to the continent, an introduction, as Queen of England, to a Foreign Court, and a princely income for the remainder of her life.

*Fourth*, the House of Commons send a deputation to her Majesty, containing their declaration that she may accept of these terms, without leaving any stain upon her character. And declaring, also, at the same time, that a trial, terminate how it may, "*must be derogatory to the dignity of the Crown, and injurious to the best interests of the country.*"

*Fifth*, the Queen having re-

solved not to accept of these terms; not to be banished from England, the House of Lords, (who had suspended the operation of their Secret Committee) resolved to go into that Secret Committee.

*Sixth*, their Secret Committee make a Report containing heavy charges against the Queen.

*Seventh*, upon this report, a Bill is brought in by the Ministry, called a Bill of Pains and Penalties, containing the most grievous accusations against the Queen, charging her with an adulterous intercourse, and sentencing her to degradation and divorce.

*Eighth*, this Bill is not proceeded upon directly; but this Bill, together with the Report on which it is founded, are sent all over the world; are placed under the eyes of the nation, as containing facts which the prosecutors solemnly declared they were prepared to substantiate by evidence. These documents are thus placed under the eyes of the nation, there to remain for *six weeks*, without any opportunity afforded to her Majesty to produce any thing in refutation of these outrageous accusations.

*Ninth*, her Majesty, in order

that she might be prepared to rebut charges founded on evidence, or pretended evidence, collected by the means of *Cooke, Powell, Brown* and others, in the manner that we have seen, applied to be furnished with the names and descriptions of the persons who had sworn against her. This, which is uniformly granted in every case of divorce; and was the more necessary in this case because the home of the witnesses was at so great a distance, and because they were utterly unknown in the vicinage of the Court; *this was refused to her Majesty!*

*Tenth*, her Majesty next applied for the *names of the places* where her alleged crimes had been committed. These, too, were refused her. So that, she was left for the whole of the six weeks, without any possible clue by which she could come at the means of cross-examination, or at facts and circumstances to develop the characters, connections and motives of the witnesses!

*Eleventh*, the Court, as it is called, opens. And how is it composed? Partly of the prosecutors themselves! It is composed, not of twelve men, taken promiscuously from a long pan-

nel; the judges are, at once; judges and jurors, and part of them are the accusers; and these accusers are also the Ministers of the King, from whom it is proposed to divorce the Queen! How these judges, jurors and accusers are situated relatively with regard to each other; how all, or any part, are situated with regard to the King; I leave the public to judge; but, in this case, unanimity is not required in the decision, as is the case with a jury; in this case, the jury are not all required to be present during the whole of the proceedings; in this case, any part of the jury may excuse themselves for non-attendance; in this case, the trial may stop whenever the prosecutor pleases, and may be revived again, at any future period; in this case, all, you say, is right and fair, but, in this case, we find nothing that we find in that species of trial to which we have been accustomed, and to which species of trial alone her Majesty has appealed; while against the present mode of trial, she has constantly protested.

*Twelfth*, the witnesses are finally brought to the spot by night. They are shut up in a



fortress, from which they are drawn, one at a time, to be produced at the bar. The Court itself is guarded not only by numerous soldiers, horse and foot, but by a species of *gens d'armes*, armed with swords and pistols, mounted on horseback, and yet, in a sort of dress other than that of soldiers. The streets leading to this Court have been cut asunder by barricadoes, leaving only narrow passages, guarded by armed men; so that the public have been forcibly prevented from getting even a view of the outside of the building! Even the Parks have been closed. All these barricadoes and obstructions are so many open and daring breaches of the law. They are so many indictable acts. They are so many acts which are punishable by the well known laws of the land; and being perpetrated by the means of absolute force, they argue a total suspension and absence of the laws. Men have been knocked down; the *gens d'armes* have presented their swords and pistols at divers citizens who attempted to pass along those public highways, along which they had a right to pass.

*Thirteenth*, the trial begins on the 17th of August; the Attorney General opens his case. This opening, together with the evidence of the first witness, lies before the public for three whole days without the possibility of any thing being produced to counteract their effect. Then follows a three weeks detail of evidence drawn from the fortress. The Queen has no knowledge of any witness that is coming forth. She has no knowledge of any of the places where the alledged acts are said to have been committed. Her counsel has no means of effectual cross-examination; and thus this long string of swearings are sent forth to the world.

*Fourteenth*, at length you have run out your witnesses, and ask for time, in order to obtain a relay. This shameful, this scandalous, this atrocious application, is not, indeed, granted, but it obtains two things: *first*, two days more for the evidence to work against the Queen, and, *next*, a pretence for saying that if this new relay of witnesses had come, your case would have been more complete. It also obtains, in this mode of trial, a pretence for reviving the pro-

proceedings, hereafter, in case the present proceedings should fail of their ultimate object.

*Fifteenth*, as a compensation, or equivalent, for not having a list of the witnesses, her Majesty was to be allowed time to prepare for her cross-examination of your witnesses. But what time was allowed her? What time was allowed her to enquire into the characters, way of life, connexions, motives, temptations and other things belonging to these witnesses? No time at all; for her counsel were compelled to cross-examine the moment you chose to close your evidence, or were to forego all the advantages which inquiry might give them, at any future time. They were compelled to say that they at once abandoned all future cross-examination; or, to go, at once, into that cross-examination, before it was possible for them to obtain a quarter part of the information necessary to enable them to put the suitable questions to your witnesses! And this, too, you will observe, was imposed on them by the Court, at once judges and jurors, and consisting partly of accusers, who, as it observed, too, if they fail in their accusation; if they

fail in obtaining conviction of her Majesty, have on their own shoulders the responsibility of having caused these proceedings, and of having expended immense sums of the public money in the enterprise. The House of Commons has declared, by a solemn vote and resolution, that the trial, terminate how it may, "must be derogatory to the dignity of the Crown and injurious to the best interests of the country," but if the decision make it known to the world that the accused party is innocent, what then will be the responsibility of these prosecutors! And, let it be never forgotten, that these prosecutors were amongst those, who refused the Queen's Counsel that which they called an *equivalent* for the denial of the list of witnesses and the list of places.

*Sixteenth*, and last, comes your *summing up*, a thing wholly unknown in an ordinary court of justice, where the *summing up* is the act of the judge, and not of the counsel; and where the judge has his place *for life*, unless he be impeached, and convicted of misconduct in his office.

Now, Sir, before I proceed to comment on this *summing up*,

have I not a right to call upon the public to consider well these sixteen circumstances, or parts, of the transaction? It is impossible to arrive at any thing like a correct opinion of the thing altogether, without keeping the whole of these circumstances constantly in view. You are not to be suffered to take us into your case, as if it were a case of an ordinary nature, as if it were a case where party and party met, and where the disinterested judge and promiscuously chosen jury were called upon to hear and determine according to the usual forms and on the settled principles of law. You are not to entrap us into a hearing of your summing up, without retaining, all along, in our minds, those impressions which all these sixteen circumstances are so well calculated to make. You talk of evidence, witnesses, the court, and so on; but we should do great injustice to her Majesty, if we were to take these words in their usual acceptation. In this case, the proceeding is, neither civil nor criminal; there is neither declaration nor indictment; the party accused is neither traitor, adulteress, nor trespasser. It is a mode of proceeding unknown to our minds; and to

come at a just decision, we must constantly bear in mind the character, the conduct, the motives of the parties to the prosecution, and every other thing, by which the proceedings have finally been produced.

When we speak of a witness, do we not always mean a person that has come out of the Community? Do we not always mean a person known to many people in the community? Except in cases of adultery and high treason, lists of witnesses are not furnished before-hand. But, in cases of indictment, in all cases, other than for acts of high treason, the names of some of the witnesses are endorsed on the Bill of Indictment; and, be it observed, that there is, in criminal cases, a previous examination before Magistrates. At any rate, when we talk of a witness, we mean a person that has lived openly some where; that is known to somebody within the reach of the Court. We do not mean a person imported into the country by night, brought up the water by the means of muffled oars, put into a fortress guarded by land and by water, seeing the face of no creature except the agents employed to bring him and pro-

draw him; and, at last, drawn out of the fortress to be clapped into the box. This is a thing that we never mean when we talk of a witness. It is a *secret witness*, which is a thing unknown to the laws.

There is in this case, too, another most material circumstance. When we talk of a *witness* we mean a person that has to live in the community after he has given his testimony. Not a person that is to be sent away to some foreign country and never to see England again. There are many men who would fearlessly take false oaths enough if they were sure of being sent away to live in safety and comfort for the rest of their lives without any human being to reproach them. By a *witness*, we mean a person that is destined to live and show his face in the community where he has given his testimony; and not a person that is to be immediately shipped off in improved circumstances to his distant native country, where he may live free from all reproach.

These are our ideas with regard to witnesses; and, therefore, previously to our entering into any inquiry as to what your witnesses have sworn, we have

to ask ourselves whether your witnesses answer, in the smallest degree, to what we have always considered as the true description of a witness. Without this previous inquiry, we should be misled. We should fall into the notion, that we have here, before us, witnesses of the usual stamp. Let us ask ourselves, whether, if our neighbour were accused of a crime, no matter what, if his prosecutors were the most powerful persons in the world; if they had countless millions at their command; and if they were to bring against our neighbour witnesses that nobody knew; that none of us had ever seen or heard of; that were to be sent away as soon as the trial was over, never to be seen more by us or any body in the country: I ask any man whether he upon his oath, would find his neighbour guilty upon evidence coming from the mouths of such witnesses, however positive their swearing, and however consistent their story? I, for my own part, should look upon myself as the most wicked of villains, if I were, upon such evidence, to find my neighbour guilty.

I should now follow you, point by point, in your endea-

vours to make out the truth, consistency, and coherency of the evidence against the Queen, and in your most miserable attempts to uphold the characters of the witnesses, who really come out of your hands much blacker than they went into them; but, I am restrained from going into detail here, by two reasons: first, I do not wish to be "laid by the heels;" and second, I must necessarily fall short of doing justice to those celebrated characters, which can be done only by her Majesty's Counsel when he shall come forth with that statement, which in my opinion, he ought to have been permitted to make, unless you had been restrained from proceeding with your summing up. Here, too, I may remark on the enormous disadvantage which you intended to throw upon her Majesty the Queen. It was not enough for you, that the *ex-parte* statements against her Majesty; that the King's message; that the abusive speeches of the Ministers; that the report of the Secret Committee; that the Bill of Pains and Penalties; that your worthy fellow-labourer's opening speech; that the swearings of Majocchi, Barbara, Krantz,

the Countess Columbier, and Count Milan, commonly called Sacchini, together with the swearings of the high painter and his mate, it was not enough that her Majesty's character, that her name as a Princess, that her feelings as a woman, and a disreputable mother; it was not enough for you that all these should be expended to the effect of *ex-parte* evidence, and pretended evidence, from the 8th of June to the 7th of September, it was not enough that all this work, this mass of *ex-parte* evidence, should be going forth for three whole months, without her Majesty being afforded the smallest chance of legal or official contradiction; but your summing up must be added to the series, and then, even then, her Majesty's Counsel were not to open their lips in the way of reply, unless they would pledge themselves immediately to go into an examination of that evidence, of the necessity of sending to the Continent for which they could not have been apprized much more than twenty-four hours before you began that summing up!

I shall not, as I said before, attempt to analyze the evidence.

I shall not attempt to describe the characters of the witnesses in the manner in which they ought to be described, and will be described by Mr. BROUGHAM. I shall content myself with remarking generally on the degree of credit which ought to be given to *swearings* such as those which you have produced; and also with remarking on some of the salient parts of your very feeble, though very insidious, and, I may say, hypocritical harangue.

No man, who contemplated the strength of the motives or the power and influence of the parties to the prosecution; no man that took these into view could possibly doubt of a sufficiency of swearing. Neither, if he considered the length of time that had been employed in preparing and arranging the materials, the immense sums of money expended by the Milan Commissioners, the strong motives by which those Commissioners had been induced to undertake the task of collecting the swearers: no man who kept these circumstances in his eye, could entertain the smallest doubt of your being ready to produce oaths in support of all that the Bill, the Secret Com-

mittee and the Attorney-General had asserted. In short, that there would be *swearings* in abundance, no man of sense ever doubted. But, as to a *belief* of the swearings; as to the *credit* to be given to what should be sworn: that was quite another matter; and I believe that every just person in the kingdom was prepared, beforehand, not to give credit; not to give the smallest degree of credit to any particle of what you might call evidence, unless it came from, or was corroborated by, testimony *other than that collected by the Milan Commission*. This I take upon me to assert was the firm ground upon which every English mind rested. It was the ground which reason pointed out, too; for, before we came to discuss the question of the credibility of the witnesses, there came to be discussed by us, the question of *Conspiracy or no Conspiracy*. This you seem wholly to have overlooked. If you had bent a little of your attention this way; and had endeavoured to show that the general opinion as to a conspiracy, was unfounded, you would have rendered your employers much greater service than you rendered them by

these professions and asseverations, by which you endeavoured to cajole the public into a belief that, from the bottom of your heart, you wished her Majesty the Queen to be acquitted, and to come out white as snow after three whole months spent in endeavours to make her as black as the Devil himself. Upon the supposition that to preserve the morals of the country has been the care of your employers; upon the supposition that the dignity of the Crown, the happiness of the people, and a strict love of justice; upon the supposition that these have been their objects, their actions have all been unnatural and preposterous from the beginning to the end. Upon the supposition that they had these objects in view and had not been misled by sinister workings of any kind, nothing can be more absurd and monstrous than their proceedings; nothing so foolish, nothing so likely to defeat the ends they had in view. But, on the contrary, if we suppose a conspiracy to have existed, then the sending out of spies, rumagers for witnesses, hunters after the Queen's turned off servants, of-

fessors of a brilliant fortune to the Most, having Majocchi and Santochini incog. in England, all these explain themselves at once; every thing is natural, every thing consistent, fitting and in regular order of succession.

Therefore, you ought to have endeavoured, as a prelude to your other efforts, to remove this impression about a conspiracy from our minds. This ought to have been amongst your premises; but you leave this material question behind; jump into the middle of your case, which you chuse to regard as an ordinary case, and take your witnesses, one by one, just as if they had been discovered by ordinary means, and had been examined but a day or two before, instead of their having been hunted up by spying commissioners, at an enormous expence, and having been bringing on to a state of maturity for the space of two years. Mr. BROUGHAM congratulated you upon your monopoly of the knowledge of the law; but, really, you are not to be congratulated upon your knowledge of the public opinion; for in that opinion a conspiracy was the foundation of the whole;

did not believe that you utter  
 findings to resolve this deep-  
 rooted opinion. The credibility of a witness  
 that has been in a state of pro-  
 gressive preparation, and that  
 has actually been in the pay of  
 the party, on whose side he is  
 brought forward, for a consider-  
 able length of time; whose pay  
 can be stopped at any moment  
 or continued for any length of  
 time; who can be punished by  
 immediate dismissal in a country  
 familiar to him from his own; who  
 can further be punished, at the  
 will and pleasure of the  
 party in whose pay he lives,  
 by being driven out of the coun-  
 try, under the Alien Act, at a  
 moment's warning; who, if un-  
 able or unwilling to remove,  
 can be seized and forced away,  
 shut up in a prison, and this,  
 too, by a law, the execution of  
 which is in the hands of his em-  
 ployer; the credibility of a wit-  
 ness so situated, placed in such  
 a momentous peril on the one side,  
 and under such great tempta-  
 tions on the other side; the cre-  
 dibility of such a witness, be his  
 character what it may, is not, in  
 my opinion, worth a single  
 straw. Were I a juror between  
 the King and one of my fellow-  
 subjects, and such a witness

were to be produced before me,  
 his swearing would have no  
 more effect upon me than the  
 whistling of the wind.

It is said, that, people could  
 not swear to *so many things*,  
 unless some of them were true;  
 that such things would never  
 have occurred to them, if *wholly*  
*untrue*. You say, that it is mon-  
 strous to suppose, that all these  
 witnesses could think of such  
 strange things, if *none of them*  
*had ever happened*. You ask  
 how such things could have  
 come into *their heads*, if they  
 had no foundation in fact. This  
 is a poor and contemptible way  
 of reasoning. Did it not occur  
 to you that things might be put  
 into people's heads? And was  
 there not plenty of time for this  
 during the space of two years?  
 God forbid that we should as-  
 sert any such thing as this. God  
 forbid that we should imagine  
 that the Countess of Clontarf  
 had any thing put into her head  
 by the kind gentleman that  
 found her out, and that offered  
 her a *brilliant fortune in Eng-  
 land*. God forbid that we  
 should suppose that so virtuous  
 and gentle a lady, as she in  
 her letter describes herself to  
 be, should have undergone the  
 vulgar operation called *tutoring*,



during the 18 months that her ladyship resided in England; and occasionally, nay frequently, condescended to honour with a *te-te-a-te* that amiable gentleman, Mr. POWELL. God forbid that we should imagine that this estimable personage, who had written a journal full of anecdotes proving the amiable character and virtuous conduct of her Majesty. God forbid that we should imagine that any part of the eighteen months which this lovely little Swiss had subtracted from the days of her innocent enjoyments at Lausanne, could have been employed in new modelling that journal, which had given so much delight in the sentimental circles of those Cantons where the simplicity of the people is such that one brother sells his carcase to fight for one sovereign, while the other brother sells his carcase for the purpose of carrying a gun to shoot at the other. Oh! delightful simplicity! God forbid that we should suppose that the Countess had been tampered with, or that her name had been changed from De Mont to the Countess Comolmier from any other motive than that of keeping her mind in that state of *naiveté*, the ma-

nifest existence of which was so well calculated to produce crowds of admirers to come with half-conquered hearts to shake her by the hand. God forbid, once more, I say, that I should assert this woman to be a bribed, suborned, perjured wretch. I assert no such thing, I can know nothing of the matter. But this I am not afraid to assert, that if I had thought her to be such, your speech would not have had the smallest tendency to remove the impression from my mind.

You assume, that, because the things have been *sworn to*; because they are *numerous*; because, in short, many things have been sworn to, *some of them must have happened*. Is not this the most miserable attempt at sophistry? It is not sophistry. It is not worthy of the name. Admit this, and then there can be no such thing as false swearing in the world. If the incidents be numerous and the witnesses many. Admit this, and then every man may be hanged that cannot prove, by oral testimony, the negative of what is sworn against him. According to this account of yours, Susanna was guilty. The judge ought to have concluded, at

once, that the Elders were to be believed. The woman had no proof that they had sworn falsely. Nevertheless, the old bucks were caught out; and though they had sworn positively to her guilt, she was acquitted and they were punished. They were guilty of a base and infamous conspiracy; not a more base conspiracy than we ever heard of, and, perhaps, not quite so base. Yet conspiracy it was; but, according to your mode of reasoning, there never could be such a thing as a conspiracy in the world. When, indeed, you had to defend Watson and Thistlewood against the swearings of *Castles*; when, indeed, you had upon that memorable occasion, to shew the Ministry that you were a man worthy of notice! The French call it, *se faire valoir*; that is to say, *make oneself worth something*. When, upon that memorable occasion, you were acting the part of a defender, how you tore the ruffian witness to pieces. Now mark me: his recent rags, his present good clothes, his being seen frequently with the agents of the Treasury, his going under a false name, the pay he had received from his employers, his having been kept

incog. his being brought from a prison to the witness box: mark me well, I say, every one of these circumstances was dwelt upon by you and Mr. Wetherell as being of great importance in the case; and the sum total of these circumstances was, that the witness was an indescribable villain, wholly unworthy of the slightest credit; and the result, the result at which every one rejoiced, was, an *acquittal of the Prisoners!* The evidence of *Castles* was, however, as to several points, and those essential points, too, corroborated by other witnesses, and those, too, credible witnesses; yet, you insisted; and the jury determined, notwithstanding the charge of the judge which pointed a contrary way, that no man ought to be found guilty upon evidence, which at all rested upon the "indescribable villain," *Castles*. Come, then, let me ask you, what witness have you produced, upon the present occasion, who was not recently clothed in rags, who was not, when produced by you, dressed in clothes purchased by the prosecutor, who has not been frequently seen with the agents of the prosecution, who has not gone under a false name, who has not long

been in the pay of the prosecutors, who has not been kept incog. who was not brought from a prison to the witness-box? You know well that all these circumstances precisely fit the present case; and yet, so far are you from calling your present witnesses indescribable villains, that you hold them forth as witnesses entitled to full credit, and call upon the House to condemn the Queen upon her testimony, though uncorroborated by that of witnesses of any other description; and, at the conclusion of a speech in which you do this, you have the unparalleled hypocrisy to put up a solemn prayer for the acquittal of the victim, whom you are pursuing with such deadly malignity.

To hear you, one would suppose, in good earnest, that every fact sworn to, though the Devil himself were to swear it, must have some foundation. To hear you, one would suppose that there was no such thing in the world as the hatching of a charge. The history of the world abounds with instances of such hatchings. Is there a man in England who does not believe that the charge against ANN OF BULLEN was wholly

destitute of truth? Have we not, in the story of Naboth, an instance of pure falsehood; of taking away a man's life in order to confiscate his estate? The King wanted the man's estate. The Queen, in order to procure the man's death, hired false witnesses to swear, that Naboth had blasphemed God and the King. Upon what ground then, would you have us suppose, that there must be some truth in this statement against the Queen, merely because it has been supported by swearing. There was no truth in the charge against Naboth; yet Naboth was convicted, condemned, and put to death.

Indeed, you may say, that we live in an age of uncommon purity; that false swearers are not now to be found in any part of the world; and, that, as to men in power, they are known, ever since the prosecution of the tithman of Plymouth, to be above every thing resembling bribery and corruption, in the most distant degree; that their consciences are so clear that they wish us to look into their very bosoms; and, that, lest we should not do this, one of them in particular, is everlastingly making appeals to

his conscience. We have, indeed, heard of seat-selling, being as notorious as the sun at noon day; we have also heard a system of blood-hunting spies openly defended; you remember Castles yourself, and the rest of us have not forgotten Oliver, Edwards, Vaughan and a great many others. Therefore, notwithstanding the uncommon purity in public men of the present age, we are not to be persuaded that to hatch a conspiracy is absolutely impossible; that to hire false swearers is a thing out of all compass of belief; and therefore, we are disposed not to believe any part of the facts merely because they have been sworn to.

But why should we travel far and wide to discover the possibility of false swearing against her Majesty, the Queen? If her Majesty had never been attacked by false swearers before, even then we should not have been ready to subscribe to your doctrine. But we know that she has. We know that perjured witnesses were brought against her fourteen years ago. This we have the proof of; and, as in all other cases, we reason from the known to the unknown, we conclude that that which

was known to have taken place fourteen years ago, may possibly now have taken place again.

In 1806 was there not a conspiracy against the Queen? Was there not a conspiracy against her at that time. What should have induced the Douglass's and others to come forward and perjure themselves? Pray let me put this question home to you; for we do great injustice to her Majesty if we separate this proceeding from that. What, then, I say, should have induced the Douglass and others to come forward and perjure themselves in evidence they gave against her Majesty? They could not hope to supplant her Majesty. They must have well known, that, at the very least, they would expose themselves to great public hatred on account of their perfidy to their benefactress. They must have seen that they should place themselves in great danger; and yet they came forward to perjure themselves. Clearly then, they must have been prevailed upon to do this by some powerful motive, by some promises of great reward; and here, then, is the proof of conspiracy. They profess themselves, as you now profess yourself, and as the

ministers, profess themselves, and as I dare say, Cooke, Powell, Brown, Varnacetti, D'Ompstead, will all, profess themselves, to have been, actuated, by nothing but, a *pure and ardent love of public duty*. Well then, if this pure and ardent love induced the Douglass's, to perjure themselves in 1896, why may not that same love of public duty, have produced similar effects upon the present occasion. Your witnesses may possibly be the best sort of people in the world; but your argument, that there must be some truth in the statement, because they have sworn to it, is not worth a rush. Majocchi, for instance, may possibly be one of the most worthy men alive. He may have been actuated by nothing but a disinterested desire to promote the preservation of the morals of England. This desire may have produced his trip from Vienna to Milan; his trip back again to Vienna; it may have brought him acquainted with the Embassy of CASTLE-REACH's brother; it may have brought him to England, after his conferences with Brown; it may have led him to his snug abode at Gloucester; it may have made him remember

so minutely so many things, that so many other persons would have forgotten; and it may have made him forget so many things that almost any other person would have remembered. I will not say that it *may* have led him to *Carlton House*, for, really, when we find him there, what other inducement could he have had than that of an humble endeavour to preserve unsullied the honour of the British Crown and the morals of the British nation!

You are pleased to skip over this important fact, or rather to endeavour to slide by it with an undervaluing sneer. "Where is that palace," says SHAKESPEARE, "into which foul things will not sometimes creep." There were here, it seems, two things that crept into the palace. There was Mr. Powell as well as Mr. Majocchi! Pray let us mark the time. The late King *was just dead*. Majocchi and Powell meet at Carlton House. That they should *meet* one another, and that frequently, too, was, considering their relationships, not at all surprising. But, why should they meet in the *King's Palace*? That is the question which the public want answered. Powell and Majocchi, dear

companions and co-operators, could have met at Mr. Powell's; they could have met at the Countess Colombier's; they could have met any where. Why, then, did they meet at the King's Palace? There must have been some other person for them to see there! Why could not that person go to Mr. Powell's chambers? What person could it be that they could prevail upon to meet them no where but in that one place? Slight, therefore, as you were pleased to consider this circumstance, it is a circumstance which, with the public, has weighed heavier against the prosecutors, than the swearings of all your witnesses against her Majesty, the Queen.

Let it be recollected, that the facts relating to this memorable visit, were drawn out of Majocchi, during a cross-examination, suggested by persons who had known Majocchi at the time of the visit, and who had given to the Queen's advisers information with regard to that visit. When Majocchi came out of Carlton House, he confesses that he showed his companion eighty guineas, or sovereigns, and he forgets whether he did, or did not, show him more. He

will not swear that he did not count 150 pieces. ~~Then, from~~ we have this fellow, who was living incog. in England, meeting POWELL at the King's Palace, and coming out of the Palace with his hands full of gold! And what does he say he was to do with this gold? What does he say that it was given him FOR? Why, to bear his expenses to Vienna. Twenty pounds would have been a plenty for this purpose, and we will not say that he did not count 150! But why send Majocchi to Vienna? And why send him, too, just at the time that her Majesty was become Queen? He was going with dispatches to Lord Stewart. What were there not enough of regular King's messengers to carry these dispatches? What were all these about; that this Majocchi should be fixed up as the only person to carry dispatches to the British Ambassador at the Austrian Court? And what had Mr. POWELL to do with dispatches to the Ambassador at Vienna? Could not these dispatches be prepared without the assistance of this busy Attorney, who is not even yet made a Right Honourable Privy Counsellor? In short, even were

we hear the evidence of the persons who made the discovery of this memorable visit, can there be a doubt in the mind of any impartial man living as to the object of the visit, and as to real relationship, which existed between Majocchi, POWELL and POWELL's employers.

You complain that Mr. BROUGHAM, in his cross-examinations, said little to the witnesses with regard to the facts that they had sworn to, but asked them *what money they had received*; what money they had been promised; where they had been; what names they had borne at several times and at several places. And were not these the proper topics? What was the use of his asking them any questions about facts that they had sworn to over and over again, during the space of two years? He was not such a simpleton as to suppose, that witnesses brought forward in such a way, and examined so scrupulously so many times; he was not simpleton enough to suppose, that such witnesses would contradict themselves as to facts, with regard to which every one of them had been questioned, in legal form, probably fifty or sixty times. **MR. BROUGHAM**

knew, that a whole corps of adroit lawyers had been at work in this affair for a great length of time; and how was he to hope to catch such witnesses tripping upon the main facts brought out in regular succession, by those who had looked the witnesses in the face, and put the same questions to them so many times? To get from them the amount of their pay, was of the greatest importance. Was it not of use to ascertain, that the mate of a vessel received more per month, besides board and lodging, than the amount of the hire of the vessel in which he had served, together with the hire of himself and Captain and twenty-two seamen, including, besides, the provisions of the crew? Was it not of importance to ascertain that this man and his Captain were receiving more per month than the wages of two hundred and fifty British sailors? Was not this of great importance? Yes, or else why did you lay so much stress upon the mere clothing and food which Castles acknowledged to have received from the Government, while he was held incog. as a witness against Watson and Thistlewood?

You and your employers soon experienced the effect of this part of the cross-examination. The high pay of these witnesses was a heavy blow to the prosecution; and, therefore, the subsequent witnesses had received nothing, and were to receive nothing! This was altogether the other way. We were now to be made to swallow the fact, that the sweet COUNTESS DE COLOMBIER, that amiable and simple creature, that shepherdess of Frith-street, so frequently visited by the gentle Swain, Mr. POWELL; we were now to be made believe, that this dear and simple little creature, to squeeze whose hand the shattered beauties said to, have been ready to press each other out of existence; we are to be made to believe that this sincere and grateful creature, whose letter to her sister lets out the fact, that she had been offered a brilliant fortune if she would come to England; we are to be made believe this paragon of purity, who took such uncommon pains to get her young sister into the house of the Princess, after this paragon of purity had seen, with her own eyes, that that house was as bad as a brothel; we are to be made to believe that this

modest and most virtuous creature, who, out of pure naivete, had dropped the name of DE MONT, the chambermaid, and taken that of COUNTESS DE COLOMBIER, and who lived in the style of a Countess, too; we are to be made to believe that even this precious commodity imported, through the agency of the Commission at Milan, had received no reward, was to receive no reward, and had confined her demands and receipts simply to the amount of her actual expenses. You would have us believe this; and, indeed, she positively swore it; and which swearing, I believe to be of precisely the same value as all the rest of her swearing.

We find that all the principal witnesses are servants turned off by the Queen. Now, in the first place, a married woman, who knows that servants are in possession of secrets such as those detailed by your witnesses, takes special care not to turn off such servants. In the next place, such turned off servants are very apt to be extremely vindictive, while it is well known that Italians are not less vindictive than other people. Such turned off servants are, at least, excellent witnesses.



rials for a commission to work upon. In this case there is a double motive. When MACBETH seeks for men to murder BANCROFT, he looks out for such as BANCROFT has offended; and, indeed, such has almost uniformly been the first movement in every conspiracy that has ever been heard of against men. Here we find, then, that Majocchi had been turned off; that De Mont had been turned off; that Sacchini had been turned off; that the cook had been turned off; and we find also, that the master of the polacre had had a quarrel with Bergami; on account of the latter having refused to comply with his pecuniary demands! Why these people were turned off; what was their conduct and what was their character, we have yet to learn, and a pretty account we shall have of them, I dare say. But, without anticipating this, I say that this turning off, always, observed, through the instrumentality of Bergami, and this quarrel about money between Bergami and the Captain of the polacre; I say that these circumstances alone, even without including all the other circumstances relating to rewards and promises; without the cir-

cumstances of living inognito, changing names, shifting places of abode, and the rest of the traits that make up the disgusting picture, without any of these, the turning off and the quarrels about money, are quite sufficient to throw much more than suspicion on every particle of the evidence of these persons.

Viewing, then, as I do these witnesses to be as little worthy of credit as *Castles* was, how can you have the conscience to suppose that we are to give credit to their evidence. He was an 'indescribable villain,' you said; and upon what did you ground your assertions? Why, that he had been recently clothed in rags; that he appeared before the jury in a good suit of clothes, that he had been frequently seen about with the agents of the Treasury; that he had gone under a false name, that he had been kept in cog. and that he had been brought from a prison to the witness box. Upon these facts, and upon the additional one that he had been the inmate of a brothel; upon these facts you founded the assertion that he was an 'indescribable villain,' and that no person ought to be found guilty upon his evidence, though

that evidence had been corroborated in several parts of it, by witnesses perfectly credible. And yet you would now have us believe, that, unless the Queen can distinctly prove the *negatives* of the swearings of all these your witnesses, we ought to pronounce her guilty! Such a monstrous proposition as this; any thing so unfair and imprudent, never before found its way from the lips even of a Crown Lawyer.

Having nothing but such witnesses to produce is the strongest proof in the world that your case was not only bad, but that you knew it to be bad. Your worthy fellow-labourer took occasion to mention the names of several English gentlemen and ladies who were about the person; and actually living under the same roof with the Princess upon land, and some of whom accompanied her even in the famous Polacre. I assert it to be impossible for the facts, related by these witnesses of yours to have taken place, without these gentlemen and ladies knowing something about them. You may say that the amorous works might all be going on upon land, and the English gentlemen and ladies never even

hear of them. You may say, that these amorous goings on might have been observed by the master and mate in the Polacre, and they might wholly escape the knowledge; never reach either eyes or the ears of either of the two English gentlemen, who were penned up in the same Polacre. You may say this; and Cooke, Powell and Brown may produce a thousand witnesses to swear it; but when you have so said and they have so sworn, not one man, woman or child will believe either the saying or the swearing.

No, and the question, the universal question is, *why do they not produce some of these English gentlemen or ladies?* And, the universal answer, to this question is, *they dare not do it!* You ask, with simplicity enough, *why do they not produce the Bergami's?* I do not know what they will do; but this I know, that the Bergami's, or, at least, Bergami himself, could not be possibly brought as a witness for the Queen, seeing that he is a *party accused*; but this I know, too, that you might have brought him, and that he would have been a very good witness for you, provided that he could have been prevailed

upon to swear any thing against her Majesty. But, the not calling of the English gentlemen and ladies, would, of itself, have destroyed your cause, even if the preparatory proceedings and the circumstances attending your own witnesses had not destroyed it. It is impossible to ascribe the not calling of these witnesses to any other than one cause; and that is, the certainty in which you were that their evidence would falsify the swearings of the gentlemen and ladies from Cotton Garden.

You ventured to call only two witnesses of a character different from those of your Italians, and your Swiss Countess; namely, Captains Pechell and Briggs. The latter swore that he knew of no impropriety of conduct on the part of the Princess, now Queen, and the swearing of the former falsified the assertion of the Attorney-General with regard to her Majesty's conduct when she went on board the *Clarinde*. The Attorney-General asserted, that her conduct was tame; that she put up with an insult from this Pechell.—

This is false. She resented the insult by not suffering Pechell to sit at the same table with her, and by refusing to see him when he made a request to that effect by Captain Briggs. Pechell's father was, at that time, gentleman usher to the late Queen; his uncle was Receiver-General of Customs; one of his nephews was a Captain in the Navy, as well as himself; another cousin was a Judge in India, and another cousin was the wife of the Dean of Worcester,

who is a cousin of Lord Liverpool. This Captain Pechell stood, therefore, very peculiarly connected; and, yet, when Captain Pechell comes, at last, he is able to produce no one fact against the Queen; though he clearly shows that he behaved towards her in a most unbecoming and insolent manner. This she punished in the only way that it was in her power to punish it: namely, by refusing to sit at table with him, and by refusing him an audience which he endeavoured to obtain. By what motives he might have been actuated in his conduct towards the wife of his sovereign, as the Prince then was; whether he felt himself secure from all harm in acting as he did; whatever might be his motives, upon that occasion, no one will say that he was a witness friendly to the Queen; and yet, out of his evidence, there comes not one single particle to corroborate, even by insinuation, the swearings of Marjocchi and the rest of the tribe from the fortress.

Thus, then, your Italian production; the production of a Commission, established for the purpose of getting at facts to make the Queen appear guilty; these witnesses stand wholly unsupported by any thing in the shape of corroboration. If it be asked why, upon the supposition of the whole originating in a conspiracy; if it be asked why, if the thing were hatched, more *plump* swearing, more *big* and *bolster* work was not introduced; if it be asked why the witnesses were not, upon

this supposition, instructed to swear that they actually saw, with their own eyes, the thing which it is the object to cause to be believed was so frequently done; if this be asked, the answer is perfectly ready. It is a rule in all courts of law that numerous strong and well connected circumstances, are worth more in producing conviction than any fact positively sworn to. Upon the supposition that this evidence was the fruit of a long laid and slowly matured conspiracy, nothing could be so well contrived as to abstain from positive oaths as to the real fact itself. Such abstinence would naturally give an air of scrupulousness to the prosecutors as well as to the witnesses; and, if the prosecutors could make out, by a concatenation of circumstances, the certainty of the fact, it would be ten thousand times better for them than to have the fact positively sworn to by eye witnesses. So that this *beating about the bush* is what deceives nobody; but, on the other hand, has tended strongly to produce that universal conviction which prevails, that the whole thing has originated in a conspiracy; for, this over-strained caution, as to swearing to the positive act, has led to this question: how is it possible that this incessant adulterous intercourse, could be going on, day and night, for so long a time, and in so many and such different situations; and no one single person should, upon any occasion, ever have witnessed the act itself.

This over-strained caution,

therefore, has not at all tended to strengthen your case; but has assisted in strengthening the conviction that the whole originated, in that desire, which has been so clearly discovered in every stage of the proceedings, namely, to keep or get her Majesty out of the country, let it cost what it might.

In conclusion of your speech, you say, that the preamble of the Bill; that is to say, the charges against her Majesty are fully made out; and that the Bill must accordingly pass, unless she be able clearly, distinctly and positively to prove your evidence to be wholly false. This I deny. I say that she is called upon for no such proof. To prove a negative was never yet required of any human being. How is the Queen to bring any body to swear that De Mont did not see what she has sworn that she saw? All that the Queen's advocates have to do is to show that these witnesses are unworthy of credit. This is all; and, as the case now stands, the public think that this has already been done by the witnesses themselves, viewed in connection with all the circumstances attending the Milan Commission and those other circumstances, which I have stated at the outset of this letter. Mr. Brougham might have safely gone on *instantly*; his statement, together with the evidence of a few witnesses of credibility, would have been much more than sufficient for the satisfaction of the public. The trial might have been concluded before now; and we

sight, on this very day, have been waiting to see whether, upon such evidence as you have produced, the House of Lords would have passed this unparalleled Bill.

As to the case of her Majesty, in the public opinion, it was decided when you closed your case, which case had produced disgust in the public mind; had produced a feeling towards the prosecutors and their agents that I shall not venture to describe; and had produced a degree of affection and attachment towards her Majesty, such as I believe never was before felt towards any human being. You have closed your case: your charges and your evidence are before the world; and the warm-hearted addresses, pouring in upon her Majesty from every town and every village, form the appropriate answer to those charges and to that evidence.

Feeble, indeed, was your attempt to apologize for the prosecutors and their agents. We could discover, however, from that apology, that you were not insensible to the weight of your present troubles, and not blind to those greater troubles which you behold in prospect. You appear to see that your patrons and employers are beset with difficulties on every side; and you make a lame attempt to cause it to be believed that the difficulties were unavoidable. But, who then was it that compelled the Ministers to send out the Milan Commission? Who was it that compelled them to expend our money upon Cook,

POWELL and BROWN? Who was it that compelled them to send the far-famed Hutchinson to St. Omers? Who was it that compelled them to send down the Green Bags? Who was it that compelled them to instruct your dear brother of the law to promulgate throughout the world that the Queen had witnessed an imitation of the sexual intercourse? Who was it that compelled them to go into a trial which the House of Commons had declared "most, terminate how it might, be derogatory to the dignity of the Crown, and injurious to the best interests of the country?" Who was it that compelled them to do any of these things; for, if they have not been acting under some compulsion, the proceedings are really their own.

They cannot have been deceived. They well knew the nature and extent of the evidence. We find Majocchi, the simple Countess, and the disinterested Sacchini all residing in England for a long time. The Ministers must have been well acquainted with the circumstances relating to the witnesses; and, what is more, they had all their swearings down in black and white in the green bags. All that we know now, they knew before; and, as to their expenditure of money in this business, they have not condescended, even yet, to give us a glance at an account. Therefore, there is no excuse for the Ministers. The whole of the proceedings is their own voluntary act. They are responsible for that act; and, I trust, that you will find that you have to

bear your share of that responsibility.

I pretend not to say whether the Bill will be passed or not. But this I know, that one of the other will take place; and I am of opinion that it matters very little, with regard to the ultimate consequences, whether the Bill pass or be rejected. "Either way the system is sped." It never will recover this blow, be you well assured. If the Ministers could have ventured to pass the Bill simply upon the report of the Secret Committee; run it through the Houses in twenty-four hours, and put it in execution the next minute, as was the case with the Reformers, in 1817, putting into it a clause of banishment as well as of degradation and divorce; then, indeed, their object might have been accomplished. But, when once they hesitated; when once they began to negotiate; and especially when they began to talk of trial, their defeat was certain. It was then; it was, from that very moment, clear as daylight to me, that they had sealed the doom of themselves and the system. I never for one moment doubted of the perfect innocence of her Majesty. I was well aware of all the means that would be made use of to make her appear guilty; but I was also well aware of the enlightened state of the public mind, of the integrity of the people, and of the still powerful force of public opinion. I was not aware of the pre-disposition of a certain description of our fellow citizens and fellow sufferers whom I do

not chuse more instantly to describe; but I was quite sure, particularly when I saw what was passing in other parts of the world, that this description of our fellow-citizens would not long remain uninterested spectators of the scene.

My anticipations have been fully verified. The state of things is such now, that, let the Bill pass or let it not pass, the system never can recover the blow that it has received; and for your consolation, I offer you this concluding remark, that your employers have dealt this deadly blow *with their own hands*.

WM. COBBETT.

### "PEEP AT THE PEERS."

A new and corrected Edition of this work is now printed, and for sale at No. 269, Strand, price 4d. We have received and adopted many corrections. The communication relating to *Old Bags* and the *Ridley's* has made us laugh. New discoveries are making every day. It is very true, that "one half of the world does not know how the other half lives."—We are daily receiving pressing requests to publish an account of the *leasing*, and other modes of disposing of the estates called the *Crown Lands*, which are now public property. One correspondent remarks, that this



property is really worth several millions a-year. As to the amount, we can form no correct opinion ourselves; but, it is very certain, that the late King received, on coming to the throne, a settlement of nearly a million a-year, in exchange for the income derived from this property. What we should like to come at is a list of the persons who rent the several parts of this property; the precise situation of the several parcels of property; the amount of the rent paid to the public by the renters; and the amount of the real annual worth of the property. Any of the faithful Commons might get us this list, if they chose; but none of them have yet chosen to do it. It is likely that we shall never get it as long as the present system shall last; and, unless we do get it, no satisfactory PEEP can be taken at the subject. The faithful Commons carry on stout debates about Mr. WARDEN's judgeship, and Mr. CROAKER's 300*l.* of salary; but the faithful Commons do not think it worth while to meddle with this subject of Crown Lands, any more than Mr. BENNETT thought it worth while to meddle with an affair submitted to him, with regard to which Mr.

Theodore Hook could have given him some useful information. Other Correspondents wish to know how that immense sum which is granted for secret services is expended, saying that eighty thousand pounds were granted for England, and ten thousand for Ireland, last year. But here, also, we look with longing eyes to the faithful Commons, the "*guardians of the public purse*," under a system which is the "*envy of surrounding nations, and the admiration of the world*." Other Correspondents pour in on us with inquiries how it happens that the army can cost almost *ten millions a-year*, when it requires so small a portion of that sum to pay 22,000 non-commissioned officers and soldiers. But, to such questions, as these, we must defer giving an answer till a time of much more leisure than we have at present the happiness to enjoy. In our turn, we think we have some right to call upon our brother Authors for a little exertion on their part. We would suggest to some industrious gentlemen to take a PEEP AT THE DUNGEON. This might contain an alphabetical list of all the persons prosecuted for political offences since the year

1792, which was the time of the commencement of the present glorious system. Against such persons none should be, very briefly stated, his alleged offender. Then the name or names of the prosecuting *Mayer* or *Mayers*, the names of the trying Judge and sentencing Judge, the names and residences of the Jurors, and, lastly, the sum of the sentence, and the place of imprisonment. We know of no work, except, perhaps, our own "PEEP" (for every man thinks his own offspring the best), better calculated to do public good than this; and we are well assured, Mr. CORBETT, that you would read that helping hand, which you have so generously lent to us, in setting to a PEEP INTO THE DUNGEON a wider circulation. Such a work must necessarily be beneficial. It would, as the Scripture says of the magistrate, be a "terror to evil doers, and a reward to those who do well."—We are,

Sirs, with great gratitude,

Your obedient Servants,

THE AUTHORS.

## THE CORONATION.

This thing has proved rather a town joke than a New York where: Castlereagh's General made the British Packet as a Royal Salute; in Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and other colonies, there were, on the appointed day, ringing of bells, firing of cannon, bathing, buffets, fireworks, balloons, and, of course, (frank being cheap) a salubrious proportion of darkness; for, on such an occasion, the Dutchman's party could not possibly have been omitted, but from a want of foggy. How these celebrators will have hung their stupid heads, when they found (as they must in a few days after their celebrations), that there had been no coronation! And how their neighbours, the Americans, must have laughed at them! Indeed, Castlereagh, Liverpool, and associates, seem to have been born to bring shame upon all that bears the English name.

## THE WHITBREADS.

The Courier of Wednesday tells us, that two gentlemen, relations of the Misses WHITBREAD, came to his office to desire him to "contradict the un-



"warrantable statement in the Times, that the sisters of Mr. Whitbread, went with their brother to Brandenburg House." The *Quarter* often calls for names, when names would fill a volume; but, will he give us these two names?—Only two. I should like to know these relations of the Whitbreads!—However, in this one circumstance Her Majesty may see, that she has no friends except the mass of the people.—And, what need she of more? Having unshaken friendship there, she need not care about the tag-rag pretenders to high-blood. We shall see the day, when the Whitbreads will think themselves lucky, if they can get their names down in print amongst the visitors of the Queen.

# QUEEN'S ENEMIES.

I have before stated, and I restate, that of the two most calumnious writers against the Queen, one, without provocation, turned his wife out of doors and kept her till she died, in a state of great misery, while he lived in great luxury and adultery with another woman; and that the other, without cause, also turned his wife out of doors, does not now live with her, but lives with a much too near young female relation of his own! These men may say, that their inclinations were not under their control; but, must they not be profligate and cruel villains? Of such, and such only, and of the base herd who, or whose relations, live on the taxes, are the Queen's enemies composed.

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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## TO THE WEAVER BOYS OF LAN- CASHIRE.

THINGS TO LAUGH AT,

AND

THINGS TO REMEMBER.

London, Sept. 21, 1830.

### WEAVER BOYS,

This was the appellation which, in scorn, was given to the brave and enlightened Reformers of Manchester and its vicinity, in the fall of the year 1816, that memorable epoch when *silly rioting ceased*, and when the resentment of the people was directed manfully and steadily against the real authors of oppressions and miseries. We have not yet fully accomplished our patriotic and loyal purpose; but we have made *great progress* towards it. Infinitely increased is the number of those, who see in *Reform*, and in that alone, a remedy for the evils that afflict

the country and endanger its tranquillity. Our enemies; I mean our great, unprincipled, greedy, cruel, and cowardly enemies; the monsters, who have so long been seeking our very blood, are now smitten with fear. They look around them in vain for a prop whereon to place *firm reliance*. Their *main prop* is, they find, no longer to be relied on. They are frightened: they, at last, see their danger danger, from which they have no means of escape; or, at least, if they have any means of escape, this is the basest of all nations, and it deserves to be scourged, not with rods, but with scorpions.

While they are fretting and stewing, *let us laugh*; and God knows we have now things enough to laugh at. I shall take these things without much regard to the order in which I place them; but we shall find, that, even in this laughing work, we shall have a great deal to merit our attention.

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## THE PRESS.

First of all there is *the press*. Our enemies thought that they had stifled it, when they passed their *Six Acts* in November last. They thought that they had then got something as good as a Bourbon Censorship, especially as they therein sanctioned Sidmouth's Circular and Parson Hay's law of holding to bail. Nevertheless, they have in fact done nothing. The *Queen*, to destroy whom is their great object at present, praises the press; extols the liberty of the press; says that it is to the press that she in a great measure owes her safety. In this case we have a proof of her Majesty's good sense, discernment, sound judgment, and gratitude; for, never did human being owe more to the press than her Majesty owes. It has been a volunteer in her service too. Not such a volunteer as we shall by and bye find the yeomanry cavalry gentlemen to be; but a real volunteer, who has laboured with great effect and zeal, and without the possibility of receiving pay or reward of any sort. But the thing to laugh at in this instance is, that corruption com-

plains, that the Queen has *all the most able writers on her side!* Poor Corruption! Poor Boroughmongers! They cannot, then, get an able pen for love or money!

*Judge Parke* on the Northern Circuit made a long sermon to a Grand Jury about the mischiefs produced by the Press; and in the course of the sermon he said, that it was very wicked as well as very foolish, to set any value upon writing, whether in newspapers, pamphlets, or books, *merely because the thing was well written*. This was very true; for, a man may put very good writing into a work, the object of which is to justify or excuse a Despot, who is at the same time a debauchee, a drunkard, a spendthrift, a companion of cheats, liars, cowards, black-legs, contented cuckolds, and who is, himself, a cruel husband and a bad son; in short, a wretch whose consciousness of having not one single claim to respect, and every possible claim to universal detestation, would make him shun the sight of man as bats and owls shun the light of day. In justification or excuse of such a besotted and cowardly Despot, a base wretch hired for the purpose, might put forth

some very good writing. In justification or excuse of seat-selling tools of Corruption; of venal and prostituted Judges; of base and perjured Jurors; of place-hunting and blood-thirsty Magistrates; of murderers in the name of the law; of blood-money spies, hatchers of plots, and of all the other miscreants that do infest, or have at any time infested this world; in justification or excuse of any of these, very well written things may be sent forth.

Therefore I agree with Mr. Judge Parke that we are not to think well of a thing merely because it is well written. But in this case Mr. Judge Parke was speaking of the publications put forth in favour of Parliamentary Reform. That is to say, in favour of *Radical Reform*. And, the Judge, therefore, acknowledges that there is danger from the *good writing* in favour of such reform! This is something new, and it is something for us to laugh at. For a long while the contrary of this was asserted. Our writings were said to be very foolish; mere *trash*; only two-penny trash; only stuff to delude the ignorant. But now Mr. Judge Parke thinks it necessary to

warn even his *Grand Jury* against listening to the *good writings of the Radicals!* This is a thing to be borne in mind. It is not the trash that they are any longer afraid of: it is the *good writing* that they are afraid of, and they have now found out that it is very wicked or very foolish to approve of good writing.

It is very true that we long ago, or rather they long ago proved by the shackles imposed upon the Press, that we possessed talents superior to those possessed by a thousand legislators, two thousand Magistrates, and twenty thousand Bishops, Deans and Parsons, all having leisure and money to assist them. This fact was proved long enough ago; but now it is acknowledged; or else why give the country a caution against the power of the good writing of the Radicals?

*Judge Bailey*, lately at York, gave a long sermon to his Grand Jury upon the subject of seditious and blasphemous publications. This he did upon the hypothesis that some of the men brought before him, *might* have been misled by such publications. He had no proof before him that they had been misled

by such means; but upon the supposition, that they might have been so misled; he took occasion to speak with strong reprobation of such publications, and to inculcate morality and the fear of God. Now, though I see no immediate cause for these observations, especially as there are about twenty or thirty thousand Parsons, regular and sectarian, constantly on duty, or at least in constant pay; yet I am far from disapproving of the Judge's sermon, and only object to it's brevity. In speaking of our morals, he might have inveighed with just bitterness against those who pour out upon the public and worm into every cottage in the kingdom the grossest and most loathsome obscenity; and thereby make the common talk of the people such as has hitherto been confined to the circles of the debauched, the degenerate and beastly crews that distinguish the west end of the Metropolis. He might have extended his reprobation to the double distilled adulterers that are so notorious; to the men who have two women living at one time, both of whom have been their wives, to the infamous women who flaunt about and unconcernedly

meet their two husbands at a ball; and he might, as he was in the moral humour, have dwelt upon the duties of a husband; he might have reprobated the wretch who takes a wife merely for the purpose of getting a deliverance from his debts; then surrounds her with bawds and prostitutes in the hope of obtaining, by causing her to be seduced, the grounds for a release from his marriage contract; and next, finding these efforts unavailing, treats her with unbearable brutality, drives her from his house and then lays a plot for her destruction. Instances of this sort have not been wanting in this wicked world; and, as domestic fidelity is the basis of all morality in families; and as all societies must consist of families, this was a branch of his subject which the pious Bailey ought not to have left untouched. He, however, seems to have thought that God was most likely to be offended with things about which God has not thought proper to give us any commands at all, it being no where said in Holy Writ, that there shall not be a Reform in our Parliament, and he having no where said that men shall not seek to obtain

such Reform. The Judge's sermon was good as far as it went; but it unfortunately stopped just at the point where it might have gone into very useful matter.

#### THE PARSONS.

It will be unbecoming in us to laugh outright at these reverend persons; but it is nevertheless proper that we notice a little of their conduct upon the present occasion. Amongst the hundreds of thousands of persons that have come forward to address her Majesty the Queen, there have been, in England, but two Parsons out of, at least, *five and twenty thousand*, including the Dissenters. These are, Dr. Parr, who is a Rector of a Parish in Warwickshire, and Mr. Hutchins, who is the Curate of Kimpton and Grately, in Hampshire. I said in a former Register that it was Mr. Fowle of Kimpton, because I found in the books, that Mr. Fowle was the Rector of the Parish of Kimpton. I was surprised at the time, that a Rector should have done such a thing, and I am really pleased at the discovery that the gentleman was a Curate. It is curious, however, to observe, how *shy* the Parsons have been upon this

occasion. They are a very prudent, a very cautious, a very far-seeing race. The lawyers, though excessively cunning, fall short in this respect of the Parsons. I have often thought of what would be the result, if twenty or any given number of each were set to work to strive for the attainment of the same object. Upon a reflection, however, after having duly considered all the various faculties and efforts which each should bring into play, I have always in the end awarded the superiority to the Parsons; and an old friend, who is now in America, and who I hope is in good health to read this, will recollect, that it was about twelve years ago decided by him and me, that if twenty Parsons and twenty Lawyers were shut up without fire or victuals to the end of their days, to strip and to eat each other, the Lawyers would be naked first and the Parsons alive last. With regard to her Majesty the two races have acted, with some very few exceptions amongst the Lawyers, precisely the same part. The Lawyers, however, are less noted. The Queen's case did not naturally and necessarily call upon them; but to the Par-

sons it made a direct appeal.—How they ever can again exhort the people to domestic fidelity; how they can exhort husbands to be kind to their wives; how they can ever again condemn perfidy, false swearing and subornation, it is impossible for me to conceive. *Mr. Hume*, in his speech on Monday last in the House of Commons, made some observations on the Church establishment, very well worthy of attention. That is not the last that the Reverend Gentlemen will hear on that subject; for amongst the good things that her Majesty has done is that of enabling us to judge more correctly than we were able to do before of the real tendency and effect of that establishment.—Two Parsons, a man at Manchester, whose name I have forgotten, and Parson Cunningham of Harrow, have openly taken the field against the Queen. To the former I gave his payment four weeks ago; and the latter has received a pretty decent drubbing from the *Traveller* and the *Times*. I propose to say a word to him by and bye, and will make him perceive, that, like the great mass of his brethren, it will be

his prudent course to confine his future efforts to his Pulpit.

It is curious to observe how exactly, in every branch of the system, the observation holds good, that the Queen's enemies and the enemies of the Radicals are the same. There is this little difference in the case of the Parsons, that they dared openly assail us; whereas, they are extremely shy in the case of the Queen, and carry on towards her a sort of negative hostility. They set their wives and daughters and sons to work, they give the farmers and their wives chilling and forbidden looks, they proceed with abundant industry but with great reserve and circumspection at the same time. But, after all, the light is too strong, and the people's eyes too penetrating to suffer any part of their conduct to escape observation. They see as clearly as the Borough-mongers see the tremendous danger to them which the triumph of the Queen would produce. They, like the Borough-mongers, wish her out of the country as rats wish a cat out of the house. And yet, the case is so flagrant; all efforts to effect the object are so odious;

there is so much danger attending their making such efforts, that they, though they clearly see that the triumph of the Queen must finally lead to what they dread as much, at least, as they dread the Devil, they dare not, in order to prevent that triumph, stir hand or foot. There they are, then, spell bound and trembling: there let them be, and let us laugh at them.

#### CANNING.

If we are not allowed to laugh at this fellow; then, there must be a law against laughing. Whither he is gone, what is become of him, nobody pretends to be able to tell. He is a Privy Councillor; he is a Cabinet Minister; he is President of the Board of Controul; and he is gone out of the country. He is gone after his wife, some say. How different from some men! He is gone to sea to get at his wife: some go to sea to get from their wives. In short, Canning has slipped out of the way. The Duke of Wellington is gone abroad, too. What is the great "*Captain of the Age*" gone for? Is he gone after his wife, too? Is it a love of kisses or a hatred of kisses that has sent him away?

Never was such a wonder-working woman as her Majesty. She has done more in a hundred days than all of us were able to do in the course of thirty years. She has delivered us of Canning, that bothering, that hectoring, that swaggering blade, that surpassed both Bardolph and Pistol: that bully of the bowing ken of Liverpool; that bold dealer of men without arms in their hands and with muzzles on their mouths; that hectorer who exclaimed, "If I disfranchise Grampond, it is because I will preserve Old Sarum!" That impudent, that insolent son of Mrs. Hann; that brazen jester; that iron-hearted insulter of the bowels of Ogden: he is gone, and my sincere opinion is, that he never will return. It is a cunning fellow. It has not been well the consequences of remaining a little too long: it assisted to pass a law for banishing Radical writers; and in less than a twelvemonth, it has thought proper to banish itself. This Canning was one of those who menaced our great, gracious and glorious Queen with prosecution if she should dare to set her foot on English ground. He was one of those who for-



bade her to come, during any part of her life, to England. What a change! The Queen is in England and Canning is gone away from it! He is now in exile. He has now to hear of the processions to Brandenburgh House, and of all the other numerous circumstances and events, so well calculated to sting him to the soul. I wish I knew where the fellow was. I would send him a copy of the "*Peep at the Peers*," to amuse him in his hours of solitude. I would send him several other things, and particularly her Majesty's gracious answers to the Mechanics of London and the Sailors of the Thames. Oh! what a stab these must give to the heart of this enemy of truth and of human freedom! He, it was, as he confesses, who was the principal adviser of her Majesty to quit the kingdom. Did he give her a caution when the Ministry sent out the Milan Commission? Did he act as her friend then? Did he let her know of the reports that were circulated against her? No: but he was one of the Ministers, who sent out a secret commission to hunt over Italy for evidence whereon to degrade and destroy her. This caps the cli-

max of his character. Here we have Canning in his true colours. He was our most bitter and most active enemy; and how good and how sacred must then be our cause! He advised her to go abroad, he says, because he saw that "faction had marked her for its own." Has he mended the matter? By *faction* he meant the people; the oppressed people; and they certainly had marked her for their own; for her Majesty was their fellow sufferer. His projects are, however, all now defeated. The people have now marked her as their own. He and his faction are defeated; and he never will again dare to shew his face before her Majesty. This man, a blustering bully in politics; a defier of men in dungeons and men without arms; a swaggerer with a hundred thousand men at his back, slinks away upon the approach of danger. Did he approve of the prosecution of the Queen; why then did he not stay to carry through the prosecution? Did he disapprove of the prosecution; why then did he not stay to oppose the prosecution? There is no possible excuse for this man. He is plunged into difficulties out of which he can

never extricate himself. He has lost the dignity which our hatred threw around him; and is become an object of nothing but contempt. By keeping out of England he may still live and eat and drink and sleep; and there let him live. If he has any feeling left it must be that which has been described as having been the portion of Lucifer. Let him have that feeling and let us laugh him to scorn.

#### YEOMANRY CAVALRY.

You will say that this is no laughing matter; and, in one sense it is not, but, there are some circumstances belonging to this description of persons that ought to be made known? They are called *volunteers*; and the word volunteer means a man who serves without pay; or else, all the regular soldiers are volunteers, for they enter the service without being forced. We are everlastingly told, too, of the disinterested services of these gallant gentlemen, a specimen of which services you had at Manchester on the 16th of August, 1819, a day never to be forgotten any more than Sidmouth's letter of thanks to the Yeomanry employed upon that occasion. What are the real

objects of embodying and keeping up this species of troops, I need not tell you; you know very well what they are raised and kept up for. You know very well who they are and what they are; but it is possible that you may not know that your labour helps to PAY these gay and gallant and disinterested gentlemen. It is my duty, therefore, to inform you, that these volunteer corps, or yeomanry cavalry, stand with a sum against them, in the army estimates of the present year, of 169,500 pounds 13 shillings and 10 pence! A pretty round sum! Now mark, 17,279 old soldiers, *pensioners*, do not receive so much as this by about ten thousand pounds. So you see, these volunteer gentlemen actually cost us more money than this great number of old soldiers, all of good character, mind, who have faithfully served in that army, which has fought so many bloody battles. Take another view of the matter. The whole body of our artillery, which is by far the best corps of the kind that any nation has ever seen; this whole body, men, officers and all, this corps of such fine men, so full of skill, of genius, of ability of all sorts, this

corps that has the care of so many garrisons, and that has had so much to do in the defending the country and its colonies, and in the deciding of almost every battle by land; this corps, containing such an immense mass of merit; this whole corps, men, officers, and every thing, receives but little above *one third* more than these volunteer Yeomanry Cavalry! The whole of the foot guards, *nine effective battalions* of the best soldiers that ever were brought into a field, and almost every man of whom has been either wounded, or wears a medal, on account of some memorable service. The whole of these battalions, all the officers, all the men, all the cloathing, every thing belonging to this matchless little army: stout men; picked men; choice soldiers; all these battalions of Guards, cost us only *fifty-four thousand* pounds a-year more than the Yeomanry Cavalry troops, of whom you saw a specimen on the 16th of August, 1819. All the Horse Soldiers in the army, that is to say, two regiments of Life Guards; one regiment of Horse Guards; seven regiments of Dragoon Guards; two regiments of Dra-

goons; twelve regiments of Light Dragoons; making in the whole, twenty-four regiments of Horse Soldiers, including horses, arms, furniture, cloathing, pay of officers, pay of men; every thing taken together, do not cost three times as much as these bands of volunteer Yeomanry Cavalry! These are facts for you; and let the flippant *petit maitre*, Lord Palmerston, contradict me if he can. The cost of these gentry, therefore, is no laughing matter; but, the *cheapness* of them; their disinterestedness is a thing which we may amuse ourselves with. Recollect, too, that these Yeomanry gentlemen are excused from the horse duty. That you will perceive is worth to them each about as much money every year as would pay a foot guardsman for about *forty days*, and I imagine that forty days is a little more than any of these people spend in military service. You will now know something more about these corps than you knew before. We are not told, nor need we care, in what manner this money is given to the Yeomanry. We know that it comes out of our labour. We know that if it were not laid out upon them, those that pay

the taxes would not have so much of tax to pay; and that is all that we need know about the matter. Whether they receive it in victuals, drink, laced-jackets, or in hard money, I care not a straw. I know that they have it, and that is enough for me. For my part I confess, that I was fool enough to believe that they could not receive any money from us; and yet it seemed strange that they should sally forth without receiving something in some shape or other. In this state of doubt I resolved to look into the matter, and the result was that which I have stated to you: so that now when you see any of these gallant troops, pray consider them as being in *your pay*; and when you hear them pretending to be public spirited and loyal gentlemen coming forth purely for the public good, take the liberty to laugh as much as you please.

#### LOCAL ADJUTANTS.

You may remember that, some years ago, you were called forth by compulsion, to serve in corps called Local Militia. Those corps have been long since disbanded. We have almost forgotten them. They have no existence in any shape.

There is no law for calling them out and renewing them. What, therefore, will be your surprise to hear, that we have 20,495 pounds a-year to pay to *Adjutants of Local Militia*? There are, it seems, no less than two hundred and eighty of these men, amounting to an average of seven to a county, who are paid out of the public taxes, at the rate of four shillings a-day each, or seventy-three pounds sterling a-year; so that they swallow up very nearly as much money as it takes to pay the pensions of *three thousand of our old soldiers*! Many of these Adjutants have never seen a day's service in their lives; and yet, in consequence of the few days that they were out exercising, or pretending to exercise, or imitating exercise, never going out of their own county; for this little trifling nothing of a service, two hundred and eighty of them are receiving as much money out of the fruits of the people's labour, as the whole of the pensions of nearly three thousand of our old soldiers, the greater part of whom have, perhaps, been wounded in battle! Think of this! This fact is of more importance than a thousand decla-

matory harangues. Facts like this stick by us; and it has been a great part of my duty to communicate such facts to you. As to communicating them to those who had the power of bringing them forward, and proposing correction of abuses, that I long tried in vain. Only think of these Adjutants receiving seventy-three pounds a-year each, with liberty to go where they please, and do what they please, while a subaltern officer in the army, who has probably escaped from death in twenty battles, is thrown upon half-pay with a less sum, and restrained, at the same time, from following any trade whereby to assist him in making out a living! Only think of this seventy-three pounds a-year to each of these men, while thousands upon thousands of Midshipmen in the Navy, who, for years have been engaged in battles and all sorts of dangers, and have led lives harder than that of a dog, are turned adrift, without a penny of compensation, to beg, or to starve, their age being such as to render them extremely inapt to take to any pursuit disconnected with the sea! Is it faction, as the reptiles call it; is it faction

that dictates observations like these; or is it a love of justice and of humanity? These Local Militia Adjutants; these favoured persons are, you see, distributed about in the counties. It would be curious to ascertain what they were before they became Adjutants; who got them their appointments; *who they are related to*: in short, it is the duty of every man, in every part of the country, to make such inquiries; to keep these facts that I have stated in his mind; and to spread as widely as he can, the knowledge of them amongst his neighbours. In fact, it is the duty of every body who sees a person with regard to whose manner of getting his living, no notoriety exists in the neighbourhood, to make enquiries how he gets his living. This is acting up to the spirit of the law. The law requires that justices of the peace should bring men before them and women too, who have no visible means of getting their living, and make them give an account of themselves. The law does not say that a poor man shall be subject to this law, and that a rich man shall not. It extends to gaily dressed fellows, as well as to fellows

clothed in rags: nor does the circumstance of keeping a carriage and servants at all prohibit the magistrate from making such inquiries. When, in 1789, or 90, BURKE first used his prostituted pen, in defence of the old despotism of France, and, in order to urge England into a war with that country, DAVID WILLIAMS, in a pamphlet published soon afterwards, said, that if he were a justice of peace for the county of Berks, he would actually have him taken up, and make him give an account of the manner in which he got his living. Mr. Williams was perfectly right; for the old hack had no *visible* means of living; and, in a few years after, he was fastened upon the public for a pension of three thousand pounds a-year for his life, with remainder to his wife for fifteen hundred a-year, if she should outlive him; and, at the same time he got a grant of £2,500 a-year to be paid to his executors for five lives; and the fact is, that this burthened nation has already paid more than seventy thousand pounds to this man, his wife, and executors, and we are still paying two thousand five hundred a-year to those executors. If Mr. Wil-

liams had been a justice of peace of the county of Berks, and had had the old apostate taken up, he would have found him destitute of the means of honestly obtaining a livelihood; and would have committed him as a vagrant, of course. All those who reside in the different parts of the county, whatever figure they may cut, ought to be suspected of living by improper means, unless their proper means are subject of notoriety. The late Garnier, of Wickham, used to be looked upon as a great country squire, until he told the people who he was, and what he was, and how he got his money. This is the way to humble them. The "*Peep at the Peers*" has done much; but much more remains to be done. We must get together the names of all those who live upon the taxes, if possible; make a complete alphabetical list of them; then find out their places of residence; so that every man, in his own neighbourhood, may know what part of his showy neighbours are fed by his labour. In the present instance, I have been able to get at only the cost of the Local Militia Adjutants. Another time, I will; if I can,

get at their names, so that we may have them posted up and brought home to the knowledge of those who pay them. It surely is not too much for us to know who those are that live upon our labour.

#### WIDOWS' PENSIONS.

We pay 114,882 pounds in pensions to the widows of officers of the army. As it requires that the officers should be killed in battle, or in actual service abroad, this is a sum towards which I should cheerfully contribute. But, while we pay pensions to the widows of commissioned officers, is it just that the widows of the *men* should receive no pensions at all? Upon what ground, I should be glad to know, is this distinction made? The soldier loses a life as well as the officer. His widow is bereft of her husband as well as the officer's widow. Her children are left destitute as well as the officer's children. And these officers' widows receive as much, in pensions, as about *thirteen thousand* old soldiers receive in pensions. This is a very curious fact; and well worthy of being borne in mind. There appears to be no reason why the poor man's wife and

children should not be taken care of, as well as the rich man's. It may be said that the soldier's widow and children may go to the workhouse; but the workhouse is a different thing from a pension; or, if it be not, why should not the officer's widow and children go to the workhouse? But, as we shall all along find, the good things are kept for those who have already enough.

#### GENTLEMEN SOLDIERS.

If we *had* a member of Parliament; if we had one, who would not gabble for us, but who would work for us, the facts I am now about to state to you would have been circulated long enough ago. Formerly, the English Army, Navy, and Artillery were, in considerable part, supplied with commissioned officers from the ranks and from amongst the able seamen. This practice was politic, as well as just. It operated as a great encouragement to good behaviour, trust-worthiness, fidelity, and courage. But, of late years, and particularly since the Duke of York has been Commander-in-Chief, and since the elder Melville was put into the Admiralty, a new, and widely different, system has prevailed.

Academies and Colleges have been established for the purpose of breeding up, and educating, a pack of boys for the express purpose of making them commissioned officers in the Army and Navy and Artillery. An immense pile of buildings, one of the most grand and splendid in the kingdom, has been erected at a place called Sandhurst, between Bagshot and Basingstoke, in the county of Surrey or of Berks, and at about 38 miles from London. The spot was a barren heath; it has been inclosed, elegantly laid out with plantations, splendid coach roads and other decorations, extensive kitchen gardens, porters' lodges and all the other concomitants of grandeur. In addition, there is a long row of elegant mansion houses at a distance from this magnificent building. Each house has its separate commodious garden. The houses stand at forty or fifty paces from each other. There is a terrace, in front, and other decorations common to them all; and the whole area is inclosed by a fence, the very look of which convinces you that the architect cared nothing about the expence. The cost, altogether, of this place, has probably been a million of money. It was erected under every possible disadvantage, as to expence. A pond of water has been made by excavation; and a redoubt erected, that the "*young gentlemen*" may play at soldiers. In this place, there are, it seems, kept between two and three hundred "*gentlemen Cadets*." They have a Governor, a Lieutenant-Governor, a Major, four Captains of Companies, with Quarter-Master, Pay-Master, Adjutant, Chaplain, Sergeants, a band of music, Drummers, Fifers, and a whole crowd of professors and masters, with twenty-three men servants, four women servants, a cook and three kitchen maids, two house-keepers, and a parcel of *nurses*, whether wet or dry; is not stated. This is a goodly family for the nation to keep! The Secretary at War gives us an account even of their washing, down to their very sheets, and of the repairing of their shoes. It is, in some respects, as much like the account of our master of the work-house, at Bishop's Waltham, as any thing that I ever saw. This, you will observe, is the seed-bed for rearing young officers to command those of the fathers, sons, uncles and brothers of us radicals who happen to become



soldiers; and observe, too, that, if the commissioned officers be taken from this seed bed, there can, of course, no officers be taken from *the ranks*. The above establishment is called the ROYAL MILITARY ACADEMY. There is another Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, for the purpose of supplying the Artillery with gentlemen officers. There is another for instructing the young officers of Engineers. And, at Portsmouth, there is a Royal Naval College for the supplying of the navy!

Now, Blackstone says, that, in England; that, in this country of *Freedom*, there can be no danger from a standing army; because, says he, and I beg you well to attend to this *because*: because "the officers, being *taken promiscuously out of the mass* of the community, *having been educated in the principles of freedom, and the men having had the same sort of education, never can be supposed likely to become the instruments of despotism; or to turn their arms against the freedom of their country!*"

What would Blackstone say if he were alive now. I have not Blackstone before me at this moment. I will not swear to

the words, but I will to the sentiments. And, if those sentiments be just, what is the natural and necessary conclusion? Why, it is this: that, if the officers of an army be not taken promiscuously out of the mass of the community; but be trained up from their infancy as a distinct cast wholly cut off from general society, habituated to implicit obedience to the Sovereign, and those under him, they are likely to become dangerous to public liberty. In truth, it is against nature to suppose that such men, when they grow up to be men, can have any feelings in common with the people: They are so completely cut off from every sort of communication with the people; they are under such rigid discipline, that it is impossible that they can have any notions in common with those that are about in the country. By the superintendence of Magistrates, Police-men; horse and foot, Spies and Informers, the Press has but a very poor chance; even in towns and villages. The inn-keepers and publicans, whose houses are places of great resort, are, indirectly, under control as to the publications to be read in their houses. No man, I will

venture to say, that values his licence, will dare to suffer this Register to lie exposed on a table in his house. What, then, do you think must be the freedom of the Press in the Royal Military Academies and Colleges! Not one publication is there ever seen except such as the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or Major chooses to licence. Long ago the regimental messes have been instructed, as well as the ward-rooms on board the ships of war, not to permit such and such publications to be introduced, and, if introduced, to banish them. What freedom of the Press, then, can you believe that the infants enjoy in the Royal Academies and Colleges.

Thus, then, you see the seed beds, or nurseries which have been invented to supply the army and navy with commissioned officers. These pretty pupils are, of course, not taken from amongst the sons of the "*lower orders*." The fact is, that they are the sons of the Aristocracy: and, of persons who have what is called *interest*. What that word *interest* means, you know very well.— This is a new feature in the English Military and Naval

force. There was before, a sort of connection and intermixture! A young gentleman became an officer in the Army or Navy, because he had a *taste* for it.— He had, generally, something of fortune besides. But now, he has to be nursed, washed, shod, clad and fed at the public expence, before he becomes an officer. Observe, he knows how to do nothing but be an officer. Take him from that and he is the most helpless and destitute of creatures. Can there be imagined a creature more dependent than this?

The common soldier can, of course, have no hope of ever rising to be an officer; and, as to the Navy, I believe that, according to positive regulation, no common seaman can now be promoted to the rank of a commissioned officer; though, under the old system, we had several very excellent Admirals that came from before the mast.— However, it may be said, that as soldiers and sailors now *know* *this*, they enter into the Army and the Navy with their eyes open; and have, therefore, no reason to complain. But, if they have no reason to complain, we have; for there is something else besides the poli-

tical considerations, which belongs to this subject of Academies and Colleges; and that is, the expence, which, for the current year, is as under:

|   |               |
|---|---------------|
| Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst       | £21,471       |
| Royal Military Academy at Woolwich        | 7,789         |
| Royal Naval College at Portsmouth         | 7,220         |
| Instruction for young Gentlemen Engineers | 2,020         |
|   | <hr/> £38,500 |

Thus, there is paid out of the taxes raised upon the people at large this sum of money for teaching, feeding, cloathing, lodging, and nursing, the sons of the nobility, parsons, and others of the "*higher orders*," in order duly to qualify these gentry to take command of those of the "*lower orders*" that may become soldiers and sailors. If this be fair play the devil is in it. I believe it to be the first instance of the kind in the world. We know very well that, by paying placemen, pensioners, sinecurists, grantees, and taxing people; we know very well that by paying them immense sums of money, we do enable them to cloath, feed, lodge, wash, mend, and teach their children; but this is the first instance that I ever heard of, of a direct charge being

made upon the labouring classes, who are stigmatized by the appellation of "*the lower orders*;" this is the first instance that I ever heard of, of the lower orders being taxed for the purpose of keeping at a school and paying for the schooling, and other necessities of the children of the "*higher orders*."

If we had a Member of Parliament! Oh, if we had but a Member of Parliament, how clear all these matters would soon be made. In stating the sums as above, you will observe that there is the interest of the money which all these buildings have cost. They have not cost so little as a million of money. The interest of that is *fifty thousand* pounds a year. These buildings decay. Twenty years purchase for a house is a good price. So that, the education of these pretty gentlemen cadets does not cost us less than about *ninety thousand a year*! Some of them go to the College mere babies. I have seen some little pale looking ricketty things, with their foraging caps on and G.R. in the front of them, who appeared to me not to be so high as to reach my lower rib, and who seemed as if they stood in need of their mama much

more than of a drill serjeant. Only think of rattling such poor little creatures up in the morning, by the sound of the drum! Only think of making them march about in ranks and files and columns, with their poor little hands down by the side of their thighs, their heads poked up and their little feet flung out before them; with a great big serjeant in the front bawling "eyes right!" and "eyes left!" "halt, wheel, halt, march!" and God knows what besides, while a contagious belly-ache runs through the ranks of the infantine army! Some of them die, of course; for I see that they have doctors; and Gil Blas says, that when his master was ill, the servants, who were very fond of their master, upon seeing three physicians come into the house, fell violently to weeping and gave him up for dead. Now, our Cæsars go to the academy, I believe, at the age of eight or ten years. They cannot very well be fit for commanders before they get into their teens. Suppose, however, that they reach eighteen, upon an average, before they get commanders of men. They cost us about 200*l.* a year a piece; so that, they ought to be

pretty valuable; since they must cost, upon an average, about *sixteen hundred pounds per head*; that is to say, if, with good doctoring and good nursing, they reach their eighteenth year. But, there must be some *casualties*, as they call it in the army. No desertions, of course; but some deaths; and, in every case of death, there's all our money gone! All our cloathing, all our food, all our washing, lodging and shoe-mending, nursing and all: all is a sheer loss. So that, we may fairly calculate, I think, that for every gentleman cadet that we bring to maturity, we pay, first and last, rather more than two thousand pounds! These little gentlemen have masters of all sorts. Masters of French, masters of German, masters of landscape drawing; and, what is truly curious, the naval cadets have dancing masters found them, at our expence, which the military cadets do not appear to have. So that, we shall have, please God they live and do well, plenty of dancing Post-Captains and Admirals. Is not this a pretty way of spending our money? And do we not really live under a government, that is the "envy of surrounding na-

" tions and the admiration of  
" the world ?"

You have been surprized, I dare say, as I myself was, to see that only four or five women belong to the Sandhurst establishment, while there are twenty-three men servants. But I believe that the establishment in the Academy itself is purely male. The women, I think, live in a detached department at a considerable distance, except the *maison*, perhaps, or in cases where the gentlemen cadets are very young. Under so moral a government, care is taken, of course, to suffer no females to approach that are not of very considerable age. Indeed, when we reflect that this establishment is under the controul of the Duke of York, we naturally anticipate the adoption of every precaution calculated to insure the banishment of every thing hostile to morals. The situation of the Academy is such as to preclude the possibility of the approach of any persons not expressly admitted. There is roll-call and parade, and go-to-bed-tom, and every thing, just as in a barrack. So that, the place is, at once, an Academy, a monastery and a fortress. The youths take the order, if I may

so express myself, at their entrance. They devote their vessels wholly and entirely to the service ; and the distance at which they are placed from all temptation produces, I believe, a strict conformity to their vows thus used to be observed by those rosy gilled monks that the French did so well to kick out of their convents.

Thus, my friends, I have given you some account of the new manner of providing the army and the navy with commissioned officers. It is a matter that you did not understand before ; and yet it is a thing very well worth taking the trouble to understand, as to the real object that our rulers have had in view in making these establishments at such an enormous expence, I shall offer no opinion ; for, though I know the object pretty well, I am quite certain that the object will not be effected. I am very sure that events will evacuate the academies before much time has passed over our heads. At the conclusion of the war, they were kept up upon an argument of this sort, and I beg you to notice the argument : It was said that, *having made the establishments*, they surely

ought to be kept up. This argument, which might have been satisfactory to contented persons, was quite sufficient to satisfy our faithful Representatives. Having made an unnecessary and mischievous establishment, this having been done, and with our faithful gentlemen an unanswerable argument for keeping up these establishments, and we are unable to make argument in favour of keeping up hot-beds for creating military and naval officers, though, at that very time, ten thousand sailors and midshipmen were actually on half-pay. Is this half-pay list to be kept a stock of ready-made officers; experienced officers; officers that want to be employed; and have a stock enough for that war for twenty years; by the bringing of these into full pay from the half-pay list, as from the list of midshipmen, we do an act of justice and of great benefit to the party brought in; and we save to ourselves the expence of the half-pay at the same time. No! the faithful Representatives did not understand this; and, therefore, they determined to tax us for the expence of keeping up hot-beds to raise a fresh stock

of plants for the army and the navy. After this, with this staring him full in the face, what a reprobate wretch; what a seditious and blasphemous wretch must he be, who will venture to deny that our Government is the envy of all surrounding nations, and the admiration of the world? (q. 177) Our vessels have slaves, goods on board. THE FIFTH (m. 180 A. 1) This was inserted in the most ticklish subject. To depart to a middle vessel interest and interest generally, and to a certain degree, to depart. Our property, which, as you well know, passed down in 1817, to a point as to which, if we attempted what they called seducing a soldier from his duty. And, it was next to impossible to have any thing to do with a soldier, without exposing one's self to this charge. For instance, suppose a captain to ask a soldier to go and drink a pot of beer with him, and suppose the soldier to be required, while drinking the pot of beer, to be in his guard-house or barracks. Here is the difficulty from duty; and good heaven! any man, who might be thought might be charged for inviting a soldier to take a pot of beer, though that soldier might be

his son or his brother! Talk of DRACO, indeed! How could DRACO, or any other lawgiver, surpass this?

The smooth, precise, really very pretty clerk, commonly called Lord Palmerston, who is his Majesty's Secretary at War, and who has the superintendence (very properly) of the shirts, shoes, cravats, and clouts of the Academy at Sandhurst; this nice gentleman told our faithful representatives in parliament, during the first chapter of the present Session, that Barracks were absolutely necessary for the purpose of "keeping the soldiers from having any communication with the people." Well done, apt pupil of Old George Rose! Thou doest honour to the school of Pitt and Dundas! Thou art right worthy of being an associate of Castlereagh, Sidmouth, Jenkinson, and the Son of Mrs. Hann!

Here you will see, my friends Weaver Boys, is an open avowal of another part of the general design. When we have complained of the expence of Barracks, we have been answered by one shuffle and another; and at one time it was pretended that Barracks were necessary to preserve the soldiers from being

hurt by the wicked Radicals. We were told that divots-royal Magistrates, in sundry places, had made pressing application for Barracks to be built in their neighbourhood. Who ever doubted the fact? for the reasons are plain: first, to seduce the people; next, to keep the soldiers away from the people; and, though I am not here, to waste a good sum of the public money to be expended upon or near the estates of the divots-royal Magistrates. But there was always a shuffle of some sort or other till now; and now this humble imitator of Castlereagh has told us in so many words; that the object of Barracks is to prevent the soldiers from having any communication with the people. And thus is not only the thing done which Blackstone reprobated as incompatible with the preservation of the constitution of England; but further, the thing is avowed to have been done upon the very ground which Blackstone states as the great objection to the same thing!

However, we always gain by driving the fellows up into a corner; by compelling them to speak out; by leaving them no subterfuge; by sticking them

up before the world in their true colours.

In the mean while, in spite of Barracks, and of Laws to put us to death if we seduce a soldier from his duty, to go and drink a pot of beer, in spite of these, the communication, the interchange of thought and of feeling, is maintained between the Soldiers and their Mothers, Grandfathers, Uncles, Nephews, Cousins and Brothers. The Soldiers and the people do talk together; they have not right to talk together; and they will talk together in spite of all the Laws and regulations in the world. In a subsequent page, you will find, if I have room for it, a correspondence carried on between Mr. Alderman Wood and that profound gentleman, the Duke of Rutland, and his Officers, being his underlings in the regiment of Leicestershire Militia, of which he is the Colonel. I beg you to read that correspondence. You will find that every possible effort has been made to cause it to be believed, that the Soldiers of the Leicestershire Militia did not send an Address to our best, truest and staunchest friend, her Majesty the Queen. You will find that all these efforts have

only tended to establish the genuineness of the Address, and to do honour to that spirited and really loyal regiment. You will find, that Mr. Alderman Wood, in his Letter to the Duke of Rutland, has some pretty significant and important observations; and you will find that the Duke, though he had not sense enough to keep himself out of the squabble, had sense enough to give the Alderman's observations the go-by. What is the real state of the Army; and by army I mean the real Army; the regular Army, the Artillery, the Marines, the regiments of Horse and the regiments of Foot? What is the state of this army, as to the sentiments, wishes, and intentions of our Sons and Brothers and relations composing it, with regard to ourselves and with regard to the Queen, I shall pretend to give no opinion; though I hear a great deal and read a great deal about the matter. But one topic most anxiously obtruded upon public attention by its advocates. It will in spite of banishing and banishing laws, venture to touch upon these adversaries have dared to venture, of late, that soldiers ought never to deliberate. That there



are merely to do what they are bidden; to abstain from doing what they are forbidden to do; never to think, leaving others appointed to think for them; and, in a word, to be mere machines, composed indeed of eyes, ears, brains, hearts, bones, flesh, muscles, blood, and guts; but as to all purposes to which they are to be applied, as to all their capacities, mental as well as corporeal, they are to be machines as completely as are your looms and spinning-jennies. Now then, look at these machines, and then look back at the "gentle giant child" who are to have the using of them; and then look at what Blackstone says about the sort of army that ought not to be suffered to exist in England; and when you have done this, you will want nothing farther to illustrate the doctrine of our adversaries, whether as to its nature or tendency.

But, come! we will not be shuffled off thus. These adversaries of ours have recently told us, that the Horse Soldiers on Blenheim Heath, gave the King three glorious cheers! They have also recently told us, that bodies of Soldiers have done the same with regard to

the great Captain of the Age, the Hero of the Helder; and to some others! Now, did these huzzas take place in consequence of a word of command being given for them to? If they did, what a shocking attempt to deceive us was the report of those huzzas! If they did not proceed from word of command, they proceeded from the will of the soldiers; and while there is an act proceeding from will, there must be deliberation; and thus have we the authority of our adversaries themselves testifying, that soldiers may lawfully deliberate. But, and now mark me! Do you not remember that a great many of the regular regiments and regiments of militia too, agreed to subscribe and did subscribe a day's pay each towards a fund for lending assistance to those people that were called German sufferers? You must remember this, for I remember it very well. Now, then, Corruption; now, then, you old strumpet; now, then, you She-Devil, you will hardly say that Soldiers did not deliberate here! You will hardly say that they gave up a part of their own hard-earned pittance, upon word of command; for if they did, they were robbed; and

robbers were highwaymen; and they ought now, if they be alive, to be hanged! Oh! No! You will say that they were not robbed; that they were not bulled out of their money to be given to the Germans; that nobody told them, with a significant look, that it would be better for them to give the money than not.

By no means; you and I both know that nothing of this sort took place; and that the gift of the money was the perfectly ordinary act of the soldiers.

Well, then, Corruption; well then, thou diabolical hag! There must have been deliberation here. One would imagine, too, that it would require a pretty long and minute detailed deliberation; a good deal of statement of fact and of reasoning; a good deal of considering and balancing; a wonderful deal of discussion and persuasion, before a soldier could be induced voluntarily to *fast for a day*, it being notorious that with him every day's pay is absolutely necessary to furnish even a very

frugal meal for that day. Well, then, old hypocritical hag, here was deliberation enough. Observe, too, that the result of the deliberation was to make the commander of the regiment, and even the government itself, the organ of executing the will of the men! Away, then, with the humbug, the cheating, cheating, villainous doctrine, that soldiers are not to deliberate. But, I tell thee, hag, I tell thee, thou abomination of the world, that the Military Act itself, authorises soldiers to deliberate. It is that Act on which alone the existence of the army rests. And that Act says that a soldier shall be punished, if he disobey any lawful command of his superior officer. Now, thou sanguinary old hag, what is this word *lawful* put in here for, if the soldier be never to deliberate? If a superior officer were to order a soldier to shoot the King, aye, or the Queen either; it is true that the officer would be guilty of

high treason, but, thou silly old hag, would not the soldier be guilty of high treason also? If an officer were to draw forth a body of men and order them to go and shoot a parcel of people in the Strand, the soldiers would all be hanged for murder, to be sure, and the officer would be hanged or transported as an accessory before the fact. According to your doctrine, an officer commanding a regiment might slaughter all the people in a town by means of his regiment; and all the murderers would escape punishment; and even the officer himself might escape, for he might leave the order behind him and get out of the kingdom himself before the slaughter began.

Any thing so monstrous as this never entered into the head of any one but thee, thou unfeeling, brutal, and besotted Corruption. Oh, not if you please, the soldier is, in his own person, answerable for all the acts which he commits in viola-

tion of the laws of the land; and, of course, thou infamous old hag, thou corrupter of the heart, thou cruel old harridan, it rests with the soldier himself to determine what commands are lawful and what commands are unlawful. If the soldier were commanded to kill the King; to kill any private citizen; to rob a house; to break into a house for an unlawful purpose; or, in short, to thief, or to do any other act that was unlawful; it would be for him to refuse to do the act. This nobody can deny; but how is he to refuse, until he has thought upon the subject; until he has considered and well weighed whether the act be right or wrong; lawful or unlawful; and how is this work of thinking and considering to be carried on without deliberation?

Equally applicable is all that I have here said to *bodies* of soldiers as well as to individual soldiers. Whether it be a single soldier or whether it be a thousand

soldiers that compass the death of the King, or the Queen, the effect is the same. If a regiment, having received the command of their Colonel to march for the purpose of attacking, killing, or imprisoning either the present King or the present Queen; and, if they were to advance, only one single step upon the word march being given, every mother's son of them, would be guilty of high treason. Yet, they must either at once obey the command; or refuse to obey the command. Before they can refuse they must deliberate; and then thou brutal and bloody old Hag, what becomes of your doctrine? The regiment has only this alternative; to deliberate, or to become traitors.

The truth is, my friends, that soldiers, more than any of us, are called upon carefully to deliberate; because they may receive commands, which are unlawful; whereas we are in no danger of this sort; we have

nobody to command us. If we violate the law we do it of our own heads; but a soldier, if he pay no attention to the law, which makes him a soldier, and indeed, also to the oath which binds him in more immediate duty towards the King; if he pay no attention to this law, he may be induced, by the commands of others, to commit even the crime of treason, for which crime and for every other that he commits, in violation of the laws of the land, he is responsible in his own proper person. Therefore, instead of soldiers possessing no right to deliberate, and carefully to deliberate, too, it is their bounden duty. Having placed this matter in a fair, and, I trust, a clear light, I shall say no more about the army at present, but merely this; that I always hear with very great pain of squabbles and quarrels and affrays between the soldiers and the people. There must have been a very anxious desire to have a quarrel, when

an affray could arise out of a drunken soldier's catching an apple off a stall at Leeds. This was literally *the apple of discord*. It would be a curious thing indeed, if a people so humanely situated on an all important subject could suffer their cause to suffer injury for the sake of an apple. For God Almighty's sake let us not quarrel without sons and brothers, merely because they are dressed in red coats. Let us never abuse them, beat them, despise them, nor sland them. There are some of the people in London, who yet revile that fine and gallant corps, the Life Guards, merely because those guards were once employed in an enterprise, as to which, after all, we found that the people had very little interest. I myself, who once was a soldier, I remember the many, many days that my long stomach was compelled to go with less than a quarter part of its complement. I know very well what soldiers are; I know that they are generous

in all their sentiments; that they are true to each other; that they are faithful to their duty; generally speaking, and that they have no hostile feelings towards the people at large. I can remember when I was just such a person as some of these: very Life Guardsmen, and I know, that I should not have liked to be called a "Piccadilly Butcher," or to have had brick-bats thrown at my head. I, therefore, exhort all those who wish to see our distracted country restored to happiness and freedom, not to abuse, not to revile, not to taunt, and not to shun a soldier or a sailor of any description. I have addressed my little grammar (or which by the bye is now a corrected edition written some years from the press) to *Soldiers*, as well as to apprentices and plough boys. And this from a sense of duty as well as from a feeling of friendship; and I most earnestly beg of you to adopt my example in this feel-

ing of friendship towards those of our countrymen, who, from causes merely accidental, are smugged with coats of a colour different from that of our own. Pray remember what I have said here. Do not seek for occasions of quarrelling with and picking holes in the coats of the Soldiers. They have had no bad motive in becoming Soldiers; it is not likely that many of them have much more thoughtful heads upon their shoulders than I have; and yet, I am sure, that I became a Soldier with hardly knowing the why or the wherefore. Soldiers are noisy, and sometimes quarrelsome when they are drunk. They quarrel with each other, whether right or wrong; and do not other people do just the same things? But Captain, like us, would not longer play the game of the atrocious boxing post, deriving delight in this process so much as to have to give account of quarrels and of

fightings between the soldiers and the people. This alone ought to convince you of the necessity of living upon the most kind and friendly terms with your brethren of the army and the navy. Never shun them; but, on the contrary, seek and carefully cultivate an intercourse with them. Find occasions for communing with them on all matters of public interest. Furnish them, or point out to them such newspapers and other publications as you deem calculated firmly to implant in their minds a sense, and a clear sense, of their duty towards their Country and their King. In short, consider them and treat them as brethren; and that your mutual friendship may be ardent, steady, durable, and conducive to the best of all earthly ends, is the fervent prayer of yours and their friends,  
WM. CORBETT.

N.B. Parson Cunnigham, of Harrow, his brethren, their conduct, and some remarks on their dear temporalities, shall be touched upon next week.

That worthy little, public spirited man, SAM. WADDINGTON, has been tried at the Mid-dlesex Sessions, for promulgating a hand-bill, relating to the Queen, and calling upon the people to love and cherish our brave soldiers. He defended himself against two lawyers; and an honest jury acquitted him.

The first volume of Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates is completed; and will be ready for sale, bound in boards, by Saturday next.

A second and corrected edition of the "Peep at the Peers" is now on sale, price fourpence. There having been more time to do the work, this edition is better printed than the first, for the slovenly execution of which

the Authors beg leave to hope for the forgiveness of an indulgent public.

The *Peep into the Dungeon*, will probably not be undertaken by any body, except I should find courage to undertake it myself. It is the getting of the materials that constitutes the greatest difficulty. A plan for doing this will probably be pointed out in the next Register.

The *Links of the Lower House*, is to be a companion piece to the "Peep at the Peers;" but those only who actually have hunted out a needle in a bundle of hay, can form an idea of the labour that must be performed before this work shall be completed. However, it must be done; for, ~~as yet~~, or, rather, ~~has~~ Majesty the Queen, has been graciously pleased to ordain, that this nation shall no longer be deceived.

# THE ADDRESS OF THE LEICESTERSHIRE MILITIA.

(From the Traveller.)

The following correspondence has passed upon the above subject. We think it our duty to lay it before the public, that the manly character of Alderman Wood may be appreciated as it deserves. The other letters are beneath comment:—

*Leicester, Aug. 27.*

SIR,—As Lieutenant-Colonel of the Leicester Regiment of Militia, I request the favour of you to send me the names of the two individuals whose signatures were to the Address purporting to be the Address of the Privates of the regiment to the Queen, and also to mention from whom you received it; and by whom it was presented. I ask these questions, as it appears that the privates of the regiment never even heard of the Address during the time they were embodied, and I observe it bears date three days previous to their dismissal.

I have the honour to be, &c.

M. HULSE.

To Alderman Wood, M.P. &c.

*London, Aug. 20, 1820.*

SIR,—I am honoured with your letter of the 26th, requesting me to send you the names of the two individuals whose signatures were to the Address lately sent to me, purporting to be an Address from the Privates of the Regiment under your command; also to mention from whom I received it, and by

whom it was presented; and I should undoubtedly at once give you the information desired; were I not induced to infer, from the particularity and frame of your questioning, that the Address is considered by the Commandants of the Leicester Militia of an improper character; and that some proceeding may be in contemplation against the individuals of the regiment by whom the Address was signed. Your omitting to assign the ultimate object of the enquiry, fortifies me in this supposition; and I shall not therefore feel myself at liberty to send you the names of the parties without their previous concurrence, unless it appeared that the Address was not intended by the Privates of the Regiment to have been presented to her Majesty. If the Address, purporting to be an Address from the Privates of your Regiment, was, not, in truth, authorized by them, I shall not be found backward in exposing the deception; but shall be most anxious to give you all the information in my power. For the present, however, I must decline doing more than referring you to the Sergeant-Major, who, I am informed, was dispatched by the Officers of the Regiment, to represent the shouts of the Privates of the Leicester Militia in favour of her Majesty; from whom I should apprehend you will be able to obtain much more satisfactory information than it is in my power to give.

I remain, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) MATTHEW WOOD.

To Lieut.-Col. Hulse,



*delivered at Alderman Street, 5th Sept. 1820.*

Sir.—Having seen two letters which have recently been exchanged between yourself and the Lieutenant-Colonel of the Leicestershire Regiment of Militia, I felt it incumbent upon me, as its Colonel, to inform you, that the questions put to you by Colonel Hulse were not asked with any view of proceeding against those men whom you might name, as having signed the Address to the Queen, purporting to be from the Privates of that Regiment. I am not aware of any proceedings that could be instituted against them: certainly not, after it had been satisfactorily ascertained, that the two names which it is understood were alone subscribed to the Address were affixed to it, without the knowledge of the men themselves; by individuals not belonging to the corps. An instance of such palpable fabrication is scarcely on record, and the detection of it was due to the ill-earned honour and military character of the Regiment; and since it was evident, either that the person to whom the suppositions addressed was transmitted had been egregiously deceived, or that her Majesty, to whom it was presented, had been shamefully misled upon them, Col. Hulse felt himself called upon to afford you the opportunity, which now I again offer, of assisting in the exposure of the transaction.

I observe that your letter alludes to the reported shouts of the men in favour of her Majesty upon the disbanding of the regiment. I transmit to you the

copy of a letter, which, upon that particular point, I have received from my Quarter-master; in which the real circumstances that occurred upon that occasion are fully detailed. It is right that I should add, that ill-designing persons are at this moment making the most active exertions to entrap some of the privates into a late avowal of their sanction of the Address, in the teeth of the positive disavowal which was fully and decisively given a few days since by 420 privates, to the non-commissioned officers who went round for the purpose of ascertaining the real state of the case, and who, from accidental circumstances, were unable to see the remainder of the men.

I have the honour, &c.  
(Signed) RUTLAND.

Col. Leicestershire Regiment,  
To Alderman Wood.

*Leicester, Sept. 3, 1820.*

My Lord Duke.—I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your Grace's letter of the 1st inst.; and lost no time in seeing the Sergeant-Major, and again inquiring from him the particulars of what took place in the drill-field the evening before the regiment was disbanded. It was the custom, during the period of training, for the men to fall in at their companies' private parade, both morning and evening, when they were marched by their respective non-commissioned officers to the drill-field. The companies had marched to different parts of the field, and the orders had been read to

them, when the serjeant-major called for the serjeants to collect their reports; during this time four or five men in plain clothes joined in conversation with some of the grenadiers, and No. 1. company. One of them said, "Come, my lads, give us three cheers for the Queen, and said, now," when two of the grenadiers and one of No. 1. company pulled off their caps and cheered, and not more than eight or nine seemed to take any notice of it. On seeing this, he immediately fell them in, and the townsmen skulked away. Shortly afterwards I arrived, when the serjeant-major reported to me what had occurred. I blamed him for not ascertaining their names and residence.

Alderman Wood must have been misinformed respecting the serjeant-major being sent by the officers to repress the shouts of the men, as there were no officers present. The adjutant and myself only attended the drill, (and he was dining out that day) Colonel Hulse thinking the men would come on much faster under the serjeants, till they became perfect with the firelock. The day the regiment was disbanded there was no parade except by companies to give in their arms and accoutrements at the magazine. I commenced taking them in at six o'clock in the morning, two companies attending every hour till the whole were received, and no men could conduct themselves more properly than they did during the time I was receiving them.

I have before stated, to your Grace that the men were marched from their private parades, morning and evening, to the drill-field, and on the serjeants at intervals took the whole regiment assembled in the market place, when the officers of course inspected and took post with their companies.

The *Leicester Chronicle* of this week having stated a deal more than is true, I have taken the liberty of forwarding one for your Grace's perusal, and am very sorry to see that any of our men have become the dupes of a set of designing men, and with the exception of Lilly, Newson, and Brooks, and perhaps some few others, I am confident the privates know nothing of any such thing as an Address.

I have the honour to be,  
DEAR SIR,  
Your obedient servant,  
Quarter-master, L. M.

Leicester, Sept. 3, 1820.

We, the undersigned non-commissioned officers of the Leicestershire Regiment of Militia, do hereby declare, that during the late training of the regiment, we never at any time heard of an intention, on the part of the privates, to present an Address to the Queen, and that, since an Address has been presented to her Majesty on their behalf, we have seen the men resident in Leicester, and the different villages in the county; to the number of 420, all of whom positively disavowed any knowledge of such Address, or that the same was ever seen, heard, or read by

them, or ever gave any sanction thereto; and we farther declare, that if an Address had been in contemplation during the training, the same must have come to our knowledge.

*Sergeant-Major*—W. Wheatley.

*Sergeants*—Thos. Johnson, Geo.

Highton, J. Hutchins, Geo.

Johnson, W. Lewis, J. Jelly,

Jo. Dudgeon, Th. Joane, Th.

Hoges, J. Hickingbottom, J.

Fossett, J. Squires, J. Mackers,

J. Lee, J. March, R. Babrey.

*Corporals*—H. Nicholson, Wm.

Welton, J. Smalley, T. Sills,

W. Elliott, W. Carey, C. Bass,

W. Bishop, J. Waldron, Jo.

Maffie, N. Cox, J. Wakerley,

J. Newton, J. Bradshaw, Ro.

Adcock, E. Whittingham.

*Drum-Major*—Jo. Gimborne.

*Drummers*—J. Norton, Thos.

Warden, Wm. Asher, Wm.

Newcomb, C. Houghton, W.

Hall, J. Brewin.

*Brandenburgh-House, Sept. 7.*

MY LORD.—In answer to your letter of the 5th inst., I have first to observe on the extraordinary circumstance that an Address from the privates of a regiment to their lawful and persecuted Queen, should be deemed by their Colonel an insult to the honour of the regiment. This idea, if it have no other merit, has at least that of novelty. The soldier does indeed assume the military garb, but in cheerfully performing this part of the duty of a good subject, he does not forfeit his civil rights, much less

does he forfeit the right of exercising his judgment, and of acting agreeably to his feelings as a man.

That the men had a right to express their attachment to her Majesty, and their abhorrence of the treatment that she had experienced, I know full well. I am convinced that the Address contained the real sentiments of this regiment; and I know that it was agreeable to her Majesty to receive the same.

As to the inquiries said to have been made of the men individually, and reported by the Sergeant-major, Adjutant, and Quarter-master, I am too well acquainted with the nature of the powers of such persons over the men, to pay the smallest attention to such reports.

The account which you are pleased to give me of designing persons even now engaged to entrap some of the privates into an avowal of the Address, induces me to inform your Lordship that I have this morning received an Address signed by 300 of the privates, accompanied with a letter, stating that a much larger number would have signed it, if they could have obtained the Address at their residence.

By one reflection, however, I am consoled, and that is, that the private soldier has at last come to be considered as a being whose feelings and wishes are worthy of attention.

I have the honour to be, &c.

MATTHEW WOOD.

To His Grace the Duke of Rutland.

*Arlington-street, Sept. 9, 1820.*

SIR,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 7th instant. With respect to the Address which you state yourself to have received on that day, signed by 300 privates of the Leicestershire regiment of Militia (which regiment, it should be remarked, has been disembodied more than 6 weeks) it is singular that it should have been thought necessary to obtain additional signatures to an Address which three weeks since you published to the world as having proceeded from the whole of the privates of the regiment. It is impossible that a more striking presumption can be afforded to the public of the truth of the charge of gross and infamous imposition and forgery, which attaches to the Address presented by you to her Majesty on the 17th of August, than the facts, that the Address which purports to be from "the Privates of the Leicestershire Regiment" had, according to your own admission, only two names subscribed, and that, except by the two persons whose names were so subscribed, the Address had never been seen or heard of. As to the additional signatures, to which you appear to attach so much importance, I will only transcribe a sentence in the letter which I yesterday received from my Adjutant, dated on the 6th instant:—"I have this morning been informed that an Address to the Queen, with upwards of 200 signatures, was yesterday forwarded; but I have no doubt, were it possible to see the list of the names,

it would be found that many are down who never did belong to the regiment, others are affixed with the decided assent of the parties, and some have been obtained by false representations." There is nothing in the remaining parts of your letter which appears to me to require any comment or reply.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient humble servant,

(Signed) RUTLAND,  
Colonel Leicestershire Militia.

To Alderman Wood.

To the Editor of the *Leicester Chronicle*.

SIR,—Perceiving, by the *Courier* of Monday last, that his Grace the Duke of Rutland still labours to have it believed that the Address from the Leicestershire Militia to the Queen was fabricated; and also that Quarter-master Deakin says, "with the exception of Lilly, Newton, and Brooks, and perhaps a few others, the privates knew nothing of the Address," we beg you will allow us to state, that 300 of the privates, having seen the Address, which was signed by deputy, contradicted by Colonel Hulse, and Quarter-master Deakins, declared they had a full knowledge of it when it was agreed to, and, to prove this, signed their names to another copy of the same Address, and wished it to be presented to the Queen for her satisfaction. This was accordingly done, and since that time numbers of privates, who were

out at harvest work, have made application to sign their names also. The Duke of Rutland and the Adjutant felt or wish it to be believed that the names signed to the Address were not those of men belonging to the regiment. To this point, however, we are ready and willing at any time to make an affidavit, if required; and we have no objection to accompany a non-commissioned officer, to see every man who signed the Address, to prove that the names were not forged. Now, with respect to the men shouting in the field, Quarter-master Deakins asserts that there were only three men who shouted: this Mr. Deakins must know to be void of truth. The fact is, that the men were all marched into the field, and broke up for half an hour as usual, while the drill-serjeants received their orders. This being done, almost all the privates began to buzz for the Queen, which greatly enraged the Serjeant-major, who immediately ordered the drum to beat, to

fall in, which every man did. The Duke states, that the non-commissioned officers obtained a positive disavowal of the Address from four hundred and twenty of the privates, and that, from accidental circumstances, they were unable to see the remainder. Now we can prove, that in the Loughborough district alone, out of forty-two men, only ten were asked the question; and that at Oadby, Serjeant Jelly and Corporal Smally saw only three out of twelve, though the names of all were set down as disavowing the Address. Conscious of having done our duty to our King, as well as to our Queen, we remain, &c. Thomas Staines, David Brookes, John Cooke, Richard Newton, Wm. Lilley, John Langton, John Atkins, John Wingell, Wm. Peske, Valentine Woolley, James Morrell, James Roote, Jeremiah Wood, Wm. Hodgskin, John Kent, Richard Billings, Thos. Dilkes, Peter Parker, James Johnson, John Mann.

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER

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### A LETTER

TO

PARSON CUNNINGHAM,

ON

*His insolent Publication respecting her Majesty, the Queen; and on the Conduct of the Parsons in general.*

London, Sept. 27, 1820.

PARSON,

Well as you have been beleaguered by others; sound as has been the lashing which they have laid on your reverend

shoulders; baited and buffeted as you have been; you must not be suffered to get off yet; you have received temporary chastisement; but it belongs to me to give you such as shall stick by you for life.

It is, for two reasons; necessary to state the history of your insolence and turpitude: first, that all who shall read this Letter may see clearly the grounds upon which it proceeds; and, second, that you may have no occasion to complain of misquoting, or of misrepresenting. I shall, therefore, first of all, insert, at full length, your Letter to Mr. Whitbread. All

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the world will say, that you are unworthy of such particular notice; but you are one of a *large body* which is a principal component part of *the System*, and it is as a *sample* of that body that you are deemed worthy of exposure. For the purpose of saving time and space, I shall number your paragraphs from one to the end.

" 1. SIR,—As a freeholder of the great county which you represent—as an individual for whose vote and assistance in the county you have more than once been pleased to express a desire—and as the minister of a parish bordering upon that on which you are, probably, at this moment inflicting the nuisance of which this letter is designed to complain; I take the liberty, however reluctantly, of addressing it to you.

" 2. I have seen, with a mixture of regret and indignation, a placard pasted over many of the walls in the neighbourhood, announcing that you were to take the chair at a meeting on Paddington-green, summoned to collect and convey the condolence, sympathy and approbation of the females of the vicinity to the Queen, and to take into consideration the investigation now pending in Parliament.

" 3. Now, Sir, my anxiety for the interests of good morals

in general, and especially for those of my own parish (a part of which is almost sure to be drawn within the vortex of this public meeting); an apprehension of the multiplication of such meetings; and lest other men of character should be tempted to pre- side over them;—all these motives constrain me, though with much pain to my own mind, thus to address you.

" 4. I wish, then, to take the liberty of asking, what benefit you conceive likely to be conferred on individuals, or on the state, on the cause of legitimate freedom or of sound morals, by the convention of such an assembly?

" 5. Consider the plain circumstances of the case, as it stands at the present moment.

" 6. The Queen is not indeed proved to be guilty of acutinous intercourse with her menial servant; but she is solemnly charged by the Ministers of the Crown—a body of men acquitted even by their enemies of perjury or cruelty—and by a committee of Peers, including several distinguished individuals politically opposed to those Ministers, of crimes of the most gross and detestable nature. And this charge is supported by the testimony of an immense body of witnesses, and yet unconvicted, and, according to the persuasion of thousands of impartial persons, not likely to be convicted, of perjury.

" 7. What then, I repeat th

"question, is the good likely to result from such a meeting?"

"8. Is it your object to *condemn the Queen*? Surely no reasonable man will be more satisfied of her innocence because you, with a few gentlemen who can read and write, and many of both sexes, who shrink from all such *critical distinctions*, think proper to assert it in speeches or shouts upon Paddington-green."

"9. Is your object to *alarm the House of Peers* into a decision favourable to her Majesty? But surely, Sir, you know too much of the high spirit of your countrymen, and especially of that noble house, to believe that they will surrender any thing to terror which they refuse to argument, or generosity, or honour."

"10. Is your object to get rid of the Ministers? But what man, in his senses, will not prefer what is called the "tyranny" of the Ministers—that is, of men of sense and honour—to the worst of all tyrannies, that of the mob, under whose dominion it is the natural tendency of these meetings to place us?"

"11. Is your design to *gratify the political wish which you act*? But how different a line have most of the leaders of that body pursued in parliament! Have they substituted clamour for reasoning—treated the admitted familiarities of the Queen with her courier as a light offence—called on

their wives or daughters, or the wives and daughters of others, to trumpet forth the praises of a woman who may, within a month, be proved to have violated all the common decencies of life?"

"12. Finally, is your object, what I would least of all suspect it to be, the *seating yourself permanently as representative for the county of Middlesex*? A seat so won or preserved would be neither an honour nor comfort to the winner."

"13. But, Sir, if you are unable to instruct us in the advantages of such assemblies, you will perhaps allow me briefly to state some of their evils."

"14. In the first place, you are encouraging many, who plainly need no such encouragement, to insult and traduce your Sovereign, as a *subverter of perjured witnesses*."

"15. In the next place, you are bringing into contempt the highest court of judicature in the land."

"16. You are, by giving light names to gross offences, sapping the very foundation of morals."

"17. You are, with the maxim in your mouth, that every man is to be esteemed innocent till he is proved to be guilty, treating all the witnesses against the Queen as liars, though as yet *unconvicted of falsehood*; and all the ministers of the crown as base and profligate conspira-



"torn, though their honour and humanity have never been called into question.

"18. You are holding out as a model to the females of this country an individual, of whose moral purity you cannot but entertain some doubt; and whom you would not probably suffer a mother, daughter, wife, or sister, to visit.

"19. You are, finally, cherishing in the minds of many unthinking and uneducated persons a spirit of radicalism—a spirit of which the elements are the rejection of Scripture, and a contempt of all the institutions of your country; and of which the result, unless averted by a merciful Providence, must be anarchy, atheism, and universal ruin.

"20. You, Sir, will not, I think, be sufficiently ungenerous or unjust to say, in answer to all this, that I am 'a clergyman, and have nothing to do with such subjects.' But others may urge this objection. To them, therefore, I would say, in conclusion, that this is not a question of mere politics, but of morals, of decency, and of religion—a question involving, in my judgment, all the decencies, virtues, and comforts of public and domestic life. This brief letter is, in fact, nothing more than a practical comment on the doctrines which, as a clergyman, I am required, on the highest authority, to preach from Sunday to Sunday, 'Fear God—Honour

"the King'—and Uncertainty, let it not be once named among you.' The clergy are the constituted guardians of morals in the country; and now, if ever, they are called upon to 'stand in the breach,' and endeavour to 'stay the plague' of political anarchy and moral pollution.—I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

"J. W. CUNNINGHAM.

"Harrow-on-the-Hill, Sept. 14."

The first five paragraphs contain a statement of your motives, or, rather, pretences, for intermeddling upon this occasion; for giving us a specimen (of which we stood in no need) of what a "meddling priest" really can do; and, therefore, upon these paragraphs I shall only observe, that they merely serve to develope your hypocrisy.

In the sixth you enter into matter, and in the very first sentence, you are guilty of two impudent and wilful falsehoods. You say, that the Queen is charged "by the Ministers of the Crown, a body of men, acquitted, even by their enemies, of perjury or cruelty." What do you mean, Parson? What had she or to do here? However, you mean us to understand, that, even the enemies

of the Ministers have acquitted them of "*perjury and of cruelty*." As to perjury, it is a specific crime, known to the laws; and, the ministers have not been arraigned for perjury. It is possible that they never may be. At any rate they have not *yet* been arraigned for perjury; and, therefore, it is a falsehood to say that they have been *acquitted* of perjury. They have not appeared yet in the character of *witnesses*. With perjury they have not been charged; and therefore of perjury they have not been acquitted. This, therefore, is falsehood the first.

As to *cruelty*, however, that is another matter. With cruelty they *have* been charged, and upon many occasions, too. You may not call it cruelty to have prosecuted the Tin-man of Plymouth for tendering Addington money to give the Tin-man a place; to fine and imprison this man; to produce his death and to bring his wife and family to beggary; while, in a very short time afterwards, the trafficking is placed, when brought home to persons in high life, was wholly passed over, and visited with no sort of punishment! You may not call this *cruelty*; but I call it cruelty, accompanied

with the grossest hypocrisy, and exhibited in its most detestable forms. You may not call it cruelty; a Parson may not call it cruelty, to do any of those things, of which Mr. Finnerly, in the name and on the behalf of his injured country, accused Castleisagh, and for accusing him of which Mr. Finnerly was shut up in jail for eighteen months, loaded with the curses of the bad and the blessings of the good. The people of this country will never forget the meritorious conduct of Mr. Finnerly upon that occasion. The sentence of imprisonment did not remove the charges he had made. A Parson may not think it cruelty to treat a man as Mr. Finnerly was treated in the jail of Lincoln. A Parson may think it by no means cruel to shut the people of Ireland up in their houses from sun-set to sun-rise; to punish them with transportation for disobedience; and to transport them too *without trial by jury*. A Parson may not think it cruelty to seize on great numbers of men; to drag them out of their beds by night; to load them with irons; to hurry them away to distant jails; to put felons dresses upon them; to cut them off from all

communication with friends, relations, wives and children; to open all the letters to them and from them; to suffer them to speak to no one, except in the presence of a jailor, and through *two grdtings at many feet from each other*; to keep them in this horrid state for nearly twelve months; and then to turn them out with broken constitutions, without a penny in their pockets, to find their way home to their beggared and starving families; and, all this for no crime at all, and without being arraigned or being suffered to know what crime was laid to their charge or who had been their accusers: even in this series of acts, a *Parson* may be able to discover nothing partaking of cruelty. RILEY, one of these memorable victims, unable to indure with patience his separation from his family, and all the other sufferings belonging to his situation, put an end to his existence in his dungeon; a thing at which you, I dare say, would chuckle, or, at least, would be ready to swear that the catastrophe was not produced by *cruelty*! Mr. OGDEN, a very old and very worthy man, was amongst these victims. Dragging from his home,

loading with irons, tossing and buffeting about, produced a rupture in the body of a man who had been sound to the age of three-score. Upon this being related in the House of Commons, Canning made it a subject of jesting, and, in the course of his answer to the charge, called the sufferer "*the revered and ruptured Ogden*," at which the House *burst into laughter*! A Parson will doubtless applaud this brilliant rally, and will think that it was shewing great mercy to Mr. Ogden not to trample all the bowels out of his body. A Parson may think, and will doubtless say, that there has been no cruelty committed on the excellent, public-spirited, and enlightened people of Cheshire, Lancashire, Yorkshire, Paisley and Glasgow. The employment of Oliver, the attempt made through the instrumentality of Castles, a Parson may think by no means cruel. *The sixteenth of August* exhibited no cruelties to the eyes of a Parson. In a Parson's eyes the Oldham Inquest would, doubtless, appear a most humane and just proceeding. Equally visible would the humanity of the Ministers appear to a Parson in the applause

given by Sidmouth to the Magistrates and Yeomanry of Manchester, and in the rewarding of Parson HAY, one of those Magistrates, by giving him the living of Rochdale, worth twenty-five hundred pounds a-year; and which gift is the more striking, as it must have proceeded immediately from the wish or concurrence of the *Archbishop of Canterbury himself*, the living being in that Archbishop's gift! It is curious enough, that in this most signal manner, the church gave its sanction to those memorable proceedings! A Parson will say that it was singularly humane in the Ministers, while they were applauding the Magistrates and the Yeomanry, to refuse all inquiry into their conduct; and at the same time to prosecute a considerable number of the injured parties with all the weight of crown law and before special juries: The sequel a Parson will think more humane than all the rest: namely, the imprisonment of Mr. JOHNSTONE and Mr. BAMFORD, for twelve months, at more than a hundred miles from their homes; and a Parson will swear that there was not the smallest degree of cruelty in shutting up Mr. HUNT for *two*

*years and a half*, for having presided at a meeting, the object of which was to agree on the means of promoting a parliamentary reform; at which meeting neither riot nor breach of peace was committed by the people, the like of which meeting had been held without interruption in an infinite number of places for ages past, and, was never, until the sixteenth of August, pretended by any human being to be an unlawful meeting! Two years and a half, a Parson will say, were singularly lenient, and he will turn towards Cheshire and congratulate that county upon having seen a poor man sent to jail from the Quarter Sessions; to remain in jail *four years and a half* for two or three offences charged all at once, of selling cheap publications! As to the sentence on Sir CHAS. WOLSELEY, for suffering just indignation to boil over; as to the triple sentence on Mr. HARRISON, pronounced by WARREN and by BAILEY, amounting, I believe, to three years and a half or four years imprisonment in jail, these a Parson will think criminally lenient; but I do think that the transportation of Mr. BRUCE, even after he was

acknowledged to be wholly innocent of the crime of which he had been found guilty; I do think that this, together with the *cool*, the *studied*, the long contrived affair in which Edwards was employed, and which ended in the bloody work, performed by a masked executioner with a long and sharp knife in the Old Bailey; I do think that these may satisfy even a Parson; nay, I do think they may satisfy even you!

A Parson will approve, of course, of a thousand, or, perhaps, ten thousand other acts, which I could call forth from the resources of my own memory, especially if I were to go back to the deeds of Pitt and his associates; but there is no doubt that a Parson will have discovered no cruelty in any part of the treatment of her Majesty, the Queen; no cruelty when, upon the death of her own father, the first conspiracy against her was set on foot; no cruelty in prevailing upon her to suppress the exposure of that conspiracy; no cruelty in loading her with insults the moment her only friend and protector was deprived of his capacity to yield her protection; no cruelty in tearing her from her child, and

her child from her; no cruelty in the not ordering of a Court mourning for her brother, who lost his life in gallantly fighting for England: no cruelty in setting on foot a new persecution against her, the moment the breath had left the body of her daughter; no cruelty in publishing the superscription placed upon the coffin of her child, and while the father and grand-father's names were there, omitting the name of the mother; no cruelty in causing her to be hunted by Ompteda and others, who caused her to be insulted wherever she was to be found; no cruelty in the tendered bribe and insolent menace of Hutchinson; no cruelty in any of the subsequent acts; no cruelty at all in silently permitting detestable ruffians to compare her to a street-walking strumpet, and to insist that if she cannot be destroyed as a criminal, she ought to be sacrificed as a martyr. Oh! no! a Parson can see no cruelty in the bringing down of green bags; in asserting that those green bags contained heavy charges; in referring the contents to a secret committee with the Archbishop of Canterbury at its head; in laying the report of that com-

mittee, full of odious charges against the Queen, before the House; in bringing in a Bill of Pains and Penalties charging her with the foulest of crimes, and in sending these documents all over the world three months before any opportunity was to be afforded her of disproving the charges! A Parson will see no cruelty in refusing her a list of witnesses, in refusing her a list of places; in keeping her as much as possible in the dark and taking her by surprise, after her enemies had had whole years to mature their preparations and insure the means of her destruction. A Parson will see no cruelty in the opening speech of the Attorney General, laboured and studied as it was; the result as it was, of the coolest deliberation; no cruelty in it, though containing the foulest accusations, made in the most artful manner, and though it must have been known at the time, what has since proved to be the case, that there was not even evidence to be brought from Cotton Garden to support the foulest of these accusations. A Parson will see no cruelty in this nor in the summing-up of the Solicitor General; nor in the necessity imposed upon her Ma-

esty to wait another three weeks before she could possibly enter upon her defence. All this is, I dare say, right in the eyes of a Parson; who can see no cruelty in any of the things which I have mentioned above; and who would see no cruelty in any of those other things which I could mention; but barely to mention which would require, instead of a *banishment-law* pamphlet, a twenty shilling volume.

Now, Parson, if your head should swim a little (as mine really does) from this enumeration, stop a little; take a turn in the pleasant garden that the public finds you, and then listen to me with attention.

In all the acts that I have mentioned above; take them all together even, you may say there is *no cruelty*. Nay, it is possible that there may be no cruelty. But, and now mark me, Parson, the "*enemies*" of the ministers accuse them of cruelty. Mind that, Parson; in order to convict you of falsehood, it is not necessary that the ministers should have been guilty of cruelty: it is only necessary that their *enemies* should accuse them of cruelty; nay, even that is not necessary: it is only ne-

cessary that their enemies have *not acquitted* them of cruelty. It is notorious that many persons charge them with cruelty; it is notorious that her Majesty is incessantly charging them with cruelty, in which charges she only echoes back the charges contained against the ministers in the Addresses presented to her by the people. And, in the face of all this, you have the impudence to assert; you have the audacity to put forth, and that, too, under the garb of sanctity, the flagitious falsehood, that the ministers are "a body of men *acquitted of cruelty even by their enemies*," There is one text of Scripture, Parson, which you seem to have forgotten: "*Lying lips are an abomination to the Lord*." Bear this in mind, and you will not again say, that even the enemies of the ministers acquit them of cruelty.

Proceeding on with your sixth paragraph, you assert, in order to cause falsehood to be believed, that the charges against the Queen were made by a committee of Peers; "including several distinguished individuals, *politically opposed to the ministers*." This is a sheer falsehood as to meaning and inten-

tion; but is a little covered by appearances. As to *politically opposed*, what does it mean? Does it mean opposed to them with regard to the Queen? Or does it mean that they are seated opposite each other in the House? However, the best way to settle this point is, and to show how false and treacherous your representation is, *who are these politically opposed Lords?* I will tell you, Parson: Lansdown, Buckingham, Ellenborough, and, (keep a serious face, Parson) Lauderdale! These are the Lords, are they, who are politically opposed to the ministers! Did you ever read the Peep at the Peers, Parson? But, the less one says upon such a matter, the greater is one's prudence. The public know very well how to estimate the political opposition of these Lords; and so do you, too; but, you thought that the public did not know how to make the estimate: you thought that the little disguise that you were drawing over the matter would assist in effecting your malignant and selfish purpose. Your words, like the jesuit's creed, admit of a construction that would *make* their meaning true; but, if we take in the context you are here

again guilty of an intentional falsehood. Your object is to cause it to be believed that the committee was *promiscuously* taken, and composed of men, amongst whom opposition existed as to other matters; but, if truth had been your object, if justice and not injustice had been what you were seeking, you would have said, that, though this committee was not wholly and entirely composed of the ministers, it was composed of men, every one of whom had been nominated, selected, chosen, picked out, by *those Ministers*! And, therefore, the representation which you give was *false*. It is a falsehood, Parson, which you have uttered here; and a falsehood, too, having an evil intention in view, which, as you well know, constitutes one of those crimes to which Christ himself has awarded everlasting punishment.

Going on still with this *sixth paragraph*, which is a perfect constellation of falsehoods and misrepresentations, you say that the charge is supported by the testimony of an immense body of witnesses, "as yet *unconvicted*, and, according to the "persuasion of thousands of *impartial* persons, not likely to

"*be convicted, of perjury.*" By the word *impartial*, we clearly understand that you are one of these persons; but Parson, shuffling Parson, why make use of the word *convicted*? why make use of the word *convicted*, Parson? There has been no trial of them yet for perjury; they may never be tried for perjury; if tried for perjury, it might be impossible to *convict* them, and yet, we may, the moment they have done swearing, safely say that we will not believe a word that they have said. According to your doctrine, Parson, a jury must always believe what a witness swears; must act upon it; must continue to believe it, until that witness be convicted of perjury: they must hang the innocent man first and leave the witness to suffer for perjury afterwards! How you would sweep us off, Parson! According to your doctrine, we are to believe every thing that is sworn by any villain upon earth, until the said villain be actually convicted of perjury. According to *you*, CASTLES ought to have been believed; for, not only was he not convicted of perjury, but he was never tried for perjury. And yet he was not believed. His swearing passed for



nothing, though it was full as positive as that of BARBARA KRANTZ, or of any other of the tenants of Cotton Garden.— Therefore, this is a mere shuffle on your part; a mere evasion; but it aims at the producing of a false impression in the minds of your readers; it's intention is to deceive and mislead, and this, too, for the purpose of producing an injurious effect with regard to her Majesty, the Queen; and this, according to all the principles laid down by moral philosophers, and by divines, too, is, to all intents and purposes, a lie.

Your seventh, eighth, and ninth paragraphs contain empty flippancy, unworthy of serious notice. Yet, there is one sentence in them upon which I shall make a remark or two. I allude to the part where you describe the persons met to address the Queen as being in general unable to read and write; and where you (wittily, as you imagine) observe that they "*shrink from all such aristocratical distinctions*;" as much as to say that literary learning belongs peculiarly to the privileged orders, to the high blooded race, to the Peers, their families, and the Parsons.

I might suffer this to pass with merely observing, that it is, at once, insolent and false; but I will not. In the first place, I insist on it, that, taken as a mass, the Privileged Orders are the most ignorant part of the community, not excepting even the country labourers themselves. I next insist, that, as to *literary learning*, the persons chosen from amongst the rest of the privileged classes to conduct the affairs of the country, are, amongst men having any pretensions to literature, the most illiterate in the country. Ten thousand proofs of the truth of this might be produced, and thrust up against your nose if the thing was worthy of the trouble. Never have I seen a document come out of their hands, not exhibiting faults both in Grammar and in Logic. False facts, we expect, of course; but, it is sheer want of literary knowledge that produces false reasoning and false grammar. In my Grammar of the English language, for the use of soldiers and sailors, apprentices and plough boys, I have given a specimen (at page 173) of "*errors and nonsense in a King's Speech*." Surely if there were any literary knowledge

possessed by the Aristocratical tribes, we should find some traces of it in a King's Speech; or, at any rate, we should find some one correct speech, in the course of years; and yet, I solemnly declare, that I have never yet seen one of those compositions, which did not abound even in vulgar errors.

In order to satisfy my readers that these assertions of mine are not without foundation, I will here quote a passage from the last speech delivered from the Throne. This was the King's inauguration speech; this was the speech uttered at the beginning of a reign. This was a document, which ought to have been distinguished by every thing calculated to inspire respect, veneration, and confidence. Instead of this, the matter of the speech was bad; the arrangement of it confused; the language of it undignified; the reasoning in it not only inconclusive, but ridiculous; and, as to the Grammar, it will suffice to take the concluding sentence. "I trust that an awakened sense of the dangers which they have incurred, and of the arts which have been employed to seduce them, will bring back by far the greater part of

"those who have been unhappily led astray, and will re-vive in them *that* spirit of loyalty, *that* due submission to the laws, *and that* attachment to the Constitution, which SUBSISTS unabated in the hearts of the great body of the people, and which, under the blessing of Divine Providence, HAVE secured to the British nation the enjoyment of a larger share of practical freedom; as well as of prosperity and happiness, than have fallen to the lot of any nation in the world."

Want of room will prevent me from having a little sport with the nonsense about *awakened sense of dangers* and of *arts*, and about the powers ascribed to this awakened sense; but here is, in the use of the word *subsists*, an instance of gross, flagrant, and vulgar Grammatical error. The spirit of loyalty, the due submission, *and* the attachment required, of course, *subsist*, and not *subsists*. And, as if this error were not gross and palpable enough; as if it would not be sufficiently visible to all eyes, the writers of this precious document must apply the verb *have* to the very same nominative. So here we have,

a thing which *subsists* and which *have* secured ! Can any thing be more gross than this ? Say not that the Ministers were *careless*. That would be a scandalous apology, even if it were true. They knew no better. They are illiterate, ignorant men. And, in order to prove that it was not carelessness ; and that the whole mass of the high blooded race are alike illiterate, let us now take that part of the answer which the Commons gave to this Speech, which part is an echo to the sentence above quoted ; and we shall find the most ridiculous exhibition of dunder-headed ignorance that ever was put upon paper. It is in the following words : " We concur most heartily in the benevolent wish, expressed by your Majesty, that an awakened sense of the dangers which they have incurred, and of the arts which have been employed to seduce them, WILL bring back the far greater proportion of those who have been unhappily led astray, and WILL revive in them that spirit of loyalty, that due submission to the laws, and that attachment to the Constitution, which we are confident SUBSISTS in the

" hearts of the great body of the people, which, under the blessing of Divine Providence, HAS secured to the British nation the enjoyment of a larger share of practical freedom, as well as of prosperity and happiness, than HAS fallen to the lot of any nation in the world."

Here is a mass of stupidity ! This is trash, indeed ! The learned and faithful Commons, with their Speaker and the Ministers at their head, did make shift to see that *subsists* and *have*, both referring to the same nominative, could not be right. They, therefore, took out the King's *have* and put *has* in its place : thus, shewing, at one and the same time, that the King's grammar was bad, but that they knew how to make it worse ! They outdid the tinkers here, for they made two holes, without mending any one. But, this was not enough. They must tinker again at the very last member of the sentence, where they take out the *have* of the King and put in a *has*. One or the other must be false grammar ; but, as it happens, the King was, in this case, correct. The faithful Commons thought that *share*, which is a singular noun, was the nominative ; and so it

was ; but there were two shares ; namely, a share of freedom, and a share of prosperity and happiness. So that, the King was right and the tinkers were wrong. But, even here we are not to stop. The King says, "I trust," that is to say, *I confidently expect*, that an awakened sense *will* revive and *will* bring back. Now, the faithful Commons, in the first place, concur, as they say, in the "benevolent wish" of the King. He had expressed no wish at all. He *trusted*. And his language was correct, when he said that *I trust* that such a thing *will* produce such a thing ; but the faithful Commons, by introducing the word *wish*, and retaining the word *will*. Instead of using the word *may*, make illiterate and vulgar trash of the very foundation of this conclusion of their address ; for, what would the public say of me, if I were to say, "I wish that Parson Cunningham *will* become a man of sincerity."

In short, look at the two passages, Parson ; then compare

them with the addresses to her Majesty from the *Soldiers of the Leicestershire Militia* ; and from the *labouring classes of Manchester* : make this comparison, Parson ; and then say, whether you be not an impudent and ignorant fellow yourself, in having ascribed the possession of literary learning exclusively to the aristocratical orders. There is great baseness in this besides, knowing, as you must, that you sprang immediately from a *hosier*, who began life in the capacity of a *foot-man*. You are guilty here of what GOLDSMITH calls "a base abandonment of one's own superiority." It is the incense administered by mean men of talents, that produces the empty pride and the intolerable insolence of the possessors of wealth and power, and that contributes, more than any thing else, to perpetuate corruption and oppression.

Your tenth paragraph, in which you call the Ministers men of sense and honour, and in which you abuse the people, is already answered. We have seen how far the Ministers are men of sense and honour ; but, when you talk of the mob, and of their dominion being the

\* To disarm *cavil*, I state, that I have not copied those passages from *newspaper reports* of the *Speech* and *Address* ; but, from the *Records*, printed by Order of the Faithful Commons.

worst of tyrannies, we may just ask you whether you think it possible for any government, or set of rulers, composed of men born in this country, can be more illiterate; can possess less literary talent than the present Ministers and their supporters; whether you think it possible that any set of rulers could have plunged the nation into more afflicting and disgraceful calamities than those which now stare us in the face in every part of this kingdom; whether any set of rulers could have produced a greater debt, more grinding taxation, a greater mass of ruin, misery and starvation; whether any set of rulers could have done more than drive hundreds and thousands of artisans from the country to carry their ingenuity and industry to enrich and strengthen rival nations; and whether any set of rulers could possibly have acted a more unmanly, ungenerous; a more wicked or a more foolish part, than our present rulers have acted with regard to her Majesty, the Queen? The end of the present struggle, no man can foresee. But what is the present situation of him, whom it is our wish as well as our duty, to uphold, and to en-

deavour to uphold in splendour and in honour? What is the situation, in which the council and instrumentality of these Ministers have placed him? And how different would his Majesty's situation have been, if he had followed that advice, which I, a back-bone radical, gave him in less than eight and forty hours after he became King? If that advice had been followed, His Majesty would at this moment have felt its salutary effects; and some such advice he would have followed, if he had been surrounded by some of those men, whom you have the audacity to stigmatize as mob. This is the season for reflection with his Majesty; and if he coolly reflect, and follow the bias of his own mind, uninfluenced by the whispering and the calumnies of base and corrupt men, we may all yet be saved from that horrid precipice, to the very verge of which these Ministers and their numerous supporters, who are the objects of your adoration, have brought both their Sovereign and his people.

In the eleventh paragraph, you praise the leaders of the Whigs; and, by your praising them, we should discover that

they were enemies of the Queen, if we had not clearly seen the fact long and long enough ago. There is nobody but downright fools, who are deceived by that miserable rump of faction. We see what a double game they are playing; and we laugh at their vain attempts to get into power by assisting in sacrificing the Queen. They are powerless; they are contemptible; nobody but fools think any more about them. But, in this same paragraph, you say, that there are, "*admitted familiarities*" of the Queen with Bergami. This is another *falsehood*; another criminal falsehood. You mean indecent familiarities; familiarities indicating a criminal intercourse; and it is a *falsehood* to say, that any body *admits* of these; because, when we talk of admitting, it means that the opponents of the accusers make the admission; and this is a *falsehood*; for we, who defend the Queen, make no such admission. Take, therefore, this *falsehood* and answer for it as you can.

The twelfth paragraph is expressive of your own character by the motive, the mean and base and corrupt mo-

tive which you impute to Mr. Whitbread.

The thirteenth paragraph is a mere specimen of impudence and flippancy; and in the fourteenth you return to your old practice of uttering falsehood in the most impudent manner, and in inviting an exposure of those whom it is your object to slander and defend. You charge Mr. Whitbread with encouraging others to insult the King, as a *suborner of perjured witnesses*! Where is your authority for that? In what instance has the King been charged with the subornation of perjured witnesses? It has been said, indeed, and very truly said, that the Douglasses, though acknowledged by the Ministers to have been perjured, were not prosecuted for perjury. It has been said, indeed, that the perjured witnesses of 1806, have *pensions*, which, if true, is a most horrible fact; a fact which has been repeatedly stated in print, and which remains, as yet, without contradiction. And, this I know well, and pledge myself for the truth of the fact, that Sir John Douglas; that is to say, one of the two Douglasses, who swore against the Queen in 1806, had a Pension at the time of his

swearing; and, now mark me, Parson, that, though the Ministry regretted, in 1818, that the forms of law rendered it difficult for them to prosecute this Douglas for perjury, *they did not take away his pension!*—Mark me, too, Parson, that his was not a pension for life; but a pension held during the King's pleasure! The Prince Regent became King, in fact, as far as power and pleasure went, in 1812. The Ministers; this same set of Ministers, came into power in 1807; and yet Sir John Douglas, though they said he had been guilty of perjury; though they said that they lamented that they could not punish him; this same Sir John Douglas enjoyed his pension to the end of his life; though that pension was held during pleasure; and though he did not die till, I believe, within these two or three years. At any rate, I pledge myself that he enjoyed his pension for many years after the Ministers had received proof of his perjury against the then Princess of Wales.

Therefore, Parson, you might as well have left this subject alone; for, though nobody accuses or suspects his Majesty to have been a suborner of per-

jured witnesses, there are many people who do suspect that witnesses have been suborned; and there are many more who have lately pricked up their ears at hearing from the mouth of Castlereagh himself that the *secret service money* had been employed in Italy by the means of the Milan Commission. Silence, then, Parson: say no more about subornation; leave us to draw our own conclusions from the above facts; from the high wages given to the master and his mate; from the splendid mode of living, and from the confessions contained in the letter of a chambermaid transformed into a Countess; from the enormous allowance to Barbara Krantz; from the respectable figure, change of name, and residence in a Parson's house, of Count Milani, vulgarly called Saechini; from Theodore Majocchi's confessions as to his visit at the great house in Pall Mall, and as to the gold, which, in such unaccountable quantities, he exhibited before the eyes of his companion. Say not another word about subornation, Parson; but leave us to draw from these facts such conclusions as are pointed out by nothing more than plain common sense, only

a very moderate quantity even of which is required for the purpose.

Your fifteenth paragraph complains, that Mr. Whitbread is *bringing into contempt* the highest Court of judicature in the land! Stupid Parson! In the House of Lords it has been said, many and many times over, that the House has brought itself into contempt. In the House of Commons, a Member stated in his place, and he stated it without receiving a word of contradiction, that he had every day of the trial been in the House of Lords, that he had noted down the most prominent circumstances in the proceedings, and that he had repeatedly heard Members of that highest Court of judicature in the land, **CHEERING THE WITNESSES**, when giving evidence against her Majesty the Queen. After this, the efforts which you have been pleased to ascribe to Mr. Whitbread, if that gentleman have made such efforts, must have been perfectly gratuitous; but, however useless they may have been, as well as uncalled for, it is very certain that they could furnish no reasonable ground of complaint.

In your seventh paragraph,

you take into your mouth, and express, with a little spice of false Grammar, the maxim, that every one is to be presumed innocent until proved to be guilty. We shall see presently how this maxim applies to the purpose for which you have brought it forward. But first, since you have put it in our way, let us see how it applies to the conduct of those whom you have the impudence to applaud. They sent a threat to the Queen; they menaced her with prosecution if she dared to set her foot on these shores; they omitted her name in the Liturgy; they omitted her name in the superscription on the coffin of her child; they refused her a yacht, and refused her a Palace. All these acts, and many, many others; all these acts of pre-judgment and pre-condemnation, did they do against the Queen; and you will observe, Parson, that not only was her Majesty not then proved to be guilty; but even you yourself expressly say, in this same letter, that *she is not even yet proved to be guilty!*

You see, therefore, Parson, that *maxims* are two-edged tools, and require to be used by none but those who are actuated



by sincerity and have truth in view: The maxim applies admirably well in illustrating the injustice exercised towards her Majesty; but it applies not at all, in the case to which you wish it to apply. You say that Mr. Whitbread treats all the witnesses against the Queen as perjured liars, "though, as yet, *unconvicted* of falsehood."—

It's curious to see your Parson-like manner of shuffling your words, as cheating gamesters are said to shuffle cards, substituting, by legerdemain, one card for another. The maxim says, that men are to be deemed innocent *until proved* to be guilty. You perceive that these liars have *proved* themselves to be guilty of falsehood; and, therefore, in your application of the maxim, you shuffle out *proved*, and whip in *convicted*! This, while it shows nothing in favour of the witnesses, while it shows not at all, that the maxim applies to them, most amply discovers your insincerity, and your firm internal belief that they verily are those perjured liars, which you complain of Mr. Whitbread for calling them.

But, there is another member of this sentence; and in it you say, that Mr. Whitbread treats the

"Ministers of the Crown as base  
"and prodigate conspirators,  
"though their *honour* and hu-  
"manity have NEVER BEEN  
"CALLED IN QUESTION!"

I can go no further. I have wished to avoid it, though addressing myself to a Parson; but I must now call you the most impudent liar that ever opened a pair of lips! What! Has the *honour*, has the *humanity*, of Castlereagh, Sidmouth, Canning, Liverpool, and the rest, *never been called in question*? You, Parson, will, doubtless, say that it ought not to be called in question. You will say, that their honour is bright as the meridian sun; that their humanity is soft as the language of doves and sweet as the balm of Gilead itself; you will say that their power has been exercised in the most merciful, most sparing, most gentle, most feeling manner; and that their sincerity, their openness, their scorn of all disguise, their abhorrence of low dirty under-hand means, will become proverbial in after times. But, as to the fact; as to the assertion that their honour and humanity have never been *called in question*, from the utterer of such a lie, Good Lord deliver us! You must have

been sinning here with your eyes open ; for, can you open a newspaper ; can you hear a man open his mouth ; can you read a speech at any meeting, or in the Parliament ; can you read an Address to the Queen ; can you read any one answer of her Majesty to any of the numerous addresses, without knowing that the honour and humanity of the Ministers are called in question ? You cannot ; and, therefore, this assertion of yours is one of the most impudent and profligate assertions that ever was made by mortal man.

Your eighteenth paragraph is simply an effort of jesuitical hypocrisy, except that it contains an impudent assertion on your part, that Mr. WHITEHEAD " must entertain " some question of the Queen's " purity." If Mr. WHITEHEAD think as the public in general think, he entertains no such question ; but I confess that no answer, other than horsewhip or broomstick, is appropriate to an assertion like this.

The nineteenth paragraph contains a charge against the Radicals, who, you say, reject the Scriptures and condemn all the institutions of the country ; and that their endeavours natu-

rally tend to *anarchy, atheism, and universal ruin*. As to ruin, it is now universal, except amongst those who live on the tythes and taxes ; and, therefore, all that the Radicals could possibly do in this way, would be to make the ruin fall on all alike fairly. Anarchy is only another word for an absence of a *fair administration of justice*. The worst sort of anarchy is that which protects the few, and leaves the many to be scourged and pillaged at the will of those few. Whether we at present taste of anarchy, or not, I shall not take upon me to determine. But, without yielding my right to say more of this matter another time, let me ask you, which of the Devil's imps it was that urged you on to ascribe *atheistical* principles to the Radicals ? Where do you find a proof of it ? Who amongst the Radicals has attempted to inculcate *atheism* ? You are a great man for producing proofs ; but here you abandon the maxim, that men are not to be pronounced guilty *without proof* ; a maxim which you were so eager to twist into an application in favour of the gentlemen and ladies of Cotton-garden. Where do you find

the proof of the Radicals being what you say they are; and why do you not attend to the precept which you give to the children, and "*keep your tongue from lying and slandering!*" What right have you to bring charges against us, without supporting those charges with proof? Expect not, after this, that we shall be nice in speaking of the body to which you belong. Priests have always been meddling; but it is seldom that even they have meddled in a way so extremely wicked and insolent.

Your last paragraph begins with a sort of saving provision, which was not necessary, under any circumstances, and particularly under the present circumstances, if you had come forward as the friend, and not as the enemy of the oppressed. You say that this is not a question of mere politics; but a question of morals and of religion. Very true; for morality and true religion calls upon us all to set our faces against this dastardly persecution, this foul, this infamous conspiracy. But how morals and religion can warrant you in endeavouring to give countenance to these diabolical proceedings, let us hope

that you will endeavour to show on some future occasion.

You say that you have here given us a practical comment on the doctrines that you are commanded, on the highest authority, to teach from Sunday to Sunday. These doctrines are, "fear God, honour the King, name not uncleanness." Just before the words "fear God," stand, in the Scriptures, "*love the brotherhood.*" These you omit, I see, as making no part of the doctrines that you teach. To have inserted them would have puzzled you; for they do not mean the Ministers, the Tax-collectors, the Parsons, Edwards, Oliver, Castles, the Milan Commission, and the inhabitants of Cotton-garden: no; they mean *the People at large*; and you would have found it not to suit your purpose, to tell us, that the "*highest authority*" commanded you to love those whom you had just been calling Mos and ARABISTS. You slipped out of this difficulty by omitting a precept, which takes precedence of honouring the King and even of fearing God.

Whether you show a disposition to honour the King in your base endeavours to dishonour his Consort; whether you show

your fear of God by exhibiting yourself arrayed in arrogance, insolence, hypocrisy, and falsehood; whether such be an appropriate commentary on the doctrines which you teach from Sunday to Sunday, at Harrow on the Hill, I shall leave the public to judge; but the people of Harrow on the Hill will certainly want no commentary on the precept, which, from Sunday to Sunday, you teach against the "not once naming of uncleanness amongst them," for, thanks to that noble House which is the object of your praise; thanks to that highest Court of judicature in the land; and thanks particularly to the Bishops, the commentary on that precept, the commentary on the precept not even to name uncleanness; this comment has been most amply exemplified and most extensively circulated by the Ministers and by the House of Lords, in the Report of the Secret Committee, in the Bill of Pains and Penalties, and in that mass of filthiness and falsehood, the opening speech of the Attorney-General; and also in the evidence drawn from Cotton-garden, after being imported from Italy expressly for the instruction of the boys

and girls of England, and so liberally paid for by the sweat of the brows of their fathers and mothers. And, lest any part of this commentary should remain unintelligible, one of the Bishops is reported to have corrected the translation of a very ticklish part of the evidence of mistress Barbara Krantz. The Bishop, doubtless, in bringing forth a full and detailed description in good plain English, of what Mrs. Barbara wrote she saw in the bed, and in putting the object down upon paper, and so bringing it before the eyes of our boys and girls almost as plain as it lay before the eyes of Mrs. Barbara herself; in taking this uncommon pains, the Right Reverend Father in God, was, beyond all question, actuated by the consideration, that the clergy are, as you assert, the "the constituted guardians of morals"!!!

I have thus followed you, Parson, through the whole of your letter. Profiting from your example as a thing to shun, I have used no falsehood, no misrepresentation, no fraud, no deception; no shuffling. I have met you at every point, and I should be very willing to leave your own congregation to judge

between us, without saying another word on the subject; but, Parson, as you stand forward in the name of the whole body to which you belong, I think proper to add a few remarks with regard to the conduct of that body generally.

In the first place, the present struggle in the country, which struggle fills every body with some degree of alarm; and of which struggle even the friends of the Ministers themselves now lament the existence. This struggle owes its origin entirely to the Church! Mark that, Parson. The beginning of the thing was the leaving of her Majesty's name out of the Liturgy. Had it not been for this step, all might have been avoided; but when this step had once been taken, the struggle became matter of absolute necessity. It was a mark of dishonour imprinted on the character of the Queen. It was an open accusation made against her. It was an indelible record of infamy upon her head. It was an open challenge given to every drop of blood in her veins. It was the grossest indignity and insult ever offered to any human being; and it was of-

fered to the bravest and most gallant woman in the world.

When this act had once been committed, there was no retreat without disgrace. Disgrace must fall upon somebody; upon the advisers of this indignity, or upon the Queen herself; and her Majesty bravely resolved to risk fortune and life rather than suffer the disgrace to remain upon her. The consequences of that resolution we have, in part, before us: the remaining consequences we have yet to witness. What those consequences may be, it would be temerity to attempt even to guess at; but, be they what they may, I again say, that the Church will have the prime part of the responsibility resting on its head.

Before her Majesty's name could have been left out of the Liturgy, there must have been a consultation with the Bishops, or with a part of them, at least. At any rate, the Archbishop of Canterbury must have been consulted, and his assent obtained. This was a matter which peculiarly belonged to him: He is a known friend of the Ministers. His family has enormous power. His cousin is a Duke, his brother Lord

*Chancellor of Ireland*, his son *Speaker of the House of Commons*. This was, I say, a matter which peculiarly belonged to him. The law was clear as daylight against the omission of the name; and if he had made a representation to the King *against the omission*, is there a man in England who can possibly believe that the omission would ever have taken place?

Therefore, the whole of the mischief is traced back directly to this origin. All the former proceedings; the Spies, the *Milan Commission*; and all the subsequent proceedings, up to the opening of the *Green Bags*, would easily have been obliterated from people's minds. But this omission in the Liturgy was not to be gotten rid of. It was a stigma not to be endured. It was an act of injustice too glaring to be retracted. Even now, it is this omission in the Liturgy that forms the insuperable bar to accommodation. It cannot be submitted to by the Queen without everlasting disgrace; and it cannot be retracted without disgrace and infamy on those who advised it, and without punishment, too, for their subsequent acts.

Thus is it as clear as day light

that the Church has been the original cause of every thing that now fills you with dread. Comfort yourself, therefore, as well as you can. But, keep your slanders on the Queen and on her friends within your lips. You have rendered no service to the cause of the Queen's persecutors; and have only done mischief to the order to which you belong. Priests have, in all ages, been the fast friends of political injustice and oppression. Why this is so, would admit of an easy explanation. They have generally profitted from their labours; but, in the present case, it appears clear to me that, if they mean to insure their destruction; if they mean to leave themselves without a gleam of hope, they cannot do better than to imitate you in putting forth, by tongue as well as pen, viperous slanders and impudent falsehoods.

WM. COBBETT.

#### DIVERS SUBJECTS.

THE LETTER TO LORD PALMERSTON must come into my next Register. Parson Cuninghame has occupied more of my room than I had, in my mind, allotted to him. Lord Palmerston

deserves good notice, and he shall have it; but I could not bring myself to send off the Parson without his full dose. The affairs of the Soldiers merit great attention, and Lord Palmerston invites us to discussion.

#### CITY OF LONDON.

This great City is a little kingdom in itself; and, as it has great weight, from its name and reputation, it requires to be looked into a little. It has a chief Magistrate; a species of nobles, an upper and lower House; and it has also its places, sinecures, pensions, and grants. It has its Exchequer and almost every thing else appertaining to an independent Government. Its revenues far exceed those of the Republic of New York, which contains pretty nearly two millions of people, and the taxes to maintain the whole of the Government of which, consisting of a Governor, a Council of State, a Senate, a House of Assembly, Judges of a Supreme Court, Judges of inferior Courts, Law Officers in abundance, (for even one is too many), officers of Militia, and all the other officers and persons appertaining to an independent Government, the whole of the Government of this

Commonwealth, far exceeding in riches and resources the kingdom of Hanover; the whole of this Government is maintained at an expence far less in total amount than the public revenues of the single City of London! Therefore, this is a thing worthy of attention; and, as I have heard a little about the manner in which this revenue is disposed of, I shall, as occasion serves, look a little closely at the subject. The gentlemen who compose the City of London Parliament, are not, I am told, wholly deaf to the admonitions of self-interest, nor wholly blind to the great merits of their *own relations*, any more than the Members of another Legislative Assembly, which must be named with caution lest we get laid by the heels or be banished. When the good people in the country are looking up to the Patriots in the Common Council, little do they imagine that certain lines of conduct are made to square with the obtaining of a post for a son in the *Court of Requests*, for instance; and that, when we are surprized at the want of harmony between the Patriots, it should arise from a struggle for such a place as this between the son of one and the son-in-law

of another Patriot. In short, I am not without hope of getting a Peep into those documents which will show us how this revenue is expended; for, it is a shocking thing that the good people in the country should be humbugged with the notion that all is purity, where corruption is, I verily believe, as rank as in any community in the world. In the mean while, let not the country be deceived. The Court of Aldermen and the Common Council are by no means patrons of purity; and their decisions, upon any occasion, are by no means to be looked up to as the criterion of the sentiments of the people of London.

#### THE METHODIST PARSONS.

These gentry have, in two instances, recently been *addressing the King*! For *what* nobody can well tell; but, at the same time, nobody can possibly *blame* the addressers. For my part, I wish they were joined by the Clergy of the Church. This union would be very useful: it is all that is wanting to make the state of things complete.

#### KING'S EXCURSION.

The King is lying off the village of Cowes, in the Isle of

Wight, where he is receiving addresses from, and giving most gracious answers to, the *inhabitants* of the village and the *Watermen of the village*, from both of which respectable bodies His Majesty has received *députations*! He appears also to have received an Address from some people at Portsmouth, and to have knighted a brewer of the name of GARRETT! An Address, the Courier says, is signing at *Portsea*. This is good news. I am very happy to see, that the King treads in the steps, in this respect, of his heroic Queen. The King's answers to Addresses differ, in some respects, from those of her Majesty; but, as practice makes perfectness, we may hope to see improvement. His Majesty, while at Brighton, rode very frequently; but, the Courier says, that he did *not ride out of doors*. He landed once at Cowes, and remained on shore for "*full twenty minutes*." His Majesty does not appear to have landed at Portsmouth: the reason not being stated, it would, of course, be impertinent to ask it.

#### THE QUEEN.

The London Dock-yard men and Shipwrights go up to the



Queen, next Monday, with an Address; and also the Ladies and Gentlemen of the Metropolis—On Tuesday the boatmen, barge-men, and lightermen, of the River Thames, will go with an Address to the Queen by water. These bodies will not contain less than a hundred thousand persons. However, his Majesty has addresses from the *Methodist Conference* and from the *village of Cowes*.

#### VENGEANCE.

The Courier threatens to take vengeance on *bad husbands*; and to expose their sins to the world: that is to say, unless the Queen's friends show *more forbearance*. We commend the Courier; and, whenever he is ready to begin, we will furnish him with some materials. First, there is a villain, who has *turned his wife out of doors*, and who actually lives, and carries on an *incestuous intercourse* with a young woman. Next, there is a villain, who *turned his wife out of doors*, and cohabited with a strumpet for many years, during the life of his wife, whom he left almost to starve, and has since made the strumpet "*an honest woman*." These two villains are most *desperate writers*

against the Queen; but, if the Courier, in all the circle of villainy, can find their match, let us *have them out* by all means. In both of these cases there has been *excessive cruelty* towards the wives, whose characters were good, and *wholly unimpeached*. Two such villains are not to be found in England, except in this instance; and both of them are everlastingly talking about *morality* and *religion*.

#### MADNESS.

To nothing, certainly, short of madness, can the following effusion of the Courier, of Wednesday last, be fairly ascribed. It seems to have come from *Whitehall*. It smells of the *shop*. Whether it come from the hand of the *Great Doctor* himself, or has been prepared by one of the under Apothecaries, we cannot say. A pillow of *hope* might not be amiss to compose the crack-skull to *sleep*.

"The Answers delivered in the name of the Queen to factious, seditious, and even treasonable Addresses, become daily more audacious and *alarming*! It is impossible that her Majesty can *wilfully* authorise such communications, *if she is not insane*. Some short time ago we published the copy an Address from the Manchester Radicals,

"for the purpose of calling pub-  
 "lic attention and reprobation  
 "to the violent language in  
 "which it was couched, and  
 "warning the Queen herself of  
 "its evil tendency. Her Ma-  
 "jesty receives this impudent  
 "composition, and answers, or  
 "is made to answer, that she  
 "receives it *with satisfaction*.  
 "But this is a trifle to what fol-  
 "lows. The Addressers had  
 "spoken of the *events of the*  
 "*16th of August, 1819*, in terms  
 "of most virulent abuse, de-  
 "scribing the *legal interference*  
 "*of the military as a massacre*.  
 "The Queen not only adopts  
 "these sentiments, but identify-  
 "ing herself with the rioters,  
 "says, 'We cannot but know  
 "that the *same hand* has been  
 "our common oppressor.' Now  
 "she had elsewhere distinctly  
 "called the King 'my oppres-  
 "sor.' Here, therefore, she is  
 "made to assert, that to the King's  
 "personal oppression are to be  
 "attributed the unfortunate oc-  
 "currences of last year at Man-  
 "chester! That a lurking in-  
 "cendiary traitor should pen  
 "such infamous language, is  
 "easily conceivable—but that a  
 "wife should so wickedly, false-  
 "ly, and outrageously calum-  
 "niate her husband, that a  
 "Queen should so openly stir  
 "up the people to rebellion, is  
 "what we cannot suffer our-  
 "selves to imagine. Why is  
 "not the villain who devotes  
 "his pen to these diabolical  
 "purposes, dragged from his  
 "lurking-hole to the punish-  
 "ment he so richly merits?  
 "And why do not the respect-  
 "able classes of society through-

"out the kingdom *step forward*  
 "*indignantly to reprobate sen-*  
 "*timents which can have no*  
 "*other tendency than to shake*  
 "*the constitution to its centre,*  
 "and to arm the populace  
 "against law, liberty, and prop-  
 "erty? One other phrase de-  
 "mands notice. It occurs in  
 "most of the replies to the Ad-  
 "dresses presented on Monday,  
 "and it is remarkably indicative  
 "of the real views of her Ma-  
 "jesty's secret instigators. The  
 "Ward of Farringdon-without  
 "is informed, that 'the *selfish*  
 "*'faction'* is aiming a blow at  
 "the rights of every individual  
 "in the realm. The inhabitants  
 "of Cripple-gate are reminded  
 "of the 'domineering views of  
 "that *selfish faction.*' The  
 "Spitalfields Addressers hear  
 "of the tame '*selfish faction*'  
 "as her only enemies. And the  
 "people of Leeds are informed,  
 "that 'the *selfish faction* are  
 "her Majesty's accusers.'—  
 "The people of England, who  
 "know that under this term,  
 "'the *selfish faction,*' is includ-  
 "ed all that is *great, venerable,*  
 "*wise, or honourable* in the  
 "country, will not fail to ap-  
 "preciate such language. They  
 "will feel that she, who is  
 "made to express her hope that  
 "she may be the means of  
 "overthrowing the power of  
 "'this *faction,*' and of 'de-  
 "livering the people of Eng-  
 "land from oppression,' is  
 "made in effect to assume to  
 "herself the office of *First Re-*  
 "*volutionary Leader.*"

This is raging madness. Who  
 but a madman would have com-  
 plained, except in irony, that

the Queen spoke rather uncere-  
moniously of her "*husband*!"  
But, the Doctor is certainly mad!  
For my part, I look upon the  
answers to the Addresses, not,  
indeed, as being *wholly written*  
by the Queen; but, as contain-  
ing *her own thoughts and sen-  
timents*; and, indeed, as ema-  
nating from her particular in-  
structions, and passing from un-  
der her eye. The Queen is  
*industrious, attentive, watch-  
ful*, blessed with uncommon  
quickness and with extraordi-  
nary soundness of judgment.  
Her Majesty has a will of her  
own. It is *her own great mind*  
that sets all measures relating to  
her affairs in motion. She seems  
to have been born for the exalt-  
ed place, which, for many years  
let us hope, she is to fill. A per-  
son of such rare capacity, such  
benevolence of heart, and such  
bravery, is truly worthy of a  
crown.

#### NEW SORT OF CRIME.

At Webstead, near Bury St.  
Edmunds, a man has been sent  
to jail, to take his trial at the  
Quarter Sessions, for saying, in  
the Church, just after the Parson  
had pronounced the prayer for  
the King, "and GOD BLESS  
"THE QUEEN ALSO." The  
person thus dealt with is a Mr.  
THWRIGHT, and the Parson's  
name is THOMAS IMAGE, who  
has two livings, the Rectory of  
Webstead and that of Stanning-

field. Twenty pounds were, it  
is said, demanded of Mr.  
THWRIGHT, which he refused  
to pay. He also refused to *find  
bail*, and was, accordingly, com-  
mitted! The Quarter Sessions  
should be looked to, and some-  
body should go down from Lon-  
don, watch the proceedings,  
take down names, note the cir-  
cumstances, and do every thing  
necessary to insure a complete  
record of this affair.—N. B. The  
Queen's friends, in all parts of  
the country, ought to be parti-  
cular in *noting down* the con-  
duct of her enemies, if they pro-  
ceed to acts of violence.

#### NOTICES.

The first Volume of Cobbett's  
Parliamentary Debates, bound  
in boards, will be ready for de-  
livery on Wednesday next.

The *last Register*, No. 10,  
has been in such demand as to  
cause a *new edition*. It does,  
indeed, contain some most *sting-  
ing* matter.

The Register, No 6, which  
contains the *Answer to the vile  
Speech of the Attorney General*,  
is out of print; but the *Answer*  
*itself*, printed separately, has  
been re-published, and may be  
had in any number, price three  
pence.

MR. CORBETT.—There is ad-  
vertised, a work, called, "A  
"Peep at the House of Com-  
"mons; or, the Cat let out of the  
"Bag." We know nothing of  
this work. It does not come  
from our source. Our's is to be  
called, "*The Links of the Loos-  
"er House*," and will be pub-  
lished by Mr. Benbow.—Yours,  
The Authors of Peep at the  
Peers.

# HER MAJESTY'S ANSWERS TO ADDRESSES.

The following Address, has been presented to her Majesty from the Artisans, Mechanics, and Labouring Classes of the town of Manchester:—

“TO HER MOST GRACIOUS  
MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

“May it please your Majesty, We his Majesty's loyal subjects, the Artisans, Mechanics, and Labouring Classes of the town of Manchester, beg leave most respectfully to approach your Majesty with our congratulations on your return amongst us; in contempt and defiance of the artifices and threats of your enemies.

“We beseech your Majesty to accept our condolence on the demise of your ever-to-be-lamented daughter. We assure your Majesty, that in no part of his Majesty's dominions, was the loss which the nation sustained on that melancholy occasion more deeply regretted or sincerely felt than in this town and neighbourhood. We looked forward with anxiety and hope to the day when it should please Providence to invest her with the authority of the high station to which she appeared to be destined, as a period at which not only the nation at large would have entered upon a brighter and happier course, but this district in particular would have been delivered from an odious and oppressive local domination, aggravated by all the evils which ignorance and folly can accumulate upon a suffering population.

We feel that the measure now in progress against your Majesty, is subversive of every safeguard of the rights and liberties of the people. We believe that the design in degrading and dethroning your Majesty, by the monstrous Bill which the Ministry have introduced into Parliament, and which at once creates the crime, and fixes the penalty, is to give a striking and practical instance of the absurd claim to omnipotence, which those who sit in the seats which ought to be filled by the representatives of the nation, set up over the laws and constitution of our country. If the first subject in the realm can be destroyed, without even an offence against the law being imputed to her, who can hereafter describe the difference between such a state of things, and a state of absolute despotism, in which the will and pleasure of the Prince are alone the rule and measure of obedience.

“Apart, therefore, from all the considerations of the grievous injustice which your Majesty will individually suffer, by such an outrage upon the laws as that by which it is now sought to deprive you of your undoubted rights, we are convinced that, upon public ground, and with reference to the general safety, we are bound to raise our voices in defence of your Majesty, and we do solemnly declare in the language of one of your Majesty's Counsel, that whatever may be enacted against you in Parliament, we will never consent to pay respect to any person who, in

virtue of such enactment, may usurp your Majesty's situation. We regard your title to your rank to be as well-founded and perfect as that of his Majesty on the throne on which he sits for the public good, and for the public good only; and we applaud your Majesty's determination to resist the attempt to dishonour you with all the means which it shall please God to give you.

"The artisans and mechanics of this populous and powerful district partake with us in admiration of your determination, and in readiness to assist you in carrying it into effect by all the means which we constitutionally possess, and which we humbly tender to your Majesty's acceptance.

"Your Majesty cannot be unacquainted with the severe privations and deep sufferings of this immense population; and doubtless your Majesty's benevolent heart has been wrung at the dreadful events of the fatal 16th of August. The same power which scourged us is now oppressing you;—it is not less our interest than our duty, therefore, to stand up against your Majesty's enemies, who are also the enemies of the rights and liberties of the whole people. The deep-rooted and atrocious designs of this faction must be defeated; or the nation sinks at once into utter and hopeless slavery. We declare that we would rather die than live under such a state of things as that which our enemies are preparing for us. This is our solemn and serious resolution.

As far as our power can extend we will prevent your Majesty from being unjustly and unlawfully sacrificed. We have no fortunes to offer, but we hold our lives valueless when justice and freedom are in danger."

To which her Majesty returned the following most gracious Answer:—

"I receive with great satisfaction this loyal, affectionate, and impressive Address, from so numerous, so useful, and so efficient a part of the community as the artisans, mechanics, and labouring classes of the town of Manchester. The true honour of the country has been in the highest degree promoted by their incomparable skill and their unrivalled ingenuity, while their persevering industry has so largely contributed towards the means of maintaining the dignity of the Throne and the power and glory of the kingdom.

"No time nor circumstances can remove from my mind that beloved object which so vividly excites your kind condolence, and still so tenderly interests my affections. If this calamity frustrated the fond hopes of the people, how much did it deduct from the sum of my happiness, and add to the number of my woes! It aggravated my other manifold afflictions, by the invention of a new conspiracy, which, if it was not in its origin more detestable than the former, was certainly more formidable in its aspect, more artful in its contrivance, more extensive in its ramifications, and more powerful in its means.

My own innocence, combined with the good sense and justice of the people, has been at once my solace and my support under this new and terrible persecution.

"The conspiracy by which I have been attacked has already been more than half vanquished by the flagitiousness of its chiefs and the turpitude of its auxiliaries. The most artful combinations of perjury cannot long endure the piercing scrutiny of truth.

"I am happy to perceive that the industrious classes in the town of Manchester, as well as in the rest of the kingdom, regard the unconstitutional attack upon my rights as an illegal invasion of their own. The Bill of Pains and Penalties, which threatens my degradation, weakens the security of that sacred tenure by which every Briton is protected in his liberty, his property, and his life. He who venerated a free Constitution will indignantly repel the introduction of arbitrary power in any of its varied forms.

"We naturally compassionate the severe privations and deep sufferings, even of the idle and the dissolute; but how much more forcibly is our sympathy excited by such privations and sufferings, when they are accumulated upon the industrious, laborious, frugal, and virtuous part of this exemplary community! My mind has indeed been often agonized by the recollection of that dreadful day, to which the industrious classes of Manchester particularly allude; but while we cannot but know

that the same hand has been our common oppressor, let us, as far as we are able, bury the past in oblivion; and trust that, though these things have been, they will be no more! Let us endeavour to calm the perturbed passions and to heal the bleeding wounds of our distracted and lacerated country; and, for myself, though my afflictions have been many in number and long in continuance, I shall think them all amply compensated if they should, at last, prove the means of contributing towards the harmony, the prosperity, and the happiness of the kingdom."

Her Majesty has returned the following gracious Answer to the Address from BIRMINGHAM:—

"I have the most unfeigned satisfaction in receiving this affectionate Address from the people of Birmingham and its vicinity.

"The losses that I have sustained during my long absence upon the Continent, have been irreparable. But as, in the constitution of the moral world, there is never any evil without some subsequent or concomitant good, I have derived no small degree of solace from contemplating the probable benefits of which my afflictions are likely to be productive to the people of these realms. If I had experienced no suffering, and been treated with no indignity, that union of mind and heart would never have been seen which now binds the nation from one extremity to another in the sa-

ered cause of legal right, and of Constitutional liberty.

"To my wrongs, therefore, the nation may, ultimately, be indebted for the recovery of its rights, and the vile attempt to effect my degradation may exalt the people to a higher pitch of freedom and prosperity.

"No Queen was ever the subject of so many, and such barbarous persecutions as I have experienced. But while these persecutions have had little effect in ruffling my serenity, or in marring my happiness, they have proved a bed of thorns to my adversaries.

"The spirit of malignity is never a spirit of repose. It is the serpent gnawing the heart; and if there be at this moment one who, more than another, is an object of pity for the suspicions to which he is a victim, or for the inquietude to which he is a prey; for the innumerable vexations which he is hourly, nay, momentarily feeling; for the recollections of lost happiness and of deserted virtue; for the consciousness of malice that has been rendered impotent, and of vengeance that has missed its aim: such an object of pity is, perhaps, to be seen at the head of my adversaries. The moralist of aftertimes, when he wants examples of abortive malice, or unsuccessful treachery, to give effect to his lessons, or to breathe a living energy on his page, will not long be at a loss to know from what part of our history to extract an impressive proof that cunning, malevolence, and perfidy, excite nothing but scorn,

and are productive of nothing but misery."

ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE  
WARD OF FARRINGDON-WITHOUT.

"The Inhabitants of the Ward of Farringdon-without have long shewn themselves the friends of liberty and the enemies of oppression. It gives me, therefore, great pleasure to receive this animated, constitutional, and affectionate Address from citizens of the metropolis, whose principles are so congenial with my own.

"The warm, indeed the unexampled, sympathy which I have experienced on the part of the British people, has not only alleviated my sufferings, but has added strength to that fortitude which the internal sentiments of integrity would never suffer to languish in my heart. At the same time, if I do not feel, perhaps I ought to feel, more gratitude than resentment, towards my enemies, for the wrongs which they have endeavoured to heap upon me, when I consider that those wrongs are likely, under the direction of a superintending Providence, to assist the nation in the recovery of its constitutional rights and liberties.

"The people of England are now strongly convinced that the selfish faction is not merely attempting to deprive me of my honour or my rights, but is, through me, aiming a fatal blow at the rights of every individual in these realms. My destruction would prepare the way for the destruction of public liberty.—My cause, therefore, has become every man's cause. It is, in-

deed, the cause of all classes—of the high and the low—of the peer and the peasant—of the rich and the poor: for, to which of these classes is a free constitution not a benefit? or to whom is it not a blessing to be independent and free? But if my rights are once sacrificed at the shrine of tyranny, liberty will soon become only a name. It will, at least for a time, be buried in my tomb. It will, indeed, revive; for it is an indestructible essence: and, while man exists upon the earth, it cannot be entirely destroyed. But it may suffer a temporary extinction of its spirit, or a paralysis of its powers.

"Anarchy is the greatest of all evils; but anarchy is usually the climax of bad government. Bad government sacrifices the interests of the many to that of the few, till the very elements of the social scheme, wanting the strong cement of the common good, are so shattered and disappointed, that they can hardly be held together by any principle from within, or any power from without. The vessel of the state is then cast for a time, like a scattered wreck, upon the waters of strife.

"If the people ask me 'What are we to do in the present peril of the constitution?' I answer, *My people, my friends, my children*—be united, be temperate, be firm. Let justice be your constant guide, your regulating principle. Suffer not yourselves to be hurried into the approbation of any measures, however specious they may seem, that have not justice for their begin-

ning, and the general welfare for their end.

"Let Liberty be the object of your unfeigned devotion, your unbounded love; but on the one side of Liberty place Justice, and on the other Humanity.—Without these two fair associates, Liberty is apt to become a devastating tempest, or a consuming fire."

ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE  
WARD OF CRIPPLEGATE-WITHIN.

"I am deeply obliged to the Inhabitants and Freemen of the Ward of Cripplegate-Within for an Address so loyal and so affectionate towards myself, and at the same time breathing the purest sentiments of constitutional liberty.

"The light of liberty was long preserved in the ark of the British constitution, when it was extinguished, or almost extinct, in every other part of the world. It is from this light that the people of other countries have originally derived a large part of their present political illumination. Here the spirit of liberty was first kindled: and hence its sacred heat was imparted to the bosoms of the wise, the generous, and the brave, in other branches of the great European family. But, while other nations have been indebted to us for a portion of this heavenly fire, we have ourselves suffered the flame to become languid and weak in that temple of constitutional freedom which it once so splendidly illuminated.

"It would afford me the sweetest satisfaction to be in



any degree instrumental in re-kindling the dying fire of national liberty, and in rendering the British constitution what it once was—the glory of the world.

“In the conflict which I am waging with my adversaries in defence of my violated rights, I am defending the rights of every Englishman. If I am successful in this conflict, the victory will redound less to my own personal satisfaction than to that which I derive from the reflection that the rights of individuals and the general liberties of the nation will henceforth be secured

against the domineering views of that selfish faction, which is equally an enemy to every improvement in the political condition of man in this country, and in every part of the world.

“Perhaps I ought to triumph in the indignities I have experienced, and to rejoice in the wrongs I have suffered, as those wrongs and indignities have been the means which Providence has employed for exciting such a spirit in the nation as must tend to secure the rights of the people, and to enlarge the practical benefits of the constitution.”

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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## A LETTER

TO  
MR. BROUGHAM,

ON

*His neglect of Duty, with regard to the Defence of her Majesty, the Queen.*

London, Oct. 5, 1820.

SIR,

Public expectation was raised to the highest pitch at the moment when you entered the House of Lords, on Tuesday last. I cannot say that I participated fully in this expectation; for I have never been able to get rid of the impression made on my mind by the mysterious silence at St. Omers; by your transactions of 1819 and of April 1820; by the speech threatening to thwart the Queen; by the Protocols-negotiations; and especially by the Queen's answers to the addresses from Preston and Nottingham, which manifestly were the work of you and of Mr. Denman; and which work, if it had not been instantly put a stop to, would have sent the Queen from the country, and made her the everlasting scorn of the world. I was, therefore, not confident in my expectations, especially when I saw you lingering at two hundred miles distance from your Royal Client, and your colleagues at half the distance in another direction. This seemed very unaccountable, while there were fifty or sixty witnesses to be examined, and while there were so many

other things that would have kept a zealous advocate at his post! I am not to be told of *indisposition*. Indisposition, whether from gout or pains in the chest, may serve the turn of tricky patriots, who wish to skulk out of acting up to their professions; but if an advocate be indisposed, it is his duty to resign; and not to retain his post without giving up the whole of his time and talents to the performance of its duties; especially in a case like the present, where all the best feelings of the heart ought to have co-operated with all the powers of the mind. Instead of making a flashy speech at Cheltenham, Mr. Denman ought to have been pinned down to some spot, where he could have heard from her Majesty every hour, if necessary. The generous enthusiasm with which he was received at Cheltenham ought to have inspired him with a desire to imitate it. It was, rightly interpreted, the strongest admonition for him to return instantly to his all-important duties in London. You, as we shall by and by see, give a lively, a most animated, and almost a terrific picture of the duties of an advocate. You represent that those duties may possibly include the *sacrificing even of himself*! You and your colleague appear, however, not to have been very strongly impressed with a sense of those duties, when *indisposition*,

which may mean a little failure of appetite as well as a galloping consumption; when indisposition, not sufficiently severe to prevent you both from travelling with great speed, over a great extent of country; when such indisposition could keep you from the scene of action, till within eight and forty hours of the moment when all the tremendous powers of the truly terrible enemies of your client were again to be arrayed against her; when such indisposition could produce such effects, it is pretty clear, I think, that you must both of you have lost sight of those all-powerful duties, of which we shall by and by find you giving so ranting a description.

On these grounds I had formed an opinion not at all favourable to exertions, from which so much was generally expected; an expectation founded on the bold and resolute tone which you took, upon some occasions, towards the close of the case of the Queen's enemies; but which expectation ought to have been greatly damped, by the very undecided, and, indeed, the very equivocal part which you acted on the last day of the sitting, at the time when the adjournment took place.

I am not about to enter into an examination of your mode of attacking the evidence of the enemy. That was a matter ready cut and dry, prepared by men not afflicted by indisposition at so critical a moment. What I have to find fault with is your neglect to lay before your hearers, before the nation

at large and before the whole world, a full and powerful statement of the Queen's just grounds of complaint; of all her sufferings; of all her agonising torments; of all the injuries and insults wantonly inflicted upon her, and the bare recital of which, without any of your bombastical and hyperbolical decorations, is enough to chill the blood, to make the hair move on the head, and to fill the breast with an indescribable mixture of hope and despair, of pity and indignation. You talk, in the course of your speech, of perjured witnesses brought against your client. You talk incidentally about a conspiracy; and did you want the judgment to perceive that it was necessary to pave the way to these developments and conclusions? Did you want the judgment to perceive that these discoveries of perjuries and conspiracies must have little weight, unless traced back to, and connected with, a natural and efficient cause? No; you did not want judgment to perceive this; but you wanted the will, boldly to go into the detail, by which that cause would have been made evident to all eyes, and by which your defence would have formed a complete whole, implanting perfect conviction in every impartial mind. All that was material to your client's case you thus omitted; and, instead of it, made the greater part of your exordium to consist of a fulsome and nauseous eulogium on those who were sitting as the Judges of your Royal Mistress, and thereby de-

priving her, by possibility at least, as far as you were able to deprive her, of all ground of complaint as to any judgment that they might pass upon her.

Carrying in our minds these preliminary observations, let us now come to a somewhat closer examination of your speech. You set out with disclaiming, *for the present* at least, all intention to go into *recriminatory* matter. Your words, as given in the report, were as follow:

"In this situation, with all the time which their lordships had afforded him for reflection, it was difficult for him to compose his mind to the proper discharge of his professional duty; for he was still weighed down with the sense of the heavy responsibility of the task he had undertaken. He must also observe, that it was no light addition to the anxiety of this feeling to foresee that, before these proceedings closed, it might be his *unexampled lot* to act in a way which might appear *inconsistent with the duty of a good subject*—to state what might make some call in question his loyalty, though that was not what he anticipated from their lordships. He would now remind their lordships that his illustrious client, then Caroline of Brunswick, arrived in this country in the year 1793; she was the niece of the Sovereign, and the intended consort of the heir-apparent, and was herself not far removed from the succession to the crown. But he now went back to that period *solely for the purpose of pass-*

*ing over all that had elapsed from her arrival until her departure in 1814; and he rejoiced that the most faithful discharge of his duty permitted him to take this course. But he could not do this without pausing for a moment to vindicate himself against an imputation to which he might not unnaturally be exposed in consequence of the course which he pursued, and to assure their lordships that the cause of the Queen, as it appeared in evidence, did not require recrimination at present. The evidence against her Majesty, he felt, did not now call upon him to utter one whisper against the conduct of her illustrious consort, and he solemnly assured their lordships that but for that conviction his lips would not at that time be closed. In this discretionary exercise of his duty, in postponing the case which he possessed, their lordships must know that he was waving a right which belonged to him, and abstaining from the use of materials which were unquestionably his own. If, however, he should hereafter think it advisable to exercise this right—if he should think it necessary to avail himself of means which he at present declined using—let it not be vainly supposed that he, or even the youngest member in the profession, would hesitate to resort to such a course, and fearlessly perform his duty. He had before stated to their lordships—but surely of that it was scarcely necessary to re-*

" mind them—that an advocate, " in the discharge of his duty, " knows but one person in all the " world, and that person is his " client. To save that client by " all means and expedients, and " at all hazards and costs to " other persons, and, among " them, to himself, is his first " and only duty; and in per- " forming this duty he must not " regard the alarm, the tor- " ments, the destruction, which " he may bring upon others. " Separating the duty of a pa- " triot from that of an advocate, " he must go on reckless of con- " sequences, though it should be " his *unhappy fate to involve* " *his country in confusion*. He " felt, however, that, were he " now to enter on the branch of " his case to which he had al- " luded, he should *seem to quit the* " *higher ground of innocence on* " *which he was proud to stand*. " He would seem to seek to " justify, not to resist the " charges; and plead not guilty " —to acknowledge and exte- " nuate offences, levities, and " indiscretions, the very least of " which he came there to deny."

Now, Sir, your principal reason, or, at least, the only plausible reason; which you here give for your *non-recrimination*, is this, that by resorting to recrimination you might *seem to quit the higher ground of innocence*. On this I have first to observe, that it was an instance of bad taste, as well as a want of justice to your case, to make use of the word *recrimination* at all. There was no recrimination needed. When a person is *accused* of a crime, when a

person is *threatened* with a prosecution, when such person, *before the prosecutor has been heard*, begins to *accuse the accuser of crimes*; instead of defending himself, or denying the charge; when, in short, an accused party, does what you, in the character of her Majesty's Attorney-General, and, as I am pretty sure, without her Majesty's consent, or knowledge, did, in the House of Commons, on the memorable seventh of June last, when an accused party *thus* acts, it is properly called recrimination; and recrimination too of a very suspicious character.

But, after the prosecutor has been heard; and when the prosecuted comes to her defence, is she not to state all the facts necessary to show what the character, what the conduct, of the prosecutor has been; and, this for the obvious purpose of showing the nature and strength of his *motives* to the prosecution, and also of showing what he would be likely to do, to what lengths he would be likely to go, what means he would be likely to employ, in order to effect the destruction of the party prosecuted? This is not *recrimination*: this is *defence*; and this you know as well as I; for what is so common as to ask a prosecutor upon cross-examination; whether he has not had a *quarrel with the accused*? And is it not notorious; is it not insulting the understandings of my readers to assert, that, it is never neglected to endeavour to shew malice in the prosecutor; to deduce that malice from for-

mer overt acts; and by such means to develop the true sources of the accusation, and, to demolish any but the very best of evidence brought in it's support.

This mighty advantage you wholly abandon, and that upon the flimsy pretext, that, by resorting to what you were pleased to call recrimination, you might *seem to quit the higher ground of innocence*. However, as if for the purpose of defeating your own professed intention; as if for the purpose of showing, that with all your high tone, some suspicions of guilt still lurked in your own mind, you repeatedly observe that you shall, if *compelled*, resort to *recrimination* at last! *Compelled!* Compelled by what? Why, by a failure to prove her Majesty innocent, to be sure; or, at least, by a failure to set aside the Bill. What was this, then, but a *threat*, that, if the Lords did not acquit the Queen, you are armed with recrimination upon the King? No one can deny that this is the fair interpretation of your meaning; and I think it will be agreed on all hands, that any thing more injurious to your Royal Client could not possibly have fallen from your lips.

The defence of the Queen demanded, and the nation expected, a full, a clear, a fearless statement, of all the wrongs she had suffered, of all the injuries and insults heaped upon her up to the very hour of the commencement of what is called the trial. You tell the Lords a very important piece of news; you

"*remind*" them that your illustrious client first arrived in this country in the year 1795, and that she was then Princess Caroline of Brunswick! How the Lords must have blessed themselves at hearing this news, conveyed to them, too, in such a pompous manner! They were expecting, I dare say, that you were going into that detail of ill usage, conspiracies and perjuries, before a secret tribunal, to enter into which was so natural and so obviously necessary; being persons of an extremely compassionate nature; endued with uncommon sensibility; made up almost wholly of the milk of human kindness; so tenderly alive, as by numerous acts they had proved themselves, to all the calls of humanity and mercy; being persons of this description, the Lords must have felt as poor Pilgrim felt when the Mountain of Sins was taken from his breast; they must have felt as one feels when suddenly relieved from the horrid suggestions of the night-mare; when you in the downy accents of a sweetly-fed Lincoln's Inn, told them that you had gone back to the year 1796, only for the purpose of *skipping over the whole* of the nineteen years between 1795 and 1814. Nevertheless, if you had been so disposed, you might have "*reminded*" their Lordships of several things, all of which belong to your case; all of which were absolutely necessary to do full justice to your client; many of which were but imperfectly known to some of the Lords;

some of which were, perhaps, known to very few of them; the far greater part of which were, as yet, but imperfectly known to the nation; hardly any of which were thoroughly known to other nations, where, however, the Bill of Pains and Penalties had been amply circulated; and the whole of which, if fully and clearly stated by you, would have found their way into the minds and hearts of all the people in this country, and of those of the far greater part of the civilized world.

You might have reminded their Lordships, that, with her setting her foot on the shore, the persecutions of your illustrious client commenced. You might have reminded them of the persons by whom she was instantly surrounded; and, *here* it is that I boil with indignation at your conduct! *Here* it is that I feel against you anger in proportion to the zeal that I have always felt in the cause of this injured, oppressed, and insulted Queen, whose generous mind and gallant deeds are so great an honour to her sex and to the nation! *Here* it is that I feel the sting! I dare not say what you could have said: if I dared say it, I have no means of promulgation, such as you had in your hands. Shackled by the Six Acts, and a banishment law staring me in the face; Acts to which you gave your hollow opposition, but which had your secret, as the spy-system had your open, approbation: thus shackled; thus placed in continual peril of separation from country, friends, and family, what

can I do, compared with *what you might have done?* You know as well as I know, that you had those powers in your hands, which nobody else had, and which nobody else could have; and the exertion of those powers you neglected to make use of.

Passing over what I dare not touch on, but *which will be finally touched on and fully exposed, too, in spite of every thing that you can do to prevent it*; passing over these things, which would have made an impression on sound hearts and minds, and not have excited ridicule, as did your pompous *prayer* at the close of your speech; passing over these things, which I dare not speak of in plain and honest language, there were things, which, though many of them perfectly notorious, deserved enumeration at the least; merited being stated upon this occasion, forming, as they did, the prelude to the prosecution, against which you were tendering a defence.

You might have reminded their lordships that, in 1796, your Royal client, then seven years younger than her husband, was demanded in marriage by him; that she was not left to her own choice; that she obeyed her father's will in giving her hand to the now King. You might have reminded their lordships, that the husband received from the people nearly seven hundred thousand pounds in consequence of this marriage. You might have reminded them of the duties, the solemn vows, the most sacred engagements of the husband.

You might have reminded them that the husband, of his own choice, separated from his wife, she then having an infant three months old in her arms; that this took place within thirteen months of the day of marriage, and that the sole ground upon which he so separated, as stated under his own hand, was, that his inclinations were *not under his own controul*; for the truth of all which you might have appealed to one of the Peers then sitting before you in judgment on your Royal Mistress!

Here if you could have found in your heart to omit your nauseous panegyric on the Peers, you might have found a fit place for describing the feelings, which upon receiving this unprovoked insult; this unmerited expulsion from her husband's bed; those feelings which must have swelled and agonized the breast of a high-minded Princess, of a virtuous woman, of a dutiful daughter, of a faithful wife, of an affectionate mother. Were there not here wrongs to be complained of? Were there not here violated rights? Were there not here the grounds of seeking for motives to that series of acts which at last have led to the prosecution against which you were called upon to defend your Royal Mistress?

You might have reminded their lordships of the transactions of 1806; of the collection of information; of the carrying of that information to a cunning old pensioned Chancellor; of the laying of that information before the then King; of the Ministry of that day, amongst whom was Lord Moira, advising the King to authorize a Commission consisting of four

of the Ministers to sit and receive evidence against the discarded wife; of that wife never being told a word of the matter, till a Magistrate came to summon and take away her own servants from her house; and you might have reminded their lordships, that, even upon that occasion, this gallant lady said, "*let them go, and bear witness that I do not speak a word to them before they go.*" You might have reminded their lordships, that it was then positively sworn to, that the Princess had been pregnant, had had a child, and had given it suck; that all this was proved to be false; and that though the Ministers themselves confessed that the witnesses had been guilty of perjury, they found an excuse for not prosecuting them for that perjury.

You might have reminded their lordships that it was contrived to induce the then King to write a letter to the Princess, giving her a caution to be more reserved in future, which caution has been basely swelled into a *reprimand*. As to this reprimand you might have told them, that it proceeded wholly upon *ex-parte* testimony; that the accused was never heard in her defence; that she always from the first declared that there was perjury here as well as with regard to the child; that one of the witnesses, Fanny Lloyd, had sworn that an apothecary had told her that the Princess was pregnant; that the apothecary swore that he had never told Fanny Lloyd any such thing, and that he believed the contrary of the fact; that these swearings took place before Lord Moira; that, AFTER



THIS, this same Fanny Lloyd was sent to swear before the Commission; that the Commissioners laid her swearing before the King; and that it was upon evidence like this, that the Ministers recommended, and that the King wrote, his letter of caption. You might have reminded their lordships; that the witnesses upon that occasion, the false swearers upon that occasion, were not only not punished for perjury; but that even after the acquittal of the Princess some of them were received at the court of the late Queen! You, being a Member of Parliament, ought to be ashamed not to know, whether the whole or any part of those witnesses be, or be not, *now in the receipt of pensions under the Crown*; but, at any rate, you might have asserted to their Lordships that Sir John Douglas held a pension *during pleasure* at the time of the perjury, and that he held that pension *during pleasure* to the end of his life! Was not this a fact worthy of stating? You talked loosely about a conspiracy; but, nothing did you do tending to implant firmly a conviction of the fact in the minds of your hearers.

You might have reminded their lordships of the extreme and even outrageous bitterness which excluded her Majesty from Court in 1814, when her daughter first appeared in public. Was there nothing to dwell on here? Was there nothing to pourtray in that series of measures which tore the mother from the child, and the child from the mother? Had you forgotten this continued series of unparalleled persecutions? Had

wholly unnecessary, and, indeed, if the thing come to be examined, wholly unfounded in truth. However, when we come to look at the use that was made of this omission; when we come to see that, under the pretence of shewing some of the hardships to which her Majesty was exposed, you take occasion to tell the Peers that they and their wives are *choice and dignified society*; that they are the "*FIRST SOCIETY IN THE WORLD*;" and that it was no humiliation even in a Queen to *count their society*; when we come to see this, we find a meaning in the introduction of this uncalled-for, and apparently most silly admission. The passage of your speech to which I allude is as follows:

"One admission: he did make; and let the learned counsel who supported the bill take it, and make the most they could of it, for it was the only admission that would be made to them. He granted that her Majesty had left this country for Italy; he granted that while abroad she had moved in society chiefly foreign, inferior probably to that which, under happier circumstances, she had known—and very different, certainly, from that which she had previously enjoyed in this country. He admitted that when the Queen was here, and happy, not, indeed, in the protection of her own family, but in the friendship of their lordships and their families, that she moved in more choice and dignified society than any in which she has since had the good fortune to be placed."

"The charge against her was—that she went to Italy, and that, instead of associating with the peers and peeresses of England, she took to her society only foreigners. He fully admitted that her Majesty had been under the necessity of associating with Italian nobility, and sometimes with the commonalty of that country. But who are they that bring this charge? Others might blame her Majesty for going abroad—others might say that she had experienced the consequences of leaving this country and associating with foreigners; but it was not for their lordships to make this charge. They were the very last persons who should fling this at the Queen; for they who now presumed to sit as her judges were the very witnesses she must call to acquit her of this charge. They were, in fact, not only the witnesses to acquit but had been the cause of this single admitted fact. While her Majesty resided in this country she courteously threw open her door to the peers of England and their families. She graciously condescended to court their society, and, as long as it suited certain purposes which were not her's—as long as it served interests in which she had no concern—as long as she could be made subservient to the ambitious views of others—she did not court in vain. But when a change took place—when those interests were to be retained which she had been made the instrument of grasping—when that lent of

"power and place to which she was doomed to fall a victim had been satisfied—then in vain did she open her doors to their lordships and their families; then it was that those whom she had hitherto condescended to court—and it was no humiliation to court—the first society in the world, abandoned her. Her Majesty was then reduced to the alternative of *begging society in this country as a favour, or of leaving it.* She could not, by humbling herself, have obtained the society of British peeresses, and must have sought that of other classes, or gone abroad. Such, then, being the circumstances, it was not in the presence of their lordships that he expected to hear the Queen reproached for going abroad. It was not here that he had thought any one would have dared to lift up his voice, and make it a topic of censure that the Princess of Wales had associated with foreigners—with some whom, perhaps, she might say she would not, and ought not to have chosen under other and happier circumstances."

Upon what ground you thought it conducive to the interest of your client to bestow this nauseous panegyric upon the Peers and their families, I do not know; but this I know, that if I had been in your place, and if I had read, as you must have read, the public declarations of your Royal Mistress herself, I should not have praised the Peers and their families, even though I had been convinced, as I dare say you are, as per-

fectly as all the rest of us, that they are the most virtuous, most conscientious, most honourable and most disinterested of all the persons in this known world. I might be as well convinced as you are, that their wives are virtue itself; that husbands and wives are paragons of conjugal constancy; that looseness of manners; that adultery, single or double; that fornication, simple or compound; that greediness; that profligacy; that the tricks of black legs; that swindling on a grand scale; that stupid arrogance, and stinking cowardice; that meanness that soars and pride that licks the dust; that all these are wholly unknown in that assembly, and in the families of that assembly, to whom you were addressing yourself. Of all this I might have been as well convinced as you are; but, while the declarations of my Royal Mistress upon the subject lay before the world, I never would have uttered that which should be found to be in direct contradiction to those declarations. I might have been as thoroughly convinced as you are, that the Ministers; that the Green Bag Committee Lords; that those who brought in the Bill of Pains and Penalties; that those who have repeatedly voted in favour of carrying on that Bill; that those who refused your Royal Mistress a list of witnesses; that those who refused her a list of places; that those who have shut the witnesses up in a fortress; that those who have barricaded the streets, and surrounded themselves with horse police as well as with

regular soldiers; that those amongst whom are the men that employed COOKE, POWELL, BROWN, and the rest of the hunters after evidence; that those amongst whom are great numbers of persons (including two own brothers of the King) holding lucrative offices, during pleasure: I might have been as thoroughly convinced as you that this was the most proper tribunal in the world; that these were the fittest persons that could be found on the face of the earth to judge between the King and Queen: I might have been quite sure that this was the case; but if I had carried down protests to them as you have done, in the name of my Royal Mistress, against their jurisdiction; and if I had had as you have lying before you, the declarations of my Royal Mistress, as to the character of this House of Peers, I would have suffered my tongue to have been torn from my throat rather than have called them and their families "the ornament of the country, and the first society in the world."

One would have thought the thing impossible; but when once a *real talker* gets a *gait*, as the Yorkshire-men call it, he never knows where to stop. On he goes through thick and thin. One would have thought it impossible that you should make shift to sing the praises of Pitt and of Perceval, upon this occasion; but you did it; and we shall now see how: "How wretched was not the lot of this lady as displayed in all the events of her chequered life! It was always her sad fate to lose her best stay, her strongest and

"surest protector, when danger threatened her; and, by a coincidence most miraculous in her eventful history, not one of her intrepid defenders was ever withdrawn from her, without that loss being the immediate signal for the renewal of momentous attacks upon her honour and her life. Mr. Pitt, who had been her constant friend and protector, died in 1806. A few weeks after that event took place the first attack was levelled at her. Mr. Pitt left her as a legacy to Mr. Perceval, who became her best, her most undaunted and firmest protector. But no sooner had the hand of an assassin laid prostrate that Minister, than her Royal Highness felt the force of the blow by the commencement of a renewed attack, though she had but just been borne through the last by Mr. Perceval's skilful and powerful defence of her character. Mr. Whitbread then undertook her protection, but soon that melancholy catastrophe happened which all good men of every political party in the state, he believed, sincerely and universally lamented: then came with Mr. Whitbread's dreadful loss the murmuring of that storm which was so soon to burst with all its tempestuous fury upon her hapless and devoted head."

If, instead of poor Whitbread, whose name a real friend would refrain from mentioning, the devil had occurred to your mind, you certainly would have praised him; for how could you have declined it after having praised those two execrable and ex-

ecrated Ministers, PITT and PERCEVAL ! People may abuse the devil as long as they please ; but I am satisfied he never did half so much harm to mankind : during the same space of time I mean. They were the scourge of England ; and, by the means of England's resources, they were the scourge of the world.

Never was a more true word said, however, than that PITT left the Princess as a LEGACY to Perceval. The little sharp terror of a lawyer seemed to regard her Royal Highness in that light ; and he turned his legacy to most excellent account. The legacy put him into place and put his enemies out of place ; and the same legacy kept him in place when he would have been turned out, had it not been for the legacy. His conduct towards her Royal Highness ; or, rather, her Royal Highness having listened to his advice, was the source, and the only source, of all her future calamities. When the commission of 1806 had ended its inquiries ; when the perjury had been detected ; when the scandalous conspiracy had been discovered ; *that was the time for exposure !* That was the time for crushing the enemies of the Princess. If that had been done then, she would have held her courts when the Prince became Regent ; she never would have been separated from her child ; she never would have been whiddled out of the country ; and, her name would have been in the Liturgy now, and she with a crown upon her head.

That Perceval himself deemed the exposure necessary to the interest and safety of the Prin-

cess is quite clear ; for, he had not only collected all the materials together ; not only had he arranged all the documents ; but he had *had them printed in a book* which was to have been published on a *certain day* ! But, only two days before that day arrived, *the little lawyer and all his tribe became Ministers*. We remember the pretence for that change of ministry. The pretence was a false one on the part of the coming in ministry. The ousted fellows might possibly be gulled ; but this was the true cause of the change of the ministry. And that it was the true cause is proved as clear as day-light, by the fact, that Perceval, instead of publishing the book according to advertisement, went to the printer's, took the whole edition, carried them home and burnt them. Three copies had escaped, two of which were bought up at an enormous expence. The third was reserved for a higher destiny.

And, yet, you have the effrontery to declare that Perceval was your Royal Mistress's best and firmest supporter and constant friend ! She was an excellent legacy to him indeed. It was she kept him in place when the Prince became Regent. To her he owed the immense sums which he himself received ; and to her his son and widow owe the immense sums which they now receive. This was a subject which, if I had been under your particular circumstances, I would have avoided as men avoid, under certain circumstances, talking of halts. Your overture to the Ministers in 1819 ; your renewed negocia-

tions in April 1820, or, soon after the late King's death; your extraordinary backwardness in communicating with her Majesty after the late King's death; the strange story you told in answer to Canning on the 7th of June last; the promise that you then made of explaining the matter another time, and your never having explained it from that day to this; the confession that came from yourself, that you had been engaged with the King in a negotiation in 1819, or, at least, that you had voluntarily carried a message from the King to Lord Liverpool on the subject; your conduct in the case of the Protocols; your conduct with regard to the resolutions sent to the Queen by deputation; the answers to the addresses from Preston and from Nottingham; your sneers and scoffs at Mr. Alderman Wood: all these things, and a great many others, not forgetting your defence of the Spy-system, while you knew your Royal Mistress was beset with spies: all these things, none of which would ever have been mentioned by me any more, but which are all remembered, ought to have made you shun an eulogium on little lawyer Perceval. All these things ought to have made you, when a topic like this was afloat, silent and as demure as certain females are said to be at a christening. It is clear that you wanted to talk about any thing but the *real thing*; but you would have done better by introducing your *Dame Schools* and your *Education Digest*, or your *Agricultural Distress*; half a dozen leaves of deep and dark balder-

dash from the *Edinburgh Review*; any thing but the history of lawyer PERCEVAL; for it is utterly impossible to hear of that history without reverting instantly to the circumstances relating to yourself, which I have above hastily flung together.

It is very curious that, in this speech of yours, you praise every body but the person whom it was your duty to defend! One would have thought that you might find something to praise in that illustrious personage. The greatness of mind that she has displayed under her manifold and unparalleled sufferings; her rare benevolence and humanity; the consciousness of innocence and the ardent love of honest fame, which she gave proof of in her prompt decision at St. Omers; her courageous and heroic conduct upon so many occasions and under such perilous circumstances; that kindness and affability, mixed with true dignity of deportment, which has won her the hearts of all classes of people, except the greedy and profligate faction, whom the nation detests: in some of these; in some one of these, at least, you might, I think, have found something to dwell upon, since panegyric was to be your theme. But, no! The House of Peers, the Peers' wives and families; the Aristocracy; the Throne, the Altar, Pitt and Perceval. These were the objects of your admiration; and your Royal Mistress was left to find a panegyrist where she could.

You might have alluded to, and even mentioned, the glorious spectacle, which, even while

you were speaking, was exhibited on the Thames, and which was announced to you and to the "*ornament of the country*," from the cannon's mouth and in the shouts of not less than fifty thousand people. You might have told the "*first society in the world*" that more than a hundred thousand people were at that moment assembling within four hundred yards of your Royal Mistress's mansion; that two thousand boats and barges were bearing an honest people to her door to pledge themselves to maintain her rights or perish in the attempt. You might have told the ornament of the nation that two hundred flags were waving upon her lawn, and that when she made her appearance on her balcony, every eye was moistened by the reflection that she had suffered so long, such malignant, such hellish persecution. An observation or two of this sort might have supplied the place of an eulogium on Lawyer Perceval, or of that ridiculous rhodamontade, with which you concluded your inappropriate and spiritless harangue.

Before I conclude let me again assure you, that all your efforts at *smothering* will be vain. If I thought it possible for you eventually to do injury to the cause of the Queen, I should be cautious in addressing you, knowing well that a stung Lawyer will if he can have revenge some way or other. But I defy you to do injury to the cause of the Queen. Let the decision be what it may, no harm can happen to her Majesty. She is safe as the eagle in the cedar tops; and may look down with dis-

dain on all the anger, all the malice, of her open foes, and even on all the intrigues of secret foes. I can see clearly what the despicable Whigs are at. That miserable Junto of cast off Councillors; of place-hunting, hungry, malignant politicians, who hope, that, by some means or other, they shall squeeze themselves in to get a share of the remnant of the plunder; to lick up some of the blood of the dead lion, if they have not been able to share in the devouring of his carcase. They deceive themselves. The storm is of too trying a nature for them to live out in it. They had better keep to their dens, and, without meddling, wait the result.

I believe that her Majesty was sent by God Almighty for our good. It required her case to be before us to convince a certain portion of the people of the lengths to which this system could go. She has given rise, in the space of three months, to as much discussion as naturally belonged to ten years. Her cause naturally and necessarily allied itself to that of the *people*. The discussion has commenced and gone on; and all that seems to be wanted at present, is, the presence of the *Bald Bully*, who ridiculed the "*revered and ruptured Ogden*," to witness the effect.

You will hug yourself in the thought that the circulation of our sentiments is narrowed by the *Six Acts*; but, be not so sure. The *Six Acts* have in great part defeated themselves; no thanks to those who obtained us the favour of banishment. Truth has found its way,

in spite of every obstacle; and, while her Majesty, with that grateful and endearing condescension, which has characterised all the actions of her at once perilous and glorious career; while her Majesty so feelingly makes her acknowledgments to the Press, from the Press is due the most profound gratitude towards her Majesty. By a thousand ties are we bound to this gallant and glorious Queen; but by none more than by her open, bold and undaunted declarations in favour of the rights and liberties of the people.

There is one gracious act of her Majesty, which, though the "ornament of the nation" may smile at it, is well worthy of their serious attention. I allude to her Majesty's honouring the eldest friend of Reform, with a seat at her own table; notwithstanding all the slanders which the SELFISH FACTION have heaped upon him; and notwithstanding he stands convicted of what they term *sedition*. Nothing could be better judged than this; for, it is a pledge to the country that her Majesty is a decided and ardent friend of that measure, without the adoption of which this country never can know another hour of prosperity or of peace.

I shall not, like you, Sir, conclude with prostrating "myself before my Maker at the Throne of Mercy," but with assuring you that I should have been much better pleased to find it consistent with my duty to praise than to censure upon this occasion. I have, and I can have, no personal animosity towards you. You

are a person, of great talent; and I should hate myself if I grudged you the possession of it. But the Queen must not again be sacrificed. Her Majesty is under the guardianship of the people in general, and of the Press in particular. She was sentenced; she was doomed to banishment for life from this land, where alone there was a heart to beat for her. She was entangled amongst lawyers, creeping deputations, dark negociators and intriguers of all descriptions. The Press darted forward and extricated her from the trammels. The Press called aloud to the people, and the people saved her. Therefore, the press has its peculiar rights in this instance; of those rights I possess a share; and that share I have now employed in the manner that I think best calculated to serve the cause of her Majesty.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient Serv.

WM. COBBETT.

POSTSCRIPT.—I have read Mr. WILLIAMS's Speech. The acuteness of it I admire very much. His clear, neat, close manner of stating and arguing, is worthy of the highest praise. He has pointed out several most important things; and, though in some instances, I had gone over the ground, before him, in many others I had not. I am sure, I do not know how, after this Speech of Mr. Williams, the Attorney and Solicitor-General are to look honest men in the face: you may say, perhaps, that they are likely to experience little difficulty of this kind, considering the circles in which they move. I admire the ability and



the industry and care of Mr. Williams. His clear and neat exposition will do great good, not as to the bill, for about that we need not care a straw; but in making many parts of the *villainy plain to all eyes*. However, there is one part of Mr. Williams's Speech that I do not like. It was inapplicable to his case, and unjust towards the people. He is speaking of the motives to the giving of false witness against the Queen. He here describes her as an instance of "*fallen greatness*." That was *bad taste*, and *untrue*. The Queen has *fallen* in no respect whatever. But, to my point: having assumed, that the Queen is an instance of *fallen greatness*, he, amongst the motives to the giving of false witness against her, states, the "disposition of *low-bred* persons to *trample on their superiors*, "who have fallen into obloquy "with those in power; the disposition of the *base* and *ignorant* to triumph over the prosperous fortunes of illustrious individuals, to increase the misery "of the distressed, and to "heighten, by calumny, the "anguish of the fallen." Now, though Mr. Williams enforced this by a *Latin* quotation, what could be more inapplicable to his case, or what more false, as applied to that case? The witnesses, whom he accused of perjury, had been got up, brought to the spot, prepared and paid, not by the *low-bred* and *ignoble*;

but the *high-bred*; and, go, Mr. Williams, and ask your Royal Mistress, if she has been "*trampled on*" by the *low-bred* and *ignoble*! The real truth is this: the Queen has been persecuted by the *ministry*; abandoned by the *nobility* and *gentry* and *clergy*; frequently betrayed by *lawyers*; but saved, at last, rescued from the fangs of them all, by the *low-bred*. More on this subject another time; for, neither Mr. Williams nor any body else, shall, without being exposed, say, that the "*low-bred*," as he calls the *people*, have ever participated in the persecution, baseness, and treachery, experienced by the Queen. As to the Italian swearers, they could have no *natural disposition* to trample on the "*fallen*" Queen. They came for *pay*. And how did the "*low-bred*" receive them? In short, Mr. Williams had a fine opportunity of lashing those who insolently called the people "*the basest populace*;" but, like the school-master in Gil Blas, he found it more convenient to lay it on the "*low-bred*;" and, therefore, he talked of the "*taunts and ignominies of the vulgar*," while he ought to have talked of those of the arrogant, insolent, and brutally ignorant pretenders to *high-bred*. Before Mr. Williams talks of the *low-bred* again, he may as well take a look at the "*Peep at the Peers*."

## A LETTER

TO

LORD PALMERSTON,

ON

*His Doctrine relative to the  
Shutting of Soldiers up in  
Barracks, for the purpose of  
keeping them distinct from  
the People.*

London, Oct. 3, 1820.

LORD PALMERSTON,

You are their "*Secretary at War*," as they call you. There is now-a-days a *Commander-in-Chief's Office*; an *Army Pay-office*; an *Army Commissary's Office*; an *Army Quarter-master's Office*; an office of *Secretary of State for the War Department*; all completely mounted with *Heads, Tails, and Middles*: Therefore, what is your business; what part of the play you have to act, it is very difficult to guess. Formerly there was only one office, even during the American War. Queen Anne carried on her glorious war with only one office. Until the *Prussian* system came up, there was but one office, which was called the *WAR OFFICE*; and the person at the head of

that office was called, the *SECRETARY AT WAR*. But what you are the Secretary of, no man can tell, or guess. All that we know about the matter is, that you and your office cost the nation a great deal of money. We have, it seems, an army of 92,000 men, including officers; and, if all the persons, which the nation pays for keeping the accounts and managing the affairs of this army, including *retired* and *pensioned* lookers-after and account-keepers; if all these, down to porters, door-keepers, house-keepers, and "necessary women," cadets, professors, teachers, and all; if all these were mustered, army agents, barrack-masters, and their clerks and all; if all were mustered, my real opinion is, that they greatly surpass in number the 92,000 soldiers and soldier-officers, and that these brown-coated, *civil* gentry receive a great deal more of our money than the 92,000 fighters.

However, this is only a part of that *system*, which is, as the Judges tell the Grand Juries, "the envy of surrounding nations and admiration of the world." As such let it go on as long as it can. What I propose to address you on, at present,

relates to what may be called the *policy of the army*, of which policy you have thought proper to become the official expositor.

It has, for a long while past, been easy enough to see, that the real object was to have a *soldiery with feelings wholly distinct from those of the people*. The establishment of Barracks, of Depots, all over the country, smelt strongly of the *Prussian and Austrian system*. The *whiskering* of the soldiers, and thereby making them *look like foreigners*; the introduction of *Austrian names*, and *dresses*, and *manners* into the army; calling Englishmen *Hussars*, and putting strange caps and other things upon them; these and many other circumstances all tended to prove the steady purpose of the soul of the government. The establishment, and particularly the upholding, in time of peace, of the *Military Colleges*, the affairs of which were so fully developed in my Register of the 3rd of September, could leave, as to the grand design, no doubt in the mind of any rational man. Nor ought the *Military Asylum* to be overlooked. To put the orphan sons of

soldiers to school, and to bring them up, have a very pretty sound; but why dress the little creatures in *soldiers' clothes*? Why *parade them in rank and file*? Why teach them to *march, and wheel, and halt*? Why have *serjeants, and corporals, and officers* over them? Why make them get up, go to meals, to bed and to church, at the *sound of the drum*? Why shut them up in *barracks and barrack-yards*? Why rear them in this way, and keep them wholly distinct from other boys, and wholly ignorant of all the *manners, and insensible to all the ties and feelings of civil life and civil society*? This, I suppose, is a branch of what Castlereagh, when he came back from the *Austrian Congress*, called the "*SOCIAL SYSTEM*." This, I suppose, is a part of what the *Holy Alliance* calls "*SOCIAL ORDER*." However, that the object of this establishment is to rear up, at the expense of the people, a *race of soldiers*, wholly divested of all feeling in common with the people; nobody can possibly doubt.

The views, therefore, of Pitt and of all his successors, *Whigs* and all, have been clear enough and of any political character.

tion. But, until you made your speech, in the House of Commons, on the *Regent's Park-Barrack-Bill*, the grand design had not been *openly avowed*. In that speech, which was uttered on the 10th of July last, you made use of the following words, which, I trust, will not be forgotten as long as you have life in you. "The object of the work" [an enclosure of eight acres of ground with a high wall round it] "was merely to provide better accommodation for the soldiers, who were now in a most inconvenient state. The officers and men were divided, whilst the latter had TOO MUCH OPPORTUNITY OF MIXING WITH THE NEIGHBOURING INHABITANTS, though EVERY ONE MUST SEE, THAT NOTHING COULD BE MORE DESIRABLE THAN TO KEEP THE ARMY ALTOGETHER, DISTINCT FROM THE PEOPLE."

Now, let us contrast this with what Blackstone says on the subject. Blackstone is the great expositor of the laws and constitution of this kingdom. Let us then, hear him; "In a land of liberty it is extremely dangerous to make a distinct order

"of the profession of arms. In absolute monarchies, this is necessary for the safety of the Prince, and arises from the main principle of their constitution, which is that of governing by fear: but in free states the profession of a soldier, taken singly and merely as a profession, is justly an object of jealousy. In these no man should take up arms, but with a view to defend his country and its laws: he puts not off the citizen, when he enters the camp; but it is because he is a citizen, and would wish to continue so, that he makes himself, for a while, a soldier. The laws, therefore, and constitution of these kingdoms, know no such state as that of a perpetual standing soldier, bred up to no other profession than that of war: and it was not till the reign of Henry the Seventh, that the kings of England had so much as a guard about their persons."

This is pretty well, and is a fine commentary, not only on the laws and constitution of England, as far as regards this matter, but a fine commentary on your Royal Military Colleges and regiments, the sole object of

which is, to *breed boys up to no other profession than that of arms*. These establishments are a direct, open, avowed *violation of the Constitution*, as it is described by Blackstone; and, if we had had a Member of Parliament, during any part of the *last twenty years*, if we had had only *one* member, this violation never would have existed at *this day*. However, Blackstone comes closer to you yet. He seems to have foreseen, that such men as Pitt, Addington, Perceval, Jenkinson, and Stewart would arise. At any rate, he hits your case precisely.

"To prevent the executive power from being able to oppress, it is requisite that the armies with which it is entrusted should consist of the people, and have the same spirit with the people; as was the case at Rome, till Marius re-modelled the legions by enlisting the rabble of Italy, and laid the foundation of all the military tyranny that ensued. Nothing, then, ought to be more guarded against, in a free state, than making the military power, when such a one is necessary to be kept on foot, a body too distinct from the people. Like ours,

"therefore, it should be wholly composed of natural subjects; it ought only to be enlisted for a short and limited time; the SOLDIERS ALSO SHOULD LIVE INTERMIXED WITH THE PEOPLE; NO SEPARATE CAMP, NO BARRACKS, NO INLAND FORTRESSES SHOULD BE ALLOWED. And, perhaps, it might be still better, if, by dismissing a stated number and enlisting others at every renewal of their term, a circulation could be kept up between the army and the people, and the citizen and the soldier be more intimately connected together."

Thus speak the laws and constitution of England. This was, doubtless, the constitution, which was "the envy of surrounding nations and the admiration of the world." But, this we know, that it is precisely the opposite of that, which you and your colleagues call the constitution. This old constitution said, *nobody is to be bred up solely to arms*: you say, *colleges and academies to breed boys up to know nothing but arms*. This old constitution says: *the soldiers should live intermixed with the people*; you

say, the soldiers, though in barracks, have too much opportunity of mixing with the neighbouring inhabitants. This old constitution says: no barracks: you say, barracks: all over the country!

Tell us, therefore, when you again prate about danger to the Constitution, whether you mean the old Constitution, or your Constitution; whether you mean the no-barrack or the barrack Constitution. Oh! if we had but a Member of Parliament! But, both parties, though they dispute about the barrack-contract, about the sum of money, and who is to have it; agree as to the vital point: they cordially agree as to the having of barracks!

At first sight, one is naturally surprised at the impudence of an avowal such as that made by you upon this occasion. One is surprised that a man should voluntarily have done a thing so barefaced and so insulting both to the soldiers and the people. But, when we feel such surprise it is for want of due reflection: it is for want of reflecting on the company you keep and on the sort of persons that surround you. The necessity of keeping "the soldiers

altogether distinct from the people" has so long been a topic familiar to your ears; and it is so long since you heard any one daring to dissent from the doctrine, that you, at last, have not the most distant idea of the thing not being universally admitted to be just and necessary! This precious speech, therefore, is to be ascribed, not so much to impudence and insolence in you as to the tameness, or, rather, want of sincerity, in your pretended opponents, and in the *Shoyes*, that those corrupt wretches, who are called *free-men* and *inhabitant householders*, send to the parliament; if we had had a Member in which, you never would have uttered that on which I have here been commenting, and which is only one of the many instances of official ignorance, arising from the person who puts it forth being cut off from all communication with the people, and listening to nobody but eavesdroppers and parasites.

This *Regent's-park-barrack* is no more than *Perceval's* plan revived. The spot only is changed. He meant it to be in *Hyde-park*; and he openly, impudently and most insolently avowed, that he meant the fortress to contain.

upon emergency, *ten thousand men with a park of artillery*; and he declared, too, that the object of it was to *keep the metropolis in order*! This branch of the "*Social System*," or system of "*Social Order and our Holy Religion*," as John Bowles, the Dutch Commissioner, used to call it; this branch of the *grand design* was, it is now said, by "the gentleman opposite," *abandoned* "by Mr. Perceval." So it was, but *not till the breath was out of his body*! For, on the very evening that Bellingham shot him, he was to bring the measure forward in a *regular shape*.—Amidst the alarm and confusion, occasioned by his death, the *Order of the Day* went off; and the matter *drapped* quietly out of sight. But, if he had lived only a month longer, that, which is now only *in hand*, would have been perfected in 1812; and, neither *Prussia* nor *Austria*, nor even the Autocrat of *all the Russias*, would have had to boast of a prettier branch of that "*Social System*," of which Castlereagh was so full, when he came into the Honourable House amidst the *clapping of hands*, on his return from the Austrian Congress!

However, you may *scheme* as long as you like; your success will be but of short duration. The "*Social System*" has received its sentence: its fate is certain: and that man very badly employs his time, who speculates as to the precise hour of its exit. To prevent a Radical Reform by means of a round or square wall in the Regent's Park, is perfectly worthy of heads from which came the brilliant idea of relieving the distresses of the nation by setting labourers to *dig holes one day and fill them up the next*; and from which came that other bright conceit, the lightening of the burdens of the people by *doubling their taxes*, under the name of returning to cash-payments!

The doctrine of *Soldiers not deliberating* has recently received an admirable illustration in the *nine cheers* said to have been given to the King by the *troops in the ships off Cowes*; by the addresses presented to his Majesty by *Officers of the Army and Navy* from Ryde and from Gosport; by the *deputation of privates* of the gallant 90th Regiment, sent to negotiate with their officers at

Plymouth, on the subject of their talked-of embarkation; and by the *Revolution in Portugal*, announced to the people, in a Proclamation, sent forth under the auspices of a *serjeant and eight privates!*

Ponder upon these things, before you prattle again about the necessity of keeping English "*soldiers altogether distinct from the people.*" Ponder. Open you eyes and ears. Do not imagine, that all the wisdom in the world is confined to the Horse Guards. Look to the mending of the shoes and the washing of the shirts of the "*Gentlemen Cadets*" at the College of Sandhurst. If you want an inspector of the linen, *Barbara Krantz* may do admirably for the office; and, if she want an *interpreter* of difficult and *delicate* terms, you know what *Bench* to find him on.

WM. COBBETT.

#### TO THE RICH RUFFIANS OF BIRMINGHAM.

London, 6th Oct. 1820.

RUFFIANS,

With great satisfaction I see that you begin to tremble for *yourselves*. You now meet and report and proclaim. You now

say, that you must be ruined and the country revolutionized, unless *some great change of system of sway take place*. You say, that you have applied, in vain, both to *Ministers and Parliament*. I wish I had been either, that I might have given you a kick in the mouth. You say, that there is a *great all-perwading cause of misery*. Why did you not *name* it? You, sometime ago, combined to oppress a poor Inn-keeper because he gave entertainment to *me, of whose principles you declared your abhorrence*. Ruffians, you now proclaim those same principles as *yours*; only you have not honesty enough to acknowledge your past misdeeds. Cowards as well as Ruffians, you dare not face your associates in wickedness, who now thrive while you are on the decay. While you confess, that misgovernment is the *cause* of the ruin and misery, you revile and assist in persecuting and punishing those, who have laboured most ably, and most disinterestedly to *remove the cause*. Others may forgive you; but I never shall. I now rejoice at your confusion and dismay, and hope that I shall have still more solid grounds of rejoicing. I know



what you want. Fresh bales of your false paper and fresh harvests of plunder. You will never have them: and your past plunder you will be compelled to disgorge. Peel's Bill cannot go into execution; but, it will hold long enough to bury you in ruin. The poor you cannot injure more than you have already. Your own turn is now coming. Go to the Bull at Meriden; there set up a loud lamentation: and hang, or drown yourselves, and thus, in your death, do an act of justice, seeing that you have never done one in your whole lives.

WM. COBBETT.

### KIMPTON APOTHECARY.

Andover, Sept. 30, 1820.

MR. COBBETT,

I beg to inform you, that the name of the independent Clergyman, who presented the Kimpton Address to the Queen, is the Rev. ALLAN BOWMAN HUTCHINS, and not FOULE, as mentioned in your Paper. It was the united address of Kimpton and Greatly, Hants. He has met with opposition from the Village-Apothecary, POORE,

who has spitefully inserted in the COURIER a paragraph against the Address in toto. POORE is one of the Corporation of Andover; rents a farm of Sir John Pollen, one of the Members for Andover; physicks the servants of Mr. Ashton Smith, the other Member; has two sons Lieutenants in the Navy; and consequently is a most independent gentleman.

I am, Sir,

A WELLWISHER TO THE QUEEN.\*

\* Very good! Here the mystery is explained! This Andover is a rotten Borough. The right of election is in the Corporation, and this POORE is, it seems, one of the Corporation, which consists of 24 persons. POORE and SMITH are two old creatures of Old George Rosa. I have seen them follow at his heels, along Winchester-street, like spaniels. POORE helps to put them into Parliament, and POORE, a Village-Apothecary, gets two sons Lieutenants in the Navy! Well done, POORE! POORE takes this fine occasion of making merit with those who can, at their pleasure, turn Lieutenants into Captains, or turn Lieutenants into street-sweepers. POORE, like an affectionate fox, or wolf, takes care of his own brood. Well done, POORE! What is the Queen to POORE? She cannot cashier nor promote POORE's sons. POORE acts the part of a beast of prey that is careful of its young. Well done, POORE!

W. C.

## LINKS OF THE LOWER HOUSE.

London, Sept. 22, 1820.

SIR,

A work having appeared called a "*Peep at the Commons*," and the advertisements having stated it to be "*A Companion-Piece to the Peep at the Peers*," we beg leave to trouble you with the following statement on the subject.

We promised "*a Companion-Piece*;" but the work, which we have just noticed, is not by us; it is not published by our publisher; and, indeed, it bears no resemblance to that of which it professes to be, "*a Companion*." But, why we think it necessary to notice it is, that it not only does not do justice to the subject; but actually does it injustice; and is calculated to deceive and impose upon the public by professing to make a full exposure of the matter, while it really makes no new exposures at all; and, which is

still worse, really is a screen instead of an exposure.

Let us take an instance. "SUFFOLK — 32,253 houses, 219,431 inhabitants, comprised between the Whigs and Tories. 2 Members, T. S. GOOCH and Sir WILLIAM ROWLEY."

Now, what exposure is here? The fact about the population is of no use. The statement about Whigs and Tories is nonsense; for, where are there now any Tories? Then come the two Members. This is the only point of real interest; and, about them we learn just nothing at all; but, what is a great deal worse than nothing at all, we are led to believe, that these are two independent County Members. This is clearly the impression left on our minds by this *Peep*.

Now, then, what are the facts?—T. S. GOOCH has two brothers, who are Lieutenant-Colonels in the Army, 1,500*l.* a year. A sister married a Capt.

*Manby* in the Army, who is, besides, *Barrack-Master*, 1,000*l.* a year. A cousin, wife of *Lord Walsingham*, whom see in Peep at Peers. An uncle, an Archdeacon, with two church livings, 1,500*l.* a year. A cousin, married to a parson who has two livings in the church, 1,000*l.* a year. His wife is sister of Lady Rous. See Rous in Peep at Peers.—5,100*l.* a year.

So much for *independent* Gooch! Now for the other member.—*ROWLEY* Sir W.—A brother, with four church livings, 2,000*l.* a year.—Another brother, an Admiral, 1,000*l.* a year, and he married a sister of Sir Richard King, an Admiral, commanding in chief in the East Indies, not less than 5,000*l.* a year; and he is son-in-law of Sir John Thomas Duckworth, who is an Admiral, 1,000*l.* a year. A sister of this Rowley's wife married Col. Hammond, 800*l.* a year.—7,800*l.* a year.

This, Sir, is our way of doing the thing; and we think this

a little better than stuffing out a pamphlet with accounts of houses and population, and with nonsense about *Whigs* and *Tories*. But, to do the thing in our way demands labour and patience, and the writing and receiving of a few hundreds of Letters!

Our work is to be called "THE LINKS OF THE LOWER HOUSE," and it is to be published by Mr. BENBOW, No. 269, Strand. We hope to have it ready in about a fortnight; but, at any rate, we will do the thing well. We will deceive and impose upon nobody.

That which we have given above is a mere specimen, taken without selection, but it happened to be the part just now under our hand, preparing for the press.

With sincere thanks, Sir, for your generous assistance, we remain your obliged and humble servants,

THE AUTHORS OF  
A PEEP AT THE PEERS.

## THE TRICKSTERS.

There was a grand dinner at the Crown and Anchor, on Monday last, to celebrate the Revolutions in Spain, Naples, and Portugal. What passed is worthy of notice only as it seems to show how we ought to be on our guard against the *Tricksters*.— Those who first proposed the dinner (an unnecessary thing just at this time) appear still, in spite of all experience, to be possessed with the obsolete delusion, that “*great names*” are of use to our cause. Accordingly, by one coaxary and another, a list of names were got together as those of *Stewards*, which exhibited, as to congeniality, something very much like that of the inhabitants of *Noah's Ark*. Not to waste time on such a subject, there was the name of *Major Cartwright*, whose bill for *Radical Reform* and whose idea of a *Legislatorial Attorney* have earned him even conviction; and there was that of *Lord John Russell*, who has,

but the other day, proclaimed, in print, that the *Radicals* only want *plunder*, which they are ready to get at by *cutting the throats* of their betters! From such an unnatural association what was to be expected! There were some *half Whigs*, great feeders upon the taxes, and who love Reform as the Devil does Holy Water.

ROBERT WILSON, “art thou there, man!

“Bless mine eyes! art thou there, Chairman!”

The fittest man in the world for the office: No fixed principle: a perfect political feather, puffed about, lifted up and let down, wavering backward and forward, everlastingly. Steady in nothing but in aiming at elevating thyself, and having not even a sufficiency of judgment to secure thy own object with any party, under any possible combination of circumstances or events; thinking that thou trickest all parties, while thou art trusted by none!

I will only add, that it was proposed to drink a toast, consolatory to those Reformers who are now in the Dungeons of the System; and, that "the hero" of *La Valette* retired, and then put an end to the meeting without putting this toast! He, and the tax-eaters, by whom he was surrounded, could talk big enough about the opening of the *Dungeons of the Inquisition*; but, not a word against *English Dungeons* escaped their lips! Good God! Will Reformers, will Radicals again spend their money at dinners to put impostors at the head of a table to insult them! However, all these follies and all the effects of them will disappear, by-and-by, as the mist goes off on the rising of the sun. How we shall laugh, one of these days, when we look back to the little tricks of this time! The very first blaze of real Reform sends all these tricksters into everlasting obscurity.

# COBBETT'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.

The *First Volume* of this work is now ready for sale, bound in boards. It contains the *First Part* of the present Session; and, of course, all the interesting Debates relative to the Green Bags, Protocols, Bill of Pains and Penalties, and other things relating to the Queen.—The *Trial* is published separately. Both sold by the Publisher of the Register, at 260, Strand. This Volume of Debates is complete, divested of rubbish, arranged in convenient order, and is, in short, what I deem and find to be, a really useful book. There are no great number of copies that remain unsold; and, therefore, gentlemen in the country, who wish to be supplied, should apply with as little delay as possible.

## HER MAJESTY'S ANSWERS TO ADDRESSES.

### ANSWER TO THE SHIPWRIGHTS' ADDRESS.

I should be indifferent to the real welfare of this country if I did not take a warm interest in all that is connected with its commercial greatness or its maritime prosperity. I feel unfeigned satisfaction in receiving this Address from the Shipwrights and Artisans concerned in ship-building in the river Thames. I derive more delight from the hearty congratulations of this truly respectable class of the community, to whom England is indebted for the construction of its renowned wooden walls, than I should from the hypocritical compliment of a whole host of idlers and voluptuaries.

Justice is a simple thing, and requires no depth of learning to be understood. Its common rules and its sacred principles may be as clearly comprehended by Shipwrights and Artisans as by the mitred Bishop or the ermined Judge. Who does not know it to be a principle of justice, that an accused person should have a fair trial, and that it is hardly consistent with the reality of a fair trial that the same persons should unite the incongruous offices of Accuser, Judge, and Jury; should lay the charge, make the law, declare the offence, and punish the offender? The plainest understanding may readily comprehend that this is not justice, but iniquity.

Who that loves his country, who that reflects upon her glo-

ries, upon her naval victories, and her Continental triumphs, upon the front of defiance which she has occasionally exhibited to the nations of the world—who that reflects upon these things, will not grieve that such a country should sanction a proceeding which is so much at variance with the most simple maxims of justice as to be universally perceptible?

The great rule of right is, 'to do as you would be done by.' This rule was never more inversely exemplified than in the conduct of my adversaries.

### ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE INHABITANTS OF NEWCASTLE-UN- DER-LYME, IN THE COUNTY OF STAFFORD.

I have much satisfaction in receiving this loyal and affectionate Address from the Inhabitants of Newcastle-under-Lyme.

It gives me singular pleasure to find that my numerous persecutions have so powerfully interested the sympathies of the people in this ancient town and its industrious neighbourhood.

I have long admired the vases and other works of ancient Etruria; but, as the Queen Consort of England, I am delighted to think that the genius of Etruria has been rivalled in the potteries of Staffordshire. A new Etruria has arisen in the immediate vicinity of Newcastle-under-Lyme. The inspired taste, the designing power, the exquisite discrimination of all that is beautiful in form, chaste in ornament, or instructive in emblematic representation that distinguished the most ingenious peb-

ple in ancient Italy, appears to have been revived in the productions of that intelligent district in which Newcastle-under-Lyme is situated. In the works of ancient Etruria, beauty seems to revel in every variety of captivating figure; and if there ever was any one people who, more than another, had an instinctive feeling of the beautiful in design, and who knew how to breathe that beauty into the most common articles of domestic use, it was the artists of Etruria. Their works remain to attest the skill of those sensitive hands that have so long mouldered into dust; but, if the conscious spirit of genius survive the dissolution of the mortal frame, and that spirit could be brought into the locality of modern Etruria, the most distinguished of those departed artists would instantly exclaim, that the works of his contemporaries have been equalled in beauty of form, and surpassed in variety of usefulness, by the genius of the British manufacturer.

As the genius that was once so active in Etruria, in Athens, and in Rome, perished in proportion as the people became slaves, so I feel it a sacred duty to admonish not only the people of Staffordshire, but the people of every province in the United Kingdom, that nothing which is great in talent, exquisite in skill, rich in invention, elevated in sentiment, or profound in reflection, can long survive the loss of Liberty. It is Liberty that gives us these, and more than these. It gives us all that makes life worth having, and without

which the spirit of Hampden, of Russell, and of Sydney, thought death preferable to life.

ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE INHABITANTS OF CALNE, IN WILTS.

"I am much obliged by this frank and affectionate Address from the Inhabitants of the Borough of Calne, in the county of Wilts. The language of slaves is nauseating adulation; that of freemen ought to partake of the simple and ingenious character of that liberty which is always favourable to sincerity.

I am well aware that the present attempt to effect my degradation has produced discussions and disseminated opinions that must ultimately degrade the character, and so far endanger the existence of the monarchy. No friend to monarchical institutions would ever wish to make the personal infirmities of the Sovereign the topic of common discussion in every circle of society, and among all classes of the community.

Kings and Queens are but like other men and women.—They rise into life, and they moulder into dust, like the rest of their species. But, because long experience has found great usefulness in the office, the opinion, not merely of the vain and the thoughtless, but even of the reflecting and the wise, has invested it with a dignity that has contributed to render it sacred in the estimate of mankind.—Hence it has always been thought right to throw a veil over the infirmities of sovereigns. My adversaries, who all their lives have been reviling

Jacobins and levellers, are the first Ministers who have attempted to draw that veil aside, and to expose the interior deformities of Royalty to the public gaze. In their vain but furious assault upon my honour and upon my rights, they have compelled the people to look on the other side, and to contrast my conduct with that of my illustrious adversary. The blame cannot be imputed to me, if the throne is shaken and the Monarch is reviled.

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ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS OF THE  
INHABITANTS OF BRISTOL.

I am deeply indebted to the Householders and Inhabitants of the city of Bristol, for this loyal and affectionate Address.

I could not suppose that the citizens of this great seat of commerce would contemplate with indifference the insults that have been offered to the Queen, or could regard with apathy her accumulated sufferings and repeated persecutions.

I presume not to blame the ways of Providence, to doubt the wisdom or to question the goodness of any of his decrees. The great attribute of the Deity is love; and that love is more than parental to the whole race of man.

The severest trial to which the human heart can be exposed, is the premature death of those we love. At the moment, the shock confounds the understanding: it paralyzes all the powers. The scene around us is desolate, and Hope for a moment vanishes from our view. But in a short time, light, though at first faint,

springs up in the darkness of the soul. The tears of affliction become mingled with a feeling of resignation. The anticipation of some future recognition elevates the thoughts while it cheers the heart.

I have suffered one act of injustice, and one attack of persecution, after another, in a continued series, for a great number of years; but they have at length reached their maximum of iniquity and oppression. But I cherish no rancour, and I supplicate no vengeance. The people of England are both generous and just. I can safely trust them with the vindication of my rights and the reparation of my injuries.

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ANSWER TO THE FEMALE ADDRESS  
FROM BRISTOL.

The married females of Bristol will accept my cordial thanks for this kind tribute of their regard.

The afflictions of persons in high stations commonly excite more intensity of the sympathetic feeling than the calamities of other individuals in ordinary life. The adversities of sovereigns are the interesting theme of dramatic representation. If a deserted Queen be only a deserted woman, yet her desertion is necessarily accompanied with associated circumstances that powerfully act upon the strings of human tenderness.

In refusing to barter my honour for a bribe, I am happy to find that I am thought to have vindicated the honour of my own sex. The general character of our sex is essentially injured by



flagrant instances of individual depravity; and the depravity of a Queen, as far as vicious example is apt to corrupt, will produce mischief in a wider circle than the depravity of a woman in more sequestered life. But if the proof of my depravity would have had such a vitiating effect, I hope the establishment of my innocence will tend to aid the interests of female virtue, as it will show that rectitude may be preserved in the midst of the most difficult circumstances, the most alluring opportunities, and the most dangerous temptations.

ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS OF THE  
INHABITANTS OF ABERGAVENNY.

I have been much gratified by the loyal and affectionate Address from the inhabitants of the town and parish of Abergavenny, in the county of Monmouth. The ways of Providence are inscrutable; and the means which the Deity employs for the accomplishment of his gracious purposes often appear to have no relation to the effects which they are designed to produce, or to the ends in which they are to terminate. Hence the obscurity of Hope is often the precursor of Joy; and, to a calm observer, the bright expectancies of bliss often sparkle in the tears of affliction.

My persecutors have only served to multiply my friends. The injustice which I have experienced has excited the sympathies of the whole nation in my defence. Even the Bill of Pains and Penalties, with which my adversaries first thought to ren-

der me an outcast, seems likely to give security to my rights, while it adds to the stock of public liberty.

My adversaries have been so imbecile, either in intellect or in malice, that their own evidence has refuted their own charges, and become the testimony of my innocence.

The whole nation appears to have felt the omission of my name in the Liturgy as a species of sacrilege; and certainly no sacrilege is so detestable as that which invades the charity of the sanctuary. To carry the rancour of the heart into the temple of Jehovah, is a species of impiety, for which it would be difficult to find an epithet sufficiently expressive of the horror it excites, or the disapprobation which it ought to experience; that act has, more than any thing else, characterized the temper of my adversaries. My soul grieves to think that such an unchristian proceeding should ever receive the sanction of the hierarchy.

ANSWER TO THE INHABITANTS OF ST.  
JAMES'S, WESTMINSTER.

I am much impressed, and unforgotten obliged, by this affectionate and energetic Address from the inhabitant householders of St. James's, in the city of Westminster.

The vicissitudes of my life will, perhaps, hereafter furnish a diversity of matter for poetical embellishment or for dramatic representation: at any rate, it will be found to have been singularly troubled by plots and conspiracies. One plot has met-

ceeded another; and the last is worse than all the preceding.

The alarming features of the anomalous proceedings against me in the House of Lords, are such as may strike every lover of impartial justice with dismay. An accusation without an accuser, or that accuser concealed in mystery—an adultery alleged, and no husband produced as the injured party—an abstract term substituted for a corporeal personality, and that abstract term introduced to justify the degradation of the Queen—the incompatible offices of prosecutor, judge, and jury, all united in the same persons, and of those persons the majority more or less dependent either by actual benefit or by future expectancy; all these are the extraordinary, the unconstitutional, the extrajudicial features of the case; and they give it a character not merely of unsuitness, but of unrighteousness, such as must blacken the annals of the country for ages, and make us the mockery of Europe.

The Bill itself can find no parallel, except in some of the proceedings in the terrific paroxysms of the French Revolution. There is no intelligent individual, who, upon first hearing of such a proceeding, would not exclaim, "That whatever might be pretended to the contrary, it must be the work of Jacobins and levellers in disguise." This Bill for degrading the Queen would more properly have been termed, "A Bill for degrading the Monarchy in the eyes of the country, and the country itself in the

eyes of Europe." My adversaries have acted with as little true British feeling as if they had been hired by a foreign foe to lower the judicial character of the country, and to make it a by-word of reproach among the people of the continent.

ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS OF THE INHABITANTS OF ST. KATHARINE, NEAR THE TOWER.

It is with peculiar satisfaction that I receive this affectionate Address from the inhabitants of the precinct of St. Katharine, near the Tower.

I could never suppose that the inhabitants of this locality would be indifferent spectators when a glaring attempt was making to deprive the Queen Consort of her rights, some of which have for so many generations belonged to the precinct of St. Katharine. Of all the Queens who have successively been the patronesses of St. Katharine's, though some have drunk more deeply than others of the cup of adversity, not one has been exposed to a longer series of malicious and torturing persecution. For the honour of human nature, history furnishes few instances where malevolence has retained all its rancour for a quarter of a century. Of the Royal Patronesses of St. Katharine's, though two wives of Henry VIII. suffered by the axe of the executioner, yet their's was a momentary pang, while my married life has been a long continuity of grief—a perpetual widowhood of care.

What constitutes my principal solace in my reflective hours

is, that my sufferings are likely to prove beneficial to the people, and that the liberties of the country will be augmented by the persecutions of the Queen.

ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE  
INHABITANTS OF PADDINGTON.

I am particularly gratified by this loyal and affectionate Address from the Inhabitants of the Parish of Paddington. I am not unmindful that I was myself once a resident in this parish; and this circumstance, though combined with some painful as well as pleasurable recollections, tends to place me in a state of closer proximity to the interests of the Inhabitants, than if I had been a total stranger to the locality.

As the people of Paddington have once been my neighbours, I still consider myself as united with them by the charities of neighbourhood. The ties of friendship, when once formed, ought if possible to be indissoluble; and even those relations, which arise merely out of local contiguity, are apt to spread the fine net-work of a thousand nameless associations over the memory; and thus in a variety of ways to become intertwined with the affections. Life has naturally so many dark intervals, that it is our duty not to overlook any associated circumstances, or to reject any possible auxiliaries, that can assist in adding to the number of its sunny hours.

The sympathy which the Inhabitants of Paddington ex-

press for the sad variety of my domestic afflictions, is very acceptable to my heart. There are circumstances in which a sense of obligation is humiliating to the individual; but gratitude to those whom we esteem is rather an elevating than a depressing sentiment.—As mercy blesses both him who gives and him who takes, so gratitude, whilst it is a delicious feeling in the heart of him who has received the benefit, reflects a pleasurable sensation upon him by whom it was conferred.

I owe more to the people of England than I can ever repay; but they are a people of so many amiable and so many noble characteristics, that I am convinced they will ever consider a grateful consciousness of the debt as a discharge from the obligation.

The good wishes which this Address conveys to me from the People of Paddington, and which I am daily receiving from all parts of the kingdom, are not empty sounds or airy professions, but the realities of affectionate regard. The oppressor and the tyrant may be greeted with the fulsome incense of extravagant praise, but its very extravagance will prove its insincerity. Very different is that tone of approbation which is perceived, and that cheering voice of sympathy which is heard, when the feelings of the people unfeignedly harmonize with the joys or the sorrows, the good or the bad fortunes, of their genuine friends and their undissembled benefactors.

ANSWER TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE  
COUNTY AND CITY OF COVENTRY.

I am particularly obliged by this loyal and affectionate Address from the Inhabitants of the city and county of the city of Coventry.

I cannot be insensible to the tenderness with which they lament the sad chasm that death has made in my kindred relations; nor can I readily forget the warmth with which they resent the numerous indignities that I have experienced.

My enemies have now made out the best case they could, in support of their Bill of Pains and Penalties; but who will venture to assert that the testimony they have produced, even if its validity were less suspicious than it appears, is sufficient to justify the menace in the Preamble of the Bill?—But the very measure which my enemies designed, as fatal not only to the honour of the Queen but to the liberty of the nation, is likely to prove favourable to both. It has united all parties, and made those my friends who might otherwise have been my enemies.

Principles are indestructible; and therefore I feel a vivid assurance, that while I contend for such principles, rather than for any transient interest, I shall ultimately triumph over my enemies. The principles which are most sacred to my conscience, and dearest to my heart, are those of truth, of justice, and of liberty. These principles are better calculated than any other to promote the general happi-

ness of mankind; and while I maintain them with unshaken constancy, not more for my own good than for that of the nation, I am convinced that in the generous support of all classes of the community I shall be able to oppose an invulnerable shield to the violence, the ferocity, and the malice of my enemies.

In this age, when knowledge is generalized and inquiry unrestrained, the power of public opinion is become so great that every other must finally bend to its decrees. A temporary resistance may be made to the measures it suggests, or the conduct it prescribes; but as long as the press preserves only a moderate degree of liberty, public opinion must be ultimately omnipotent; and it is as vain to oppose its commands as it would be to order the earth not to revolve upon its axis.

When God gave the power of thought to man, he evidently designed it to be free. Tyranny may fetter the legs, or handcuff the arms, but it cannot impose chains on the interior operations of the mind. It may restrain the freedom of intellectual agency, through the medium of the press; but, in the present condition of man, no restraint of this kind can well be efficacious. And my heart vibrates with joy when I reflect that tyranny itself is on the point of expiring, in almost every part of the European world. The holy alliance, though made for the purpose, can hardly keep it alive. Its extinction is decreed; and some member of the selfish faction may have leisure to write its epitaph.

ANSWER TO THE LEICESTER ADDRESS.

This Address from the female Inhabitants of the Town of Leicester, speaks the language of animated loyalty and affectionate attachment. I accept it with much satisfaction, and I welcome the spirit which it breathes as favourable to the present and future interests of Britain. The more enlightened, virtuous, and patriotic, the females of this country become, the more we may cherish hopes of the moral, intellectual, and political improvement of the rising and of future generations. Our sex are the first instructors of the young. By them the first impressions are made, and the first lessons taught. Their increased and increasing intellectual culture, therefore, gives us the fair prospect of more virtue and intelligence in the days that time is about to unfold.

The omission of my name in the Liturgy received the sanction of persons who, have long been in the habit of making religion the pretext for their tyranny, or the veil for their selfishness; and who, on any other occasion, would have represented the proposition to exclude as many words or as many letters from the service of the establishment as a most sacrilegious innovation, threatening the abolition of tithes and the downfall of the hierarchy. But an alteration in direct opposition to that spirit of charity, without which all religion is but mere mummary, has been countenanced by the pious heads, both of the Church and of the State.

There is only one view in which I can regard this alteration with any complacency, and that is as the first step in the good work of ecclesiastical reformation. *But* the first step has been an unhallowed invasion of the charity of the sanctuary, let us hope that the next will make amends, by enlarging that charity, and by making the terms of union in the establishment as comprehensive as the spirit which is breathed through the whole scheme of Christianity.

Churchmen are usually more remarkable even than Statesmen for being behind the light of the age. They adhere too pertinaciously to ancient forms. They are unwilling to pass beyond that boundary of darkness, within which their forefathers lived; and if they ever find themselves within the illuminating ray of a purer light, they start back as apparitions are said to vanish when they reach the dawn.

Both Churchmen and Statesmen would do well ere it be too late, to open their eyes upon the sun of another reformation that is rising upon the world. Is it not their interest and ought it not to be their policy, to preserve all that is valuable in ancient systems or institutions, and to add to that value by incorporating it with all that is excellent in the improvements of modern times? This is the best way to reform what is bad, at the same time that you preserve what is good, and keep pace with the light of the age.

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

OL. 37.---No. 13.] LONDON, SATURDAY, OCT. 14, 1830. [Price, 6d.

TO THE  
ATTORNEY GENERAL,

*On the Evidence, as compared  
with the assertions in his  
opening Speech.*

London, Oct. 11, 1830.

ATTORNEY GENERAL,

It is now not a question of the Queen's guilt, or innocence; but a question of conspiracy; and the great object with the public is, to ascertain the parties to that conspiracy, and especially those with whom this second conspiracy originated. The little under-affair, just exposed at Bow Street, of which I shall take notice hy-and-by, serves to show, that nothing has been neglected on the part of the Queen's and the People's enemies; and, now we may daily expect new disclosures to be made. A rent has been made in this garment of imposture, and, it will now go to pieces like a cobweb.

But, at present, it is my business to make some remarks on the evidence that has been given, and to compare that evidence with the assertions in your opening Speech. To that Speech I published an answer as soon as it came forth. That answer convinced every one who read it, that the charges were false. Because it clearly showed, that to believe the charges, we must of necessity set reason and nature at defiance. It was, in that answer, clearly shown, that the great ground of presumed guilt, namely, the power of Bergami over the Queen, was false; that it never had an existence; that notorious facts proved it to be atrociously false; and, the conclusion was, that the charges, founded on such ground, were also false. It was shown, that, if such power had existed, Bergami would have kept the thirty-five thousand a year; and, that it is out of nature to believe, that, if he had possessed such power, he would ever have permitted the Queen to come and

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## TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL,

*On the Evidence, as compared  
with the assertions in his  
opening Speech.*

London, Oct. 11, 1830.

ATTORNEY GENERAL,

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But, at present, it is my business to make some remarks on the evidence that has been given, and to compare that evidence

with the assertions in his opening Speech. In that Speech I published an account of the evidence as given. The evidence was given in the following manner:—That the charge was made in 1817; that the charge was made by a man named Bergami, who brought to St. Alderman Anne Hamilton, a young man, twenty-two, donning up- a life of indulgence, constant to him as the her mate, saying "all or, the world well drawing towards the mo- of tearing herself from and (oh, monstrous!) choos- ing to bid him an everlasting adieu in the presence of a score of people! To be covered with a husk or shell is absolutely necessary to your believing of this.



run the *risk* of losing all, and all he must have expected her to lose, if the alledged intercourse had existed, of which existence he *must* have been well assured; and assured, too, *that there were witnesses to prove it.*

The evidence, and your failure to prove, even by your own witnesses, many things that you promised to prove, calls on me for another general observation or two, before I enter on the particular falsehoods contained in your opening Speech.

The adulterous intercourse was, you said, *continued* from November 1814 to the time that *Bergami quitted the service of the Queen.* Now, we know, that he quitted it in June, 1820, at St. Omers. None of your evidence comes down later than 1817! Your own evidence will bring you down no lower. Then it was *false* to say that you would show the *six years'* continuation. Why you did not is clear enough. There were to be found no *turned-off servants*, who had lived with the Queen *after 1817!* The *Majocchis*, *Demonts* and *Sacchinis* had been packed off; and the *Polarcre-men* had been discharged *before this period!* You could

find, or, rather *Cook, Powell. Brown* and the rest of the band could find nobody that the Queen had turned off, or that Bergami had quarrelled with, *after that period!*

To account for this, Street, of the *Courier* (and to name Street is quite enough), has told us, in a demi-official form, that we are not to believe, that the adulterous intercourse had had no existence because it *ceased*; for, that "it is a long lane that has no turn." You said that you would prove the continuation throughout the *six years.* But, no matter. The Queen was *forty-six* years old, when the intercourse ascribed to her commenced; and she was *forty-nine* when it ended. To believe this, what sort of a man must you be? To believe that a woman, who had been so fond of a comparatively young man for three whole years; who had been toying with him all day, and sleeping with him every night; should cease her fondness all at once, and become chaste as a nun at *forty-nine*; to believe this, what sort of a man must you be! But, there is, in this case, something more for you to believe than even this. I do not know what sort of a

man you may be: I have never seen you, and I hope and trust I never shall. You may be made of common flesh and blood; you may have the outward appearance and inward feelings of other mortals; or, you may, like the old woman and maid, described by the Copper Captain, be "covered with a husk, or shell, and rattle like a dried chesnut;" but, if you be made of flesh and blood and bones and bowels, what a stout believer must you be, to believe, that the Queen, having, whether from *satiety* or from *repentance*, discontinued her enjoyments, would *still have kept Bergami in her service and about her person?* Can any man, not absolutely made up of dry stuff, or surrounded with a husk or shell, possibly believe this?

What the judges of the Queen may be made of I shall not presume even to guess. Their blood, which is generally called *high*, may bear some resemblance to that of the Angels, as described by Milton. But, this I know, that to common mortals the sight, even the *bare sight*, of a once-enjoyed and now-indifferent and no-longer-loved or enjoyed object, is never endured

but from hard and irresistible necessity; and, we well know, that, in this case, it was endured *by choice*, if your allegations be true. Any thing so completely against nature never was heard of before in the world.

On the other hand, suppose the intercourse to have continued till Bergami quitted the Queen, and that it was mere accident, lucky accident, that preserved her Majesty against the ferretings of Cock, Powell, and Brown, as to periods after 1817; supposing you to take this ground, what a man you must be to believe, that Bergami would have been brought to *St. Omers*, to take his last leave in the presence of *Mr. Alderman Wood, Lady Annie Hamilton, and many others!* Here was a woman of *fifty-two*, doating upon a comparatively young man, sunk into a life of indulgence with him, constant to him as the dove to her mate, saying "all for love; or, the world well lost," drawing towards the moment of tearing herself from him, and (oh, monstrous!) *choosing to bid him an everlasting adieu in the presence of a score of people!* To be covered with a husk or shell is absolutely necessary to your believing of this.

Not only was the parting wholly unnecessary to secure the future guilty enjoyments of the Queen; not only was she going from the certainty of enjoying fifty thousand a year and her paramour; not only was she, without the smallest necessity, going to encounter the risk of losing the income, the lover and her life, as she then thought, in a struggle against this tremendous government; not only was she doing all this, but she must *choose* to bring the adored object to St. Omers to take the last look at his beloved person, to hear the last sound of his dear voice, in the presence of a score of witnesses! It must, indeed, be more than a hawk, or shell, that would make a man believe this. Against the voice of nature, speaking to all our hearts here, the swearings of ten thousand witnesses, be they who or what they may, are not worth a straw; and, when the witnesses are such as you have produced, what does their evidence amount to other than proof of a deep-laid conspiracy?

I now come to particular parts of your statement; and, let it be observed, that this statement was sent forth, all over the world, two months before any

evidence could possibly be offered in contradiction to it. I begin with your monstrous assertion about the *Leone's exhibitions*. I have twice mentioned this before; but, you never shall hear the last of this as long as you have a head upon your shoulders. Your assertion was this:

"On the return of the Princess from the East, she brought in her train a man named Leone, of the most brutal and depraved manners. This person used to exhibit himself at the Villa Branchi in the most indecorous and shameful manner, the Princess and Bergami being present. The circumstances are so shocking, so disgusting to the mind, that I cannot without difficulty bring myself to mention them to your Lordships. But it is necessary. The painful situation in which I am placed, requires that I should make your Lordships understand the nature of the disgusting exhibition, which shall appear by the testimony of various witnesses. This man, in the situation I described, amongst other things, used to imitate, in the most indelicate manner, the sexual intercourse before the servants, and in the presence of the Princess."

The whole nation, with the exception of the detested classes, exclaimed, the moment they heard this charge, "it is a lie!"

A lie it has proved to be, and that, odious and detestable in proportion to the malignity that suggested it, and that alone could have suggested it. Your own swearers call the exhibition only a *buffoonery*; and, Sir WILLIAM GELL, who saw it, says it was very much like some of the dances on our own stage, and that it is a thing publicly exhibited, before all sorts of people, "in every town from Madrid to China." What a lie was this, then, to send over the world! How are you to justify this conduct? But, of that I have more to say by-and-by; for, you will find, I fancy, that there must now be responsibility found somewhere.

I shall now go back to the outset of your string of accusations against the Queen; and, as you here take great pains to represent Bergami in *as low a light as possible*, I shall here, once for all, notice this circumstance of his *sudden elevation*, a circumstance on which you build so much. You say, that he was received into her service, clearly leaving it to be supposed, that she had got him into her service for those purposes which you were about to describe. You next call him a "courier,

footman, or *valet de place*;" and this with the evident intention of causing it to be believed that he had always been a mere footman, and looked upon by gentlemen in Italy as a footman is looked upon by gentlemen in England. This is a string that you continually harp upon, from one end to the other of your canting and spiteful narrative. And, when you come to speak of the promotion of Bergami, you recur incessantly to the low state, in which the Queen found him.

Now, in the first place, Bergami never was a footman; the place of courier is very different indeed from that of a footman; he had been in the army; his rank was on a level with that of our quarter-masters of horse; he was much respected by the Generals with whom he served; and, it is proved, that those Generals made him, on certain occasions, a companion, and always honoured him with their confidence. Secondly, it is proved by Sir William Gell, Mr. Craven, and Sicard, that he was actually taken into the Queen's service without her knowing any thing of the matter. A Marquis recommended him to Mr. Craven; Mr. Craven saw

this Marquis salute him as equals salute; he was recommended to Mr. Craven in the strongest terms; and, thereupon, Sicard hired him as a courier for the Queen; and, upon an understanding, too, that he *was to be promoted*. In time his own great merits caused his promotion. He, as it clearly appears from the evidence, was a person of great merit; that he was an able, active, vigilant, and brave man; that, in all probability, the Queen owed her personal safety, in a great degree, to him; and that to promote such a man, to confide in him, to give him authority and to decorate him with honours, was a mark of wisdom as well as of justice in her Majesty.

But, why all this fuss about the *low* (as it is called) *origin* of Bergami? The old haughty Bourbons have made shift to swallow the pill of acknowledging as *Counts*, and *Dukes*, and *Princes*, as *Peers of France*, men who were *private soldiers* only a few years before they became *Dukes*, *Counts*, and *Princes*. The thrice treble-distilled haughtiness of the House of Austria (the prime protectress of *Social Order*), could come down to give its heiress, or eldest daughter,

to the "*Corsican Adventurer*," Nay, the King of Sweden himself, our King's brother-king and his *high* ally, was, only a few years before he became King, a *private soldier*. Why such a fuss, then, about the Baron's *low origin*? Why such efforts to make out, that his office in the army was *not higher* than that of a *serjeant*? Those who have made such efforts do not seem to know much of what is passing in the world; if they did, they would perceive that the *low* (as it is called) *origin* of the Baron is, with the public, a strong circumstance in his favour. They would perceive that the people, in spite of the *Dungeon Bill* and the *Six Acts*, have been *peeping* and prying a good deal into things; and that they now know perfectly well how to set a *just* value on what is *Nobility*, or *high-blood*. In short they would perceive that, as her Majesty has well observed, the age of darkness, delusion, and blind submission is gone, never to return.

However, I am disposed to allow that the Queen might, in her promotion of Bergami, be influenced by some motives besides those arising out of his

actual services to her. She might contract a great liking towards him. I can see no sin in her liking his manners and his person, and in her being pleased with his conversation and his company. Nay (and now I shall make your husk, if you have one, rattle), I can see no sin in her *loving him*! What! has it never occurred to a woman to become, by degrees, very fond of a man, with whom she never even thought of an adulterous intercourse? If this be *sin*, God have mercy on the sex! But, the Baron had a wife. Is it a sin, then, for a woman to be *pleased* with another woman's husband? Is it a sin for her to wish that he was not married? Is it a sin for her to *like him more than any other man*, and to bestow on him money or honours? Is this a proof of *guilt*? Is this a proof of her having a carnal intercourse with him? But, the Queen had a husband. That, to be sure, was a thumping consideration! Take, then, *diabolis regis*, and make the most of it! Bawl away, as long as you like, on the *duty* and *exclusive affection* that the Queen owed to her kind, tender, constant and loving husband.

There might be something very pleasing in the manners of Bergami; and, indeed, Sir William Gell repeatedly says, that he was remarkably *attentive* and *obliging*. He has this remarkable expression; that his manners were like those of an English gentleman, only *he was more attentive*! It is not likely that he would be less attentive to the Queen than to other persons. She who had been used, for so long a time, to harsh, coarse, and even brutal treatment, committed no sin in being pleased with this attention. Her own amiable, kind, benevolent, and affable manners, which have endeared every one to her, who has had the happiness to serve under her, and who has not been a monster of ingratitude; these manners were well calculated to inspire such a man as Bergami with zeal in her service, and to draw from him, in the various perilous situations in which the Queen was placed, numerous proofs of sincere and ardent feeling for her, and of devotion to her. And, was she to be insensible to all this? Was she to lock up her heart, and have no feeling, except for her dear spouse in Pall Mall? Was she to banish, for

his sake, even gratitude from her bosom? Was she to spurn at attempts to please her? Was she to repay sincere attachment with scorn, and reserve all her smiles and her money to be bestowed on those *haughty* and *greedy* creatures, who slandered and treated her with contempt, while they were ever ready to pocket her money?

LORD GUILDFORD says, indeed, that *he* saw nothing particularly indicative of *good-breeding* about Bergami. But, different people see with different eyes. Women are very sharp-sighted in discovering merit, or demerit, in men. The Queen was a much better judge in choosing a Chamberlain than Lord Guildford could be, though that noble Peer has, even from a boy, been a *Chamberlain himself*; and though, as a Chamberlain of the *Eschequer*, he has actually received about *seventy thousand pounds of public money*. If the Baron had been acquainted with this fact, he might have called the noble Peer his *brother Chamberlain*. During the time that her Majesty has belonged to us, she has cost the country less a year, than has been received yearly, from tax and church

revenues, by Lord Guildford and his family. They, doubtless, have *merited* all this, though every one may not be able to say *for what*. But, surely, then, Bergami, who was so long in attendance upon the Queen, who accompanied her in so many fatiguing travels and voyages, and who was, in fact, her *guard* and *protector* against highwaymen, assassins, and deadly foes of all sorts, merited some compensation, some favour at her hands!

But, the Queen took his brothers and sisters into her employ. Nothing more natural, or more consistent with an absence from guilt. They were all in *efficient offices*; one attended to one thing, and another to another. It was natural for Bergami to get his relations employed, and it was perfectly natural for the Queen to wish to have faithful people about her. Much stress has been laid on the *wife* not being in the Queen's service; and, on a circumstance so perfectly natural, the basest insinuations have been attempted to be founded. Now, I put it to any impartial man, whether the reasons for this exclusion are not manifest, without resorting to

any particular circumstances, though such might also have existed. Bergami was the chief ruler of the servants of all degrees. If the wife had been in the house, who does not see, that she would naturally have taken on her a sort of *command*, as *mistress*? Who does not see that there would, from this cause, naturally have arisen *eternal feuds*, in an establishment like that of the Queen, who had, at some times, from forty to sixty persons in her household? In such an establishment there must be a species of order and command kept up, approaching somewhat towards military discipline, and, what pretty uproars must there have been with a wife continually interfering in this discipline, which she to a certainty would, or the husband and wife would have lived like cat and dog. Besides, the wife of the Baron was liable to the trifling accidents of pregnancy and lying-in! Would not these have interfered with the comfort of the establishment? However, though here is more than sufficient to account for the exclusion, which was, for these reasons, absolutely necessary, let me ask whether the exclusion of

the wife was not agreeable to the invariable practice in similar cases? What great farmer, who has a married bailiff, takes his wife too? What gentleman, or lady, who has a married cook, or house-steward, or butler, has the wife too in the house? Is there one single instance of this in the nation? But, to come more closely to the point, did the late Queen, even after the confinement of the King, take the wives of her Chamberlains, Masters of Horse, Gentlemen Ushers, and the like, into her house? Did she have these gentlemen's wives there to intermeddle in the duties of the husbands, and in some sort to participate in her own authority? Did she have her Chamberlains wives to *lie-in* under her roof? Did she, in order that the dear doves of spouses might never be apart, encumber herself with the racket of *accoucheurs*, *nurses*, and all the babble of the nursery? You know, and all the world knows, she never did, and that she would have been a monstrous fool if she had; but why, then, impute to Queen Caroline as proof of an adulterous intercourse, a practice invariably followed by her predecessors,



whom the accusers of her present Majesty represent as a paragon of purity and chastity !

Here, then, is an answer, and more than an answer, to all the insinuations relative to the exclusion of the wife ; and more than a refutation of all the base conclusions attempted to be drawn from that circumstance. Her Majesty had had, besides, some *experience* as to that domestic curse, a *husband and wife for inmates*. She had had *Sir John Douglas and his wife* ! She had known what it was to have this joint authority in her house. She had, at last, found herself *compelled to get them out of her house*, or to run away from it herself. The result was, that they, who had made her life miserable with their everlasting wranglings and sulkings with one another, joined most lovingly in a plot to destroy her. Surely this was enough, if plain reason and the practice of the world had not been enough, to deter her from having another man and wife in the management of her household.

You asserted, over and over again, that Bergami's sister, the Countess Oldi, was " a person *without education*, and of the most *low and vulgar manners*."

On this assumed fact you found the assertion, that the Queen having made this lady her *companion*, was a circumstance tending to prove the existence of an *adulterous intercourse with the brother*.

The assertion as to want of education and as to vulgarity of manners having been proved to be *false* by the concurrent testimony of Mr. CRAVEN, SIR W GELL, Mr. MILLS, and even by the NOBLE CHAMBERLAIN OF OUR EXCHEQUER, it is not necessary to say a word as to the calumnious conclusion which you drew from the assertion ; but, we have here an excellent opportunity of showing the sort of trifles that have been caught at, and the indescribable anxiety to establish even those trifles. The matter was pushed, at last, even to the *accent* of the Countess Oldi ! Her accent was to be the test of her *education* ! Some very *high* people would, I believe, not stand such a test. I remember an impudent, old, broad-faced baggage, who was, for many years, the centre of corruption, and who had the audacity to crack her fan in triumph every time any Peer said, "*not guilty*," on the trial of the late Melville ; I remem-

ber this insolent old haridan, whose accent was no more *English* than it was French. But, indeed, what have we to do but to listen to any one debate, in either house of parliament, to be convinced of the impudence, the baseness, and the beastliness, of inferring want of *education* from *provincial accent*? According to this, nobody can, in this kingdom, be well educated, unless bred up within fifty miles of London. I will not mention the *cramp* of the Scotch and the *blub-blub* of the Irish, for there is LORD GRENVILLE, who could not say *whole* if his life depended upon it. He invariably says *hull*, the "*hull* of the subject," with his mouth open and his tongue decked up against the inside of his upper teeth, and not "*whole*," with his lips pushed forward and his mouth nearly closed. But, what is this a proof of? Not of *want of education*; but of having been born and brought up in Buckinghamshire. There is the Lord Chancellor, who has been from his parental coal-merchant's fire-side for *fifty years*; who has been a tutor at Oxford, and who has made, perhaps, a million of money *by talking*, but who still

has the *burr* in his throat, and whose accent is not even yet half so good as that of an apprentice-boy, born and brought up, in Kent, or Surrey.

What a foolish thing is it, what a *catching at straws* is it, to attempt to draw from any provincial *accent* of the Countess Oldi, an inference unfavourable to the innocence of the Queen! It was asked, whether the Countess spoke Italian *grammatically*. An *illustration* was wanted here; and, if I had been Counsel for the Queen, I would have read an extract from the King's last Speech, then an extract from the Answer to it given by the House of Commons; and then I would have asked the witness, whether the language of the Countess Oldi were more or less *grammatical* than those compositions! However, since grammar is to have something to do in the decision, I will insert these two extracts here:

LAST SENTENCE OF KING'S SPEECH. — "I trust that an awakened sense of the dangers which they have incurred, and of the arts which have been employed to seduce them, will bring back by far the greater part of those who have been unhappily led astray, and will revive in them

" that spirit of loyalty, that due  
 " submission to the laws, and  
 " that attachment to the Consti-  
 " tion, which SUBSISTS un-  
 " abated in the hearts of the  
 " great body of the people, and  
 " which, under the blessings of  
 " Divine Providence, HAVE se-  
 " cured to the British nation the  
 " enjoyment of a larger share  
 " of practical freedom, as well  
 " as of prosperity and happi-  
 " ness, than have fallen to the  
 " lot of any nation in the world."

ANSWER OF THE COMMONS.  
 — " We concur most heartily in  
 " the benevolent WISH, ex-  
 " pressed by your Majesty, that  
 " an awakened sense of the  
 " dangers which they have in-  
 " curred, and of the arts which  
 " have been employed to seduce  
 " them, WILL bring back the  
 " far greater proportion of those  
 " who have been unhappily led  
 " astray, and WILL revive in  
 " them that spirit of loyalty,  
 " that due submission to the  
 " laws, and that attachment to  
 " the Constitution, which we are  
 " confident SUBSISTS in the  
 " hearts of the great body of  
 " the people, which, under the  
 " blessings of Divine Provi-  
 " dence, HAS secured to the  
 " British nation the enjoyment  
 " of a larger share of practical  
 " freedom, as well as of prospe-  
 " rity and happiness, than HAS  
 " fallen to the lot of any nation  
 " in the world."

Now, then, if *grammar like*  
*this* be to be found in things  
 proceeding from the mouths;  
 nay, from the pens, of our Mi-  
 nisters and Legislators; if

language like this be, and on  
 such an occasion too, used by  
 the very elect of the "*first*  
 "*society in the world,*" by  
 "*the ornament of the country;*"  
 if this be the case, let not our  
 good and gracious and benevo-  
 lent and gallant Queen be car-  
 ped at, even if the Countess of  
 Oldi should be found tripping  
 upon a point of *grammar!*

In dismissing this at once  
 childish and spiteful tissue of in-  
 sinuations built on the assertions  
 about low-birth and vulgarity, I,  
 if I had been Counsel for the  
 Queen, would have asked the  
 witnesses, whether any of the  
 males of the family of Bergami  
 were "*wine-tasters, butlers,*  
 "*tide-waiters, cranners, whatf-*  
 "*ingers, gaugers, or pack-*  
 "*ers;*" and whether any of the  
 ladies of the family were  
 "*clerks, ushers, custom-house-*  
 "*keepers or sweepers of Malls.*"  
 Any man with a husk, or shell,  
 about him, might have rattled at  
 this, and I might have set high-  
 blood into a strong fermenta-  
 tion; but, if I had been Coun-  
 sel for the Queen, the Devil take  
 me, if I would not have put the  
 question; for, whether the  
 witnesses had answered in the  
 affirmative or in the negative, I  
 should, in my summing up, have

known well how to make precious use of this part of their evidence. The plan of the Queen's Lawyers seems to be purely defensive: her Majesty, happily for herself and the country, has pursued a plan *wholly different*.

Having now swept away all the contemptible rubbish about low-birth and vulgarity; having shown that the Queen's conduct with regard to Bergami and his family was perfectly consistent with innocence in her Majesty's demeanour and intentions; having shown how hollow that cause must be that could seek for aid in such pitiful pretences! I now come to your more direct grounds of charge, beginning, as you began, with the distribution of the sleeping rooms at Naples, in November, 1817.

The passage of your speech relating to this matter is as follows:—

*“Up to the time of Her Majesty's arrival at Naples, this lad (Wm. Austin) was the object of her peculiar attention, and, in fact, being a boy of only 6 or 7 years of age, was in the habit of sleeping in a bed in the same room with her Majesty. The arrangement of her Majesty's own sleeping apartment devolved upon one servant, whose peculiar duty it was to attend to that branch*

*of her domestic comfort. On the arrival of her Majesty's suite at Naples, it was so arranged that her Majesty's sleeping-room was at an opposite side of the house to that of her menial domestics, among whom was her courier. On the first night of her Majesty's arrival at Naples, (the 8th Nov.) to which he had called their lordships' attention, this arrangement was continued. Bergami slept in that part of the house which had been prepared for the domestics, and young Austin slept in her Majesty's apartment. But on the following morning, November the 9th, the servants of the establishment learned with some surprise, because no reason appeared to them for the change, that Bergami was no longer to sleep in that part of the house where he had slept the night preceding; but that it was her Majesty's pleasure that he should sleep in a room from which there was a free communication with that of her Majesty, by means of a corridor or passage. He need not state, that such a circumstance was calculated to excite the surprise of those who were about her Majesty's person; and that surprise was increased when they learnt from her Majesty that she no longer wished Wm. Austin to continue to sleep in her room. For this she assigned a reason, which, if it was her only motive, was very proper: she said that he had now arrived at an age when it was no*

"longer becoming that he  
 "should sleep in her apartment;  
 "and a *separate room* was pre-  
 "pared for his use. He had al-  
 "ready stated that, from the  
 "situation assigned to Bergami,  
 "a *free communication* was  
 "open between his chamber and  
 "that of her Majesty; and (he  
 "believed) he should be able to  
 "satisfy their lordships that on  
 "the evening of the 9th of No-  
 "vember that intercourse,  
 "which is charged between her  
 "Majesty and Bergami by the  
 "present bill, commenced, and  
 "that it was *continued from*  
 "*that time till he quitted her*  
 "*service*. Upon the evening of  
 "the 9th of November her Ma-  
 "jesty went to the Opera at  
 "Naples, but it *was observed*  
 "*that she returned home at a*  
 "*very early hour*. The person  
 "who waited upon her, on her  
 "return, was the maid servant  
 "whose duty it was particularly  
 "to attend to her bed-room. She  
 "was *struck with the manner*  
 "*of the Princess*, and with the  
 "*agitation which she manifest-*  
 "*ed*. She hastened to her  
 "apartment, and *gave strict*  
 "*orders that Wm. Austin*  
 "*should not be admitted to her*  
 "*room that evening*. She was  
 "then observed to go from her  
 "own room *towards that as-*  
 "*signed to Bergami*. She very  
 "soon dismissed her female at-  
 "tendant, telling her that she  
 "had no further occasion for  
 "her services. The female ser-  
 "vant retired; but not without  
 "those suspicions which the  
 "circumstances he had mention-  
 "ed were calculated to excite  
 "in the mind of any individual.

"She knew, at the time, *that*  
 "*Bergami was in his bed-room*,  
 "for this was the first night of  
 "*his having taken advantage*  
 "*of the arrangement which had*  
 "*been previously made*."

Now, here is the *outset*; here  
 is the *foundation*; here is the  
*laying of the ground* for all  
 that follows. Every word of  
 this passage is of importance.  
 Here, as described by you, is a  
 regular plan begun to be put  
 into execution. All the circum-  
 stances, which are numerous, are  
 made nicely to fit with each  
 other. It is a contrivance as  
 complete as ever proceeded  
 from the mind of man. Now,  
 then, if, in every part of it, this  
 statement of yours is proved to  
 be false, who is to believe any  
 thing that you asserted, and that  
 your witnesses have sworn?  
 Let us see, then, how the mat-  
 ter stands.

First, you state the *age* of  
 Mr. Austin falsely, "a boy only  
 "six or seven years old." He  
 was born in 1802, and was,  
 therefore, about *twelve years*  
*old*. This, therefore, was a di-  
 rect *falsehood*, and intended to  
 answer a malignant purpose. If  
 he were only *six or seven*, the  
 removal of him from the Queen's  
 room could not be for the sake  
 of *delicacy*, and might well be

for the sake of concealment. But, if he were *twelve* years old, the motive of delicacy would naturally enough exist. Therefore, you represent him as *six* or *seven* years old instead of *twelve*, in order to produce a belief, that the removal must have been for the sole purpose of concealment! You said, that you received your instructions from the Home-Office. You have frequently said, during the trial, that you appear before the Lords by their command. Now, pray, who was it that instructed or commanded you to represent Mr. Austin as being "a boy only *six* or *seven* years old?" If you do not answer me, I trust that you will answer this question before this matter is ended.

You say, that this boy was in the habit of sleeping in the same room with the Queen before this night; this guilty night. It is now proved, over and over again, that he had frequently slept in another room than the Queen's before this time; and, it is also proved, that, before this time, she had settled on his quitting her room for good. But, from your representation we are to infer, that she now, for the first time, thought of putting him into another room; and,

being, as you asserted, "only *six* or *seven* years old," you left all the world to conclude, that she now put him out of her room for the sole purpose of concealing the adulterous intercourse on which she was about to enter.

Next comes the contrivance, the deep-laid contrivance, to get access to Bergami by night. And this is your statement: first, that, on the arrival at Naples, "the Queen's sleeping room was at an opposite side of the house to that of the menial domestics, amongst whom was Bergami; that he slept there the first night, but that the next day, to the surprise of the servants of the establishment, they found, that Bergami was no longer to sleep in that part of the house, but that it was her Majesty's pleasure, that he should sleep in a room, from which there was a free communication with that of her Majesty by means of a passage." Let me stop here; for the vile misrepresentations will accumulate so fast, that they will defy all power of exposure.

It is proved by STUART, and we shall by-and-by see, this is a witness that nothing can

shake; that this is a double-distilled lie. He says, that the house at Naples was found inconvenient; and that after the first night, *several alterations as to bed-rooms were made*. He says, that Bergami, who had slept the first night, in a room over Lady E. Forbes, was brought and lodged in a small room in *that part of the house where the Queen slept*; but, he does not, like you, say, that this change was in consequence of "*Her Majesty's pleasure*."

No! so far from it, he says, that it was *he made the change of his own head*; and, that he made it, too, not only without any orders, but *without consulting with the Queen, and without her knowledge*! Alas! how your tissue, your neatly woven web of falsehoods, is torn to atoms by this single touch of the finger of truth! What now becomes of all that "*surprise*," which you say was felt by the *servants of the establishment*, when they found that Bergami was to change his quarters? This SICARD was *one of those very servants*!

But, SICARD does not stop here. He goes further, and shows, *why* he made the change with regard to Bergami. He

says, that, *near the little place where Bergami was put to sleep*, there was a door from the garden; and, that it was thought necessary by him, SICARD, and also by another servant, HIERONIMUS, that *some one should be placed to sleep there, to prevent robbers from entering by that door*! Now, what baseness was it, then, to assert, or to instruct you to assert, that Bergami was placed here expressly by desire of the Queen, and for the purpose alleged by you!

Then, as to the *free communication* between Bergami's closet and the chamber of the Queen. Who would not imagine, that she had got his room *as near to her's as possible*, and that there was *nobody sleeping in any rooms between them*? Yet this was wholly false. His room was at *sixty feet* from her's along the main passage; there were three sleeping rooms between them, all occupied, one by Mr. Austin, one by Hieronimus, and one by Doctor Holland! There was a communication between their rooms by a *back passage*; but, then, two doors opened into that passage from the other and there were two doors to open to get to Bergami's room from the room of the Queen!

Never were more flagrant or baser falsehoods than those here exposed by SICARD.

Next we come to William Austin again. And, now mind, you say, that his removal took place on the 9th of November, the *second* night of the residence at Naples. The Queen then gave "*strict orders*," that Austin should "*not be admitted*" to her room that evening!" SICARD says, that it might be about *a week* after the arrival at Naples that the removal took place!

You say, that, when the Queen went to bed, *she knew* that Bergami was in his room. "*for this was the first night of*" his having taken advantage of "*that arrangement*." *Advantage*, indeed! Would it not have been more honest for you to say, that, night being come, bed-time having arrived, he had gone to the room appointed for him to sleep in by SICARD!

How infamous is all this! But, your employers did not know of what SICARD has now told you. WHY DID THEY NOT KNOW IT? This is a question that your employers will have put home to them *by-and-by*. —WHY DID THEY NOT KNOW WHAT SICARD HAS

NOW TOLD THEM, before they spent *three hundred thousand pounds* in a prosecution of the Queen? SICARD was in England. He has been here these *three or four years*. Dr. HOLLAND has been here these *five years*. And yet, they have never been *spoken to* by your employers! Never even *spoken to*! Did this discover a desire to come at *truth*; or, did it discover a desire to have, at last, an *excuse* for having acted upon *falsehood*? This is the point of all points. Your employers were not bound to believe SICARD or Dr. HOLLAND; but, they were bound to *question them*, before they undertook to *accuse and asperse* the Queen. Their not having done this *proves* clearly what their views, wishes, and intentions were. Can any body say; can even your employers say, that they would have brought the accusations forward, if they had, before they brought them forward, heard SICARD? Why, then, *did they not hear him*? They knew he was in England; they know, that he was *not very well pleased with the Queen*; they knew, that he had been, in fact, kindly put on the shelf: but, yet they *feared* to hear him! He was a man



*naturalized in England*; a man of excellent character; he was not a Cook and Powell and Brown man; he was not a Majocchi, a Sacchini, or a Demont; and, therefore, it was, that they did not speak to him.

This point is now of much more importance than your whole day's cross-examination of Mr. HOWNAM, or your three quarter of a day's cross-examination of the half-suffocated Mr. FLINN: yes, of a vast deal more consequence than whether the pinnacle of the palace was round or square, flat or sloping, covered with lead or covered with copper, or whether it was flat at the top, or formed an inclined plane. You may bother as long as you please about a man and woman sleeping under a tent, which in fact covered nearly the whole quarter-deck of the ship, had a gang-way going down through it, and was no more a place of secrecy than a barrack-room is a place of secrecy; you may try to bother and bewilder, and make out a something at last that may seem to form a plausible ground for this proceeding, and to show that the instigators were not animated by unmixed malice aforethought; but, after all this more than infernal persecution, her Majesty is not to be shuffled off without the prosecutors being able to prove, that they availed themselves of all the means within their power of obtaining true information, or without their being made responsible for their not having so availed themselves. We know well that men are punished, and justly punished, too, for preferring false and groundless bills of indictment; and your employers may be well assured, that her Majesty is not to be shuffled off with any miserable pretences about *mistaken information*!

I shall, in my next, follow you on through your other assertions. At present I trust bestow some room on the *Pla-*

*card Conspiracy.* In the mean time you may depend upon it that it is impossible *for this wind to blow over!* It must bring down something or somebody; and, take this to your comfort, that you have raised it yourselves.

WM. COBBETT.

### PLACARD CONSPIRACY.

This conspiracy is a very pretty companion piece to the Cato-street conspiracy. It makes naturally a part of the spy system, openly avowed by Canning, and as openly defended by Mr. Brougham, at the very time when he knew the Queen to be beset by spies, and also at the very time when he was preparing for his trip to St. Omers; or, rather, at the very moment when he was negotiating with the ministers the terms upon which the Queen was to be kept out of England. There are some men soft enough to be taken in by a little bombast; and the Queen is so popular; so justly beloved and admired, that there are men found to say, that this defence of the spy system, on the part of Mr. Brougham, may be overlooked for the pre-

sent. I am of a different opinion. The man that could openly defend that system was too far gone in political wickedness ever to retrace his steps. It was a thing that showed clearly that the man who did it was under the restraint of no principle whatever.

However, sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. The reader will judge from the following account of the proceedings at Bow-street and at the Home Office, of the nature and extent of the placarding conspiracy. I have inserted at the bottom of it, a letter from Mr. DENIS O'BRYEN. I suspect, and I have always suspected, that the Radicals had no hand whatever in the proclamation, which finally led to the recent beheadings and transportings in Scotland! I watched narrowly to see, whether any printer, publisher, or bill-sticker was detected in that affair! Not one! How could this have happened, if the Radicals had been the authors and promulgators of the proclamation? Oh! let but the blood of those brave Scotsmen be brought fairly home, and laid upon the heads of conspirators in London! Let this

be done, and we shall then see our way clear!

The intention of the conspirators upon the present occasion seems to have been, to produce what, in their bloodyslang, is called a *premature movement*; and thereby to obtain a *re-action*, as they call it. They have been waiting for a *re-action* from the moment that the Queen arrived in London. They now see that there is no hope of a bloodless re-action; and, therefore, they are for creating some pretence, some excuse, something or other that shall justify a suspension of the laws, a creating of a hub bub, in the midst of which, the people may be frightened from their support of the Queen.

There had been, for many days, a rumour on float, that the Queen was to be taken up for *sedition* or *treason*, and **COMMITTED TO THE TOWER!** This rumour was on float for many days before the conspiracy was discovered. The discovery of the conspiracy; or, rather, the nature of the placards, and particularly of one, which, as I hear, was forthcom-

ing, is a very satisfactory commentary on this rumour. Conspirators are not always the wisest men in the world; and, therefore, we are not to conclude, that the checking of the conspiracy ought not to be hailed by themselves as a most lucky accident. Their premature movement might possibly have been a very unlucky movement for them; and, the taking of the Queen to the Tower is, I imagine, a thing much more easy to talk about than to perform. It is very certain that those who have brought the Queen to trial, would never have attempted such a thing, if they had known what they now know. Not to have begun the thing at all would have been best. To have stopped at any given stage of the proceedings would have been better than to go on, just as it would have been in the proceedings of the Boroughmongers against the Reformers. But, men, with power of dubious duration in their hands, are like a losing gamester with money in his pocket: neither of them ever stops till the last stake is gone.

I shall now insert the Bow-street proceedings and Mr. O'Bryen's letter, with this observation only, that the reader ought to look very attentively at the conduct of *Baker* the Bow-street magistrate, and at that of *Williams* his old acquaintance and friend. The reader should look also very attentively at that which took place at the office of our friend, *Sidmouth*, author of the memorable circular letter, author of the letter of thanks to the Manchester magistrates, and prime author of so many things which will long live in our remembrance. These things, I mean these conspiracies, do not take me, and they ought not to take my readers, by surprise. I have always foretold that the thing (for by what name I know not to call it) would take desperate plunges towards the close! I always said that it would lay about it; and that woe be unto him who came near it in its agony. It is now

beset with such terrible dangers; it is immersed in such unfathomable difficulties, that it must either yield up the ghost at once, or make some most outrageously desperate effort to prolong its existence even for a quarter of a year. It is useless to reason with the thing any longer. It is become perfectly mad. It has neither rule for its conduct nor light to guide it. Through the thickest darkness it now and then gets a glimpse; but it is a glimpse like that which some poet describes as being given by the flames of hell to the sinners that are approaching towards the most horrible part of the infernal abodes.

This is a subject upon which one is apt to be tempted to diverge from one's path. I now return and lay before my readers a transcript, or rather reprint, of those proceedings of which I have been speaking, and from which I have detained them too long.

# DISCOVERY OF THE MANUFACTURE OF SEDITIOUS AND TREASONABLE PLACARDS.

(From the Times.)

BOW STREET, MONDAY, OCT. 9.

It is already known to the public that a poor and ignorant boy, Adderfield, was on Saturday last brought to this office, charged with circulating handbills of the most treasonable character. The spirit and design of this publication will best appear from its own terms:—

“EVIL BE TO HIM WHO EVIL THINKS.

“The Queen’s friends, whenever, and however assembled, will not content themselves with empty professions, but give solid proofs of their zeal by effectually promoting the subscription for such a service of plate as may be worthy of this noble country; and show her Majesty’s nefarious persecutors that it is not in the power of an infamous government, a corrupt judicature, or bribed majorities—of execrable perjurers, suborners of evidence, or malignant conspirators—to shut the hands of the people of England after they have opened their hearts. Eternal disgrace would be stamped upon the nation if this measure did not thoroughly succeed. Mighty events are probably in the womb of time. Except from the meritless accidents of sex and primogeniture, what claim has the King upon the nation which the Queen does not possess in common with him? She, as well as he, is only third in generation from one King of England; she

is the niece and daughter-in-law of another King; and without preaching any doctrine tending to civil convulsion, the historical truth is undeniable, that England never was greater or happier than in the ‘golden days of good Queen Bess,’ and the glorious ones of Queen Anne. Some among the most remorseless of Queen Caroline’s enemies might bear in mind that there is an express act of parliament which makes it penal to question the right of the nation to limit the succession to the throne. Whilst the wife, with the magnanimity of a Semiramis, is propounding a system that must shortly regenerate this enslaved land, and crush the tyrant while it rends the chain, the husband is playing the Dandy. ‘Nero fiddled when Rome was burning.’

“Never will the generous hearts of Englishmen, after the plan has been so promulgated of supplying to her Majesty that plate, which, though denied to the niece of George the Third, has been made a boon to her newspaper traducer—never will the public, whose annihilated liberties are sure of resurrection in the providential instrumentality of this noble-minded Princess (of which, by the way, a recent glorious acquittal even in one of those right arms of tyranny, called courts of law, is auspiciously portentous); never will the British public permit the dishonour to her cause which would be inseparable from failure of the subscription for the plate. Subscriptions

continue to be received at the following places, viz. :—

“Messrs. West, 329, Strand, wire-worker; Parr, Russell-st. Covent-garden, tailor; Ireland, Holborn-bridge, hosier; Cahuac, Blackman-st. Borough, publisher; Dennison, West-Smithfield, cutler; Watling, opposite the Adelphi, Strand, publisher; Whitaker, Surrey Coffee-house, Union-st. Borough; Benbow, 269, Strand, printer; being the original receiving-houses: also by Mrs. Carlile, Fleet-st.; and by all the other subsequently added members of the committee.

“Trustees.—The Duke of Leinster; the Earl of Oxford; Lord William Fitzgerald;

“And the following Members of Parliament and Gentlemen: Sir G. Noel, Sir F. Burdett, Sir R. Wilson, Sir J. Newport, Sir H. Parnell, Hon. D. Kinnaird, Alderman Wood, Peter Moore, Esq., Joseph Hume, Esq., J. C. Hobhouse, Esq., Charles Calvert, Esq., Edward Ellice, Esq., Major I. Williams, Alderman Thorpe, Mr. Sheriff Waithman.

“N. B. All friends to the glorious Revolutions of Spain, Portugal, Naples, Sicily, and to unburlesqued liberty in England, will not fail to attend the Crown and Anchor dinner on the 2d of October. Sir R. Wilson, M. P., K. M. T., T. and S. St. G., St. A., and B. E. in the chair.

“A passing word on the general cause.—Even in their festivities the resisters of the detestable government which enslaves this once free nation should not forget those who are

now suffering for their past well-proved virtues in the cause. Scaffolds have been the melancholy lot of some. Others languishing in chains and dungeons. A few weeks only, unless the nation be roused in time, will see two more of our foremost champions ‘laid in basest bonds’ by the corrupt judgment of ermined fiends. A long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether, may save us all. Let the regenerators of their country discard all petty jealousies, and keep in mind the motto of that brave people which, by a glorious revolution, cast off a tyrant’s sway, and established independence:—*Concordia res parvæ crescunt, discordia maxumæ dilabuntur.*”

When Mr. Minshull, one of the Bow-street magistrates, was proceeding to fine this unfortunate tool in the hands of others, Mr. Pearson proposed to get the person who employed him apprehended. Having sworn that he had traced the fabrication to an individual, and having obtained a warrant to apprehend him, he accompanied Vickery, the officer, to his house, and had him taken into custody on Sunday morning.

This morning (Monday) considerable curiosity appeared to have been excited by the subject, Mr. Hume, M. P., Sir Gerard Noel, M. P., Major Cartwright, and several other gentlemen, came into the office soon after ten o’clock. Sir Robert Baker and Mr. Birnie were the magistrates present; Mr. Minshull soon afterwards took his place. There happened to be but little night

business to require the attention of the Court.

Mr. Pearson—Will your Worship proceed now, then, to inquire into the charge upon which I obtained a warrant on Saturday?

Mr. Birnie—I have no objection; let the person charged be brought in.

It was observed, we believe by one of the officers, that the gentleman was not come.

Sir Robert Baker—He will be here.

Mr. Pearson—I ask you openly whether you have discharged him?

Sir Robert Baker—He has given securities for his appearance, and he will be here; so you may attend another day.

Mr. Pearson—This day was fixed for the purpose, and I wish to know how it is that he is not here?

Sir Robert Baker—He promised to be here at 11. It is now past 11, but he will be here in a few minutes.

Mr. Pearson—Then I shall wait for a few minutes.

After a considerable interval,

Mr. Pearson came forward again, and said—I beg leave to state my charges against a person of the name of Franklin, who was apprehended on Sunday morning by Mr. Vickery and myself. Against this person I have several charges, for fabricating and publishing placards, not only recommending sedition and insurrection, but resistance to the government by force, and for doing all this under the protection and authority of that government. I hold in my hand

many of those treasonable papers, issued by this person at various times. I charge him with being at this moment in treasonable conspiracy in the neighbourhood. I call upon you to grant a warrant for searching the house in which I believe him to be.

Mr. Minshull—Is that the young man that was charged here with circulating seditious placards?

Mr. Pearson—No; he was but the instrument whom Mr. Birnie described as ignorantly giving effect to the purposes of others. I have been five days and five nights in search of the author of the placard and employer of the poor boy. I now ask for an officer to search for this person; and I state boldly that he is engaged in a treasonable conspiracy against the people.

Sir Robert Baker—I understand what treason against the King means; but treason against the people I don't understand.

Mr. Pearson—The King and the Government are understood to represent the people, and to act as their agents.

Sir Robert Baker—Yes; but treason against the people I do not understand.

Mr. Pearson—Well, I charge him with treason against the King.

Mr. Minshull—You charge with treason; the term is sufficiently intelligible.

Mr. Pearson—I charge him with treason; and I say that from this charge he is attempting to run out of the country. I call upon you to use the same means for securing him as you

would against an ignorant, a poor, and a seditious person, in the usual sense attached to the word seditious.

Sir Robert Baker—We have now sent to the man who undertook for his appearance; a very respectable man whom I have long known, and who lives in the neighbouring parish.

Some person reported that he was not there.

Mr. Pearson—I stated other charges against him to you, Mr. Birnie.

Mr. Birnie—Yes, you did, in your letter; and I refused on that account to bail him. I am quite sure he will not appear.

Sir Robert Baker—I know only this; that I discharged him upon the responsibility of a most respectable gentleman who lives in St. Martin's-lane. I have no doubt that he will appear; if he does not, I shall spare no means to apprehend him, not only for this charge, but because he deceived me.

Mr. Minshull—He called on me yesterday; and I have no doubt, if I had been present, I should have done what my brother magistrate did.

Mr. Pearson—Well, I am ready to state my case.

Sir Robert Baker—Would not that be better done in private?

Mr. Pearson—If you please.

Mr. Vickery came forward to justify his activity and fidelity on the occasion.

Mr. Pearson agreed.

Mr. Birnie—Where is old Mr. Williams?

It was answered that he was in attendance.

Sir Robert Baker—Let Mr. Williams come forward.

An old man, of very respectable appearance, came forward to the end of the table.

Sir Robert Baker—Have you seen your friend?

Mr. Williams—I have not to-day.

Sir Robert Baker—Will he be here to-day?

Mr. Williams—Yes, he told me so.

Mr. Birnie—I never expected that he would appear, and therefore I refused to take bail.

Mr. Williams—I have not seen him to-day.

Mr. Birnie—What arrangements did you make?

Mr. Williams—I went this morning to see him, being my next-door neighbour.

Mr. Minshull—When did you see him last?

Mr. Williams—Yesterday morning we went to No. 6, Berkeley-street, and I called with him at Sir Robert Baker's. We saw Lady Baker, who told us that Sir Robert was probably at your office (Mr. Minshull's.) We came to your office, but, not finding him, we went back again to Sir Robert Baker's.

Mr. Birnie—But what arrangements had you made for meeting this day?

Mr. Williams—None.

Mr. Birnie—When did you part with him?

Mr. Williams—At 10 o'clock at night, at his house. I came home with him, and dined with him.

Mr. Birnie—Did he say he was coming here to-day?



Mr. Williams.—He said so in going along.

Mr. Birnie.—In going along? Were you to call on him, or was he to call on you, to come here together?

Mr. Williams.—I was to call on him; and I called at 8 o'clock this morning; but he was not at home.

Mr. Birnie.—Were you surprised? or did you expect to find him?

Mr. Williams.—I did expect to find him.

Mr. Birnie.—I knew Mr. Williams, and I reluctantly refused bail, knowing that Mr. Williams was a respectable man; but I never supposed that the accused meant to appear, and therefore I refused bail. I understood the arrangements to be, then, that he should be here at 12 o'clock, and you, Mr. Williams, with him, ready with bail.

Mr. Pearson.—Mr. Williams, you must be anxious to get him apprehended as well as I. You probably can tell us the names of some of his relations, with whom he may have taken refuge. Is his name *Frankland* or *Franklin*?

Mr. Williams.—*Franklin*.

Mr. Pearson.—What is his Christian name?—*William*.

Mr. Pearson.—Wm. Franklin? He lives in Clarendon-place, Edgware-road.

Mr. Williams.—Yes.

Mr. Pearson.—Has he not a son in the Guards?

Mr. Williams.—He has.

Mr. Pearson.—An officer in the Guards?

Mr. Williams.—Yes, he is an officer.

Mr. Pearson.—What is his Christian name, and where does he live?

Mr. Williams.—In truth I do not know his name, or where he lives.

Mr. Birnie.—Mr. Pearson, you are now stepping too far. All this ought to be private.

Mr. Minshull, Mr. Pearson, and Mr. Williams, retired then to Mr. Stafford's room, where the inquiry was proceeded with. Mr. Stafford returned soon afterwards, and said that Mr. Williams denied having given bail.

Sir Robert Baker.—He certainly gave an undertaking; I don't know whether he considers it bail or not.

Sir Robert Baker soon afterwards retired into Mr. Stafford's room, to assist in the inquiry.

In the private room Mr. Williams's examination was continued, for the purpose of obtaining, if possible, a clue to the discovery of Mr. Franklin's place of concealment. Mr. Williams resolutely persisted in his declaration that he had not in any way bound himself for Mr. Franklin's appearance; but that he had merely assured Sir Robert Baker of the respectability of the accused, and that he would attend with him in the morning at the office. From the examination of Mr. Williams it appeared that Mr. Franklin was a gentleman of independent fortune, and that he had a son an officer in the Guards; he also said that he had been on the Sunday with the officer and the prisoner to Mr. Birnie, at his country house, in order to obtain his liberation; but that Mr. Birnie refused to

comply with his request, and had advised Mr. Williams, as a friend, not to have any thing to do with the prisoner. In defiance, however, of this advice, he went to Sir R. Baker with the prisoner; and that gentleman discharged him out of custody, upon his promising to appear on the next day. At this Mr. Pearson observed that he had received information that Mr. Franklin was, probably, at a house in the neighbourhood; and requested that an officer might be sent with him to search the house. Vickery was appointed to that service. The house in question belongs to a Mr. Dennis O'Bryan; is situated in Craven-street, Strand; and it was represented at the office (we know not with what degree of truth) that that gentleman has, for several years, held a sinecure place under government, worth 800*l.* per annum; and that he is a writer for a certain Morning Paper, which advocates the cause of Ministers.

Information was given at the office that Mr. Franklin had been watched for some days, and had been observed to meet every day, at the house of Mr. Dennis O'Bryan, with some other distinguished characters connected with the ministerial press; and that all the treasonable and seditious hand-bills are carried to that house, and the conspirators admitted by a signal given of drawing a stick along the railing. When Mr. Pearson and Vickery arrived at Craven-street, they were refused admittance by the servant, when Vickery threatened to get

in at the window. At length a gentleman from within, who appeared not to like the aspect of affairs, came out; and the officer took advantage of the door being opened to enter the house, followed by Mr. Pearson. Mr. Dennis O'Bryan soon made his appearance, and declared most vehemently that he did not even know Mr. Franklin, although Mr. Franklin had been traced into Mr. O'Bryan's house constantly during the last three years, and although Mr. Williams, upon his examination, admitted that he had met the aforesaid Mr. Dennis O'Bryan at this unknown Mr. Franklin's house.

The search of Mr. O'Bryan's house was unsuccessful, and Mr. Pearson returned to the office. During his absence Mr. Haydon contrived to draw some very important facts from Mr. Williams. He admitted that on the Sunday night, so late as 10 o'clock, Mr. Franklin told him that he meant to go out of town, and that that morning, at 8 o'clock, Mr. Franklin's daughter had told him that before 12 o'clock her father would be above one hundred miles from London.

Mr. Minshall remarked, that it was very singular that not until three o'clock could this gentleman recollect a circumstance so important to the inquiry; and that he should have thought an honourable man would not have rested until he had disclosed those facts to Sir Robert Baker, in order that warrants might have been issued early in the morning for

his apprehension. We understand that warrants for the apprehension of the accused are sent off to different parts of the country.

Mr. Pearson, attended by Mr. Haydon, Mr. Wilson, and two other gentlemen, then went to the Secretary of State's office, and had an interview with Mr. Clive, who, very much to the astonishment of the party, had received intelligence of all that had transpired, and was as well acquainted with the mysterious escape of the accused, and all the minutæ of the case, as were the gentlemen themselves. He further laboured to justify the conduct of Sir Robert Baker, by saying that the charge was only that of a misdemeanour, and that therefore he might let him out at his discretion.—Mr. Pearson, in very warm terms, replied to this assertion, that a magistrate possessed no such right; but that, whatever might be the rank, family, connexions, or political feelings of a person accused, a magistrate had no power to order his discharge without taking good and sufficient bail for his appearance. With great energy to Mr. Clive, he told him, that he begged he would expressly understand him, that, in the presence of the gentlemen then in the room, he invited the aid of the Home Department to secure the apprehension of the accused; that, as the Secretary of State was in the habit of offering rewards, and issuing proclamations, for the arrest of offenders of comparatively minor importance, he earnestly

entreated of him, that very day, to take measures for the apprehension of this daring offender.

Mr. Pearson further remarked, that, considering the individual in question stood charged with having published seditious and treasonable placards, and, with considerable expence and trouble, distributed them gratuitously by hundreds of thousands for a period of three years, extending over times in which public distress had driven the lower orders to a state of irritation, amounting almost to madness; considering the feverish state of public feeling at this moment, when these seditious placards were being issued forth; considering that he had ordered 50,000 copies to be printed, and had actually bespoken a hand-bill, calling upon the people to arm themselves, and to resist the constitutional authorities; considering also, that the accused had been suffered to escape through the extraordinary, mysterious, and unprecedented conduct of their own magistrate, Sir Robert Baker; that, if the Home Department did not use extraordinary exertions to retrieve the error of their own officers, and to deliver up this man to answer to the offended laws of his country, there would not be wanting people to suppose that the rank and occupation of the man had secured his safety; and indeed, the world would draw conclusions too obvious to need to be specified.

Mr. Clive said, that Lord Sidmouth was not then at the office; but that, if Mr. Pearson would

call another day, he would receive an answer to his application.

Mr. Pearson replied, that, as he believed the assured would quit the country, it was that night, and that night only, that the services of his lordship would be of any use; and that, therefore, he would call again if such were Mr. Clive's pleasure; but he could not leave the neighbourhood without retaining a decisive answer.

Mr. Pearson left with Mr. Clive two of the seditious hand-bills, and was appointed to call again at half-past four o'clock, at which time that gentleman and his friends returned, and Mr. Clive, addressing them, said, that Lord Sidmouth did not see any thing in the hand-bills to justify his interference. It should be remembered that the two bills left were the one which we have before copied, and another, containing, among other seditious and inflammatory expressions, the following, alluding to the execution at Derby:—"Strike not at all, or strike home; think of our personal insupportable servitude; and always remember that the alternative is liberty, or a glorious grave."

Mr. Pearson replied, that if such were Lord Sidmouth's answer, and for such reasons, he had drawn his conclusions from insufficient premises. Say that he rested his claim to Lord Sidmouth's interference, not relying upon these placards, infamous and treasonable as they were, but also upon the 18 others, all of which had been circulated during the last three

years. Mr. Clive said distinctly that he had stated this to Lord Sidmouth, who had replied that he saw no occasion for the interference of the department over which he presided; and therefore, Mr. Pearson and his friends made their bow, and retired.

Late last evening Mr. Minshull announced to Mr. Pearson, at Bow-street, that, finding the tale of Adderfield to be true, and that he had been made the dupé of the designs of others, he (Mr. Minshull) had shown compassion to him, and had only fined him £1. and sentenced him to hard labour in the house of correction for three months.

It will be recollected that Adderfield could not read, and was, therefore, ignorant of the contents of the hand-bill which he was the mere instrument of circulating: meanwhile the author of the bill has been suffered to escape without remark.

*To the Editor of the Times.*

SIR,—I shall proceed, with all possible brevity, and without any preface, to correct the falsehoods contained in your Bow-street account of Monday last, regarding myself.

1st. It is false that I held, or hold, a sinecure place under the present government. The only office which I possess is a colonial appointment, conferred upon me more than 14 years since by Lord Grey (when his lordship was First Lord of the Admiralty), at the instance of Mr. Fox.

2d. It is false that I am a writer for a certain Morning Paper. Were I such, I should

not offer apology or explanation for such a disposition of myself. The fact, however, is, that although in the course of my life, and still an occasional correspondent of several papers (*The Times* and *Chronicle* included) like thousands of others, I never had either property, management, engagement, employment, or concern in any newspaper, since the hour of my birth.

3d. It is false that distinguished characters connected with the ministerial press are in habits of meeting at my house. Upon the most accurate retrospect of which my memory is capable, I do not recollect any gentleman now connected with any possible paper to have been inside my threshold for the last twelve months. Such an incident may have occurred, as there are gentlemen in that line of vocation whom I know and highly esteem; but I have not the slightest remembrance of such a visitor for a full year past.

4th. That Pearson and Vickery were refused admittance by the servant happens to be a fact; though found in the said statement; but the complexion given to that refusal is as false as the three first heads. The truth is, that I am very much annoyed by applicants, in real or pretended want; and that I have, during my 42 years' residence in this street, been obliged, perhaps 42 scores of times, to threaten my servants with dismissal, on the score of receiving begging letters, and admitting strangers. It is to the discipline thence arising, coupled with seeking for a name unknown to those ser-

vants as a male visitant; that they refused to open the door. The instant that I, who was getting out of bed, learned the name and object of Vickery, every part of the house was immediately submitted to his research. I shall not add another word.

DENIS O'BRYEN.

21, Craven-street, Oct. 11, 1820.

#### WARWICKSHIRE MILITIA.

I have not room in the present Register to notice some information about *Cherry*, the Local Militia Adjutant at Coventry. I find, but with no great surprise, that the Warwickshire Militia, before their dispersion, were signing an address to the Queen; and that great part of them had actually signed it; but that it was wheedled out of their hands and kept from them till after the day of dispersion. This shows what endeavours are making to stifle the voices of the people; and it also shows the fears of the persons making use of those endeavours. Exactly how this struggle is to terminate nobody can say; but the thing has received a blow which it will never recover; and the beauty of it is, the blow has been given by itself.

## HER MAJESTY'S ANSWERS TO ADDRESSES.

ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE  
BOROUGH OF BOSTON.

I gratefully accept the congratulations and the condolence of the Householders and Inhabitants of the Borough of Boston.

My life furnishes a singular instance of the manner in which injustice and cruelty have been formed into a systematic conspiracy, and prosecuted for nearly a quarter of a century against an individual of my exalted rank. This conspiracy has shown itself at different periods, in a diversity of machinations; in plots, upon a grand scale and upon a small; in the bold asseverations of unblushing perjury, and in the minute ramifications of clandestine fraud; in open enmities, and insidious friendships;—and all this secretly directed by individual influence, and instigated by individual malignity. Thus nearly one half of my existence has been passed amidst the wiles of treachery. My confidence has been sought only to be betrayed: the mask of regard has been worn only the more easily to deceive. The very men, who are now my accusers, were formerly my declared advocates, and my professedly zealous friends. The majority of the present witnesses, who have been marshalled against me, like an armed host, and regularly trained to be expert in circumstantial falsehood and methodized perjury, were rescued by my bounty

from penury and wretchedness. But they seem to have been warmed into life, only like vipers, to bite the hand by which they were cherished in adversity.

My regard for those rights of the people, and those liberties of the nation, which my ancestors were invited to defend, makes me more deeply grieve to see both so vitally impugned in my person; and so essentially violated in the Bill of Pains and Penalties. I would rather have perished in defence of those rights and liberties, than that they should receive a fatal stab by a measure which cannot degrade the Queen without enslaving the people.

As the first subject in the realm, I feel the rights of all other subjects identified with my own; and as I am placed in immediate contact with the Throne, I cannot but be alarmed for its security, when I see it likely to be deprived of its only solid support; the respect and the affections of the people.

After having encountered so many storms in the former period of my life, I am anxious that the remainder of my days should be a period of repose, in which the wicked may cease to trouble, and the treacherous to ensnare; when I may enjoy that tranquillity to which I have long been a stranger, and practise that beneficence which has always been my delight.

ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS FROM  
LIVERPOOL.

I am much gratified by finding that my conduct is approved.

while my rights are vindicated, and my sufferings lamented by the inhabitants of the enlightened town of Liverpool and its vicinity.

My accession to the high dignity of Queen Consort of these realms, was hailed by the nation with vivid expressions of joy; though that joy has been mingled with grief, by the indignities which I have since experienced, and the persecution of which I have so long been the object.

When it pleased the will of my Royal Consort to dismiss me from his Royal abode, he was not able to fix the slightest imputation of moral blame on my conduct; and could only excuse his own by alleging that his inclinations were not under his controul. In this state of total and unprovoked desertion by him who had recently sworn eternal fidelity only to myself, I had no solace left but in the company of my only child; and it is well known that that solace was gradually diminished, till it was entirely taken away.

Those who are now my accusers, were once professedly my friends; though they were never, even in profession, the friends of the people. They are now the declared enemies of both; and, indeed, they are the enemies of all who are not the friends of corruption in every branch of the public Administration. To incur their hatred nothing more is requisite than not to acquiesce in injustice and not to countenance iniquity. If I would have truckled to their selfishness, they would have ce-

lebrated my baseness in poems of panegyric. But the reality of incorruptible independence is such an alien from their habits, and such a stranger to their minds, that they turned aghast at the sight, like the guilty King at the apparition of his murdered guest!

To be the hatred of such men is to be entitled to the love of mankind. To be the shaft of their malice is to be conspicuous for worth and eminent for integrity. To be assailed by their slanders and persecuted by their rancour, it is only necessary to be the steady friend of all that is true, all that is just, all that is honourable, all that is praiseworthy among men; of all that promotes the real good, and exalts the true glory of the People.

The former ordeals through which I passed, without the smallest imputation of criminality, though they were not conducted with candour, were less characterised by malignity than the present. The present is marked by an intensity of malevolence, of which, happily for the honour of our species, only one example is furnished in the history of mankind.

#### ANSWER TO THE WARD OF CRIPPLE-GATE WITHOUT.

The Citizens of London have never deserted their post when tyranny attacked the rights of individuals, or threatened the constitutional liberties of the nation. In this critical period, when both individual right and general liberty are vitally assailed in the person of the

Queen, I have found in the Citizens of London my most intrepid supporters and my most zealous friends; and among the foremost of those supporters and friends, the grateful feelings of my heart tell me that I ought ever to number the householders and inhabitants of the Ward of Cripplegate-without.

Unlimited power ought to be given to no man, unless it could at the same time be united with unlimited wisdom; but as Providence does not usually bestow a much larger portion of wisdom or of virtue upon kings, than upon other individuals, it is necessary that their power should be circumscribed within strict limitations, in order to render it beneficial to mankind.

The power of the laws is good, because it is power without passion; but who would approve discretionary power, in an individual who is the slave of his appetites, or remarkable only for his fatuity? Where power is limited by fixed laws for the common good, those laws which may be called fundamental, cannot be changed without the consent of the people, for whose good they were established. A limited monarchy, with fundamental laws which may be capriciously changed, is, in fact, an arbitrary Government. It is not the Government of unimpassioned law, but of fickle inclination.

The Bill of Pains and Penalties, which is pending against me, is an anomaly in a free Government. It is an assumption of power without limitations;

it is a determination that spurns all control: it begins with setting aside every existing law which has any reference to the protection of the individual against those Pains and Penalties which the Bill proposes to inflict.

If, therefore, such a Bill of Pains and Penalties should pass, it may, perhaps, hereafter be proposed to the people of England to consider how far it ought to be obeyed. It can have no claim to obedience, as an act emanating from legitimate authority; for no authority is any further legitimate, than as it is exercised within those fixed constitutional limitations, by which it was originally circumscribed, and for the good of the people, for whose good alone it was bestowed. In a limited Monarchy all power must be a trust; but the very nature of a trust supposes an accountableness to some higher authority, for otherwise a trust might be changed at the pleasure of the trustee.

If it be said that the enactment of a Bill of Pains and Penalties is only the exercise of a constitutional power, I answer, that no unconstitutional power can be constitutionally exercised. How can a breach of the law be conformity to law?

Though, therefore, this Bill of Pains and Penalties should be solemnly enacted, it may not be the less an unconstitutional act. Perhaps it will be said, "What then, cannot Kings, Lords, and Commons, do as they please?" I answer, No.



Their power is only a trust, limited by law; and what is a trust, never can suppose unrestrained volition or arbitrary agency.

If the power of Kings, Lords, and Commons, is limited by the fundamental laws of the realm, their acts are not binding when they exceed those limitations. If it be asked, "What then, are Kings, Lords, and Commons amenable to any higher authority?"---I distinctly answer, Yes. To what higher authority?---To that of God and of the People.

ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS FROM  
NORTHAMPTON.

I set a high value on the many testimonies of regard which I have received from the Mercantile and Manufacturing part of the community. Among those estimable claims upon my gratitude, I shall always rank this Address from the Tradesmen and Mechanics of the Town of Northampton.

Good and evil, happiness and misery, life and death, are the appointments of God. What his goodness freely gives, I feel that the same goodness may as freely take away. As a being made highly susceptible of affection, and with nerves alive to the slightest impressions of pleasure or of pain, I cannot but lament over the departure of those who so long had a hold upon my heart—whose joys and sorrows were always in unison with my own; but as far as human infirmity will permit, I

endeavour to repress the falling tear, and to stop the involuntary sigh. I bind my will to that truly PARENTAL POWER, whose decrees have always a reference to the good of the heart which they oppress, and to the improvement of the mind which they agonize. I saw my only child cut off by the rude gust of adversity, like a flower in the early spring. Here my affection received a wound, which has never been entirely closed, and which the fond intrusions of memory will not suffer to disappear. Here I felt a disposition to be querulous, and a tendency to be sceptical; but I remembered that life is only a transient discipline for a more lasting existence, and that though man is short-sighted, the UNIVERSAL FATHER must be good. Who is there that can look back upon his past life, and say, that he has not been better for the experience of adversity?

I cannot have the smallest doubt but that the tradesmen and mechanics of Northampton feel the most zealous regard for the House of Brunswick, and for the principles of that limited Monarchy which it is their duty to defend. If those principles have been outraged by any late measures, I hope to live to see the ancient oak of British Liberty send forth new and more healthy shoots, and spread its branches far and wide, till it alike covers the high and the low, the rich and the poor, under the ample canopy of its protecting shade.

ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE  
INHABITANTS OF WHITECHAPEL.

I am happy to find that my many sufferings and my accumulated wrongs have so powerfully interested the sympathies of the Inhabitants of St. Mary, Whitechapel.

The conspiracy which I am combating, though nominally directed against myself, is, in fact, a conspiracy against British Liberty. No measure since the Revolution has portended such disastrous consequences as the present Bill of Pains and Penalties. While it threatens freedom under all its diversified aspects, and with all its general rights, and all its particular securities, it at the same time darkens the perspective of the future with a lowering appearance of civil war. It exhibits a cloud at the edge of the political horizon that may burst in misery on every family in the country. This Bill of Pains and Penalties may thus be the harbinger of woe to every man's hearth. It may imbitter the days of thousands and tens of thousands, both of rich and poor; and produce in all irreparable regrets. After the noble stand which so many of the most estimable among the Peers have made against this pestiferous Bill, and the total want of any evidence to justify its enactment, it cannot be expected that it will pass; but, if it should pass, we must never lose sight of the probability that His Majesty may marry again. The issue of that marriage would, in all likelihood, cause a contested succession. That part of the

nation which will not allow the Bill of Pains and Penalties to be a constitutional act, may not readily submit to the offspring of a marriage which will never, generally, be deemed legitimate.

If my marriage be annulled, it must be annulled in defiance of all law. The Queen, therefore, who succeeded me would only be nominally Queen; for no lawful right can be conveyed by an illegal act; and, in the opinion of the great majority of the nation, nothing can invest this Bill of Pains and Penalties with any legal characteristics. It will never be regarded as any thing more than an act of pure tyranny; and, as such, it will excite the hatred of the present age, and experience the execrations of posterity.

ANSWER TO AN ADDRESS FROM THE  
INHABITANTS OF THE WARD OF  
ALDERSGATE.

I have recently received the most unequivocal proofs of affectionate attachment, on the part of the citizens of London. The present Address, from the Inhabitants of the Ward of Aldersgate, is an addition to the many claims which the first metropolis in the world has upon my gratitude. Great as have been my afflictions, and many as have been my wrongs, they have both experienced no small degree of alleviation from the general expression of public sympathy that has been so vividly manifested since my return.

The sentiment of indignation, which the proceedings of my

enemies have excited, had not been limited in its extent, or restricted in its operations. It has been diffused over the whole country: every heart has vibrated with the feeling; and it has showed the potency of its influence in every circle of society.

It is not a mere party feeling, and, therefore, is not likely to be fugitive and evanescent. It is a feeling which attaches itself to a question of universal interest, for it involves the interest of national liberty. If it were purely my own rights that were affected by the pending Bill of Pains and Penalties, I should feel more indifferent than I now do about the present procedure in the House of Lords; but as the rights of every Englishman must be impaired by such violation of constitutional liberty, I am more impressed by the tremendous consequences with which it threatens the

public welfare than by any loss or privation which it may bring upon myself.

If my rights as Queen Consort should be transferred to another, that transfer would be against the fundamental laws of the realm, and, wanting the highest of all sanctions, the general consent of the nation, would receive no other obedience than that which force might impose.

In these enlightened times whatever the panders to the arbitrary will of Sovereigns may pretend, no throne can be secure that is not established in the affections of the people. No other power can possess anything like permanence or solidity. All besides this is mere gaudy pageantry or unsubstantial show; it may remain for a time; but it will suddenly disappear, like a vision of the night.

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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## A LETTER

TO

LORD LAUDERDALE,

*On the Tent-Scene; on the Conspiracy against the Queen; on the Conspiracy against the People; and on the present ridiculous figure presented by the Boroughmongers, their tools and dependents.*

London, Oct. 19, 1890.

LORD LAUDERDALE,

I select you as the person to address on the above subjects, not because I think you more or less wise, more or less upright, than other individuals of the same body to which you belong; for, with very few exceptions, I think you equally wise and equally incorruptible. But, having written so many essays on this subject, I find it necessary to give the essays distinctive appellations; and, for the same reason that I called one of my letters on the Paper-Magazine, "the Letter to Tierney," I call this "the Letter to Lauderdale."

The Tent-Scene is the first

subject. After the destruction of the evidence of Majocchi, Demont, Sacchini, Rastalli, and all the Italian swearers; after three days' cross-examination of Flynn and Horsman; after all the unparalleled efforts of those whom I will not name, to establish something criminal, the only thing that even the corrupt and bribed press has left to hang to is, the fact, proved by Horsman, and never attempted to be denied by the Queen; so far from it, that her counsel, Mr. Williams, stated the fact in his opening speech; this fact is all that even open and notorious corruption has to hang, suspicious on; and I shall now show, that this is, of the whole string of accusations, the most heinous, but yet, the most craftily wicked.

The representation is, that Her Majesty slept or passed the night under a tent with Rastalli for five successive weeks! In words this is true; but the base, cruel, and cowardly slanders of perjury and subornation; these most degraded of all men-

kind; this *Selfish Faction*, this *Detested Class*, though fools enough in all conscience, know well, that, though this is *true in words*, it is, in meaning and intent, a most atrocious falsehood.

In the first place, what was this tent, as it is falsely called by the Attorney-General? It was twenty three feet long and eighteen feet wide! A pretty sort of tent! It was, in fact, a great part of the deck of the vessel with an awning over it, to keep off the scorching sun by day and the heavy dews by night. And why was it resorted to? Because the weather was so hot, and the stench from the animals in the hold so great, that the Queen could not live below. Is it possible for a man, who has ever been at sea, in a vessel resembling a Polacre, not to see sufficient reason for this arrangement, without resorting to the invention of motives such as could haunt none but the most jealous pate or the most malignant heart.

It appears, however, that, under this awning, *Bergami* stood by night as well as the Queen. And here I have only representation, cruel and cowardly calumny and malice, have

an advantage in the general well known ignorance of the people relative to the state of things on board of ship, and particularly such a miserable vessel as that in which her Majesty was sailing. Here Lord Exmouth or the King's brother, the Duke of Clarence, the Lord High Admiral, might have given a description of that state of things, and have shown, that, not to have a strong, active, and trusty man under the awning by night, would have been a very probable casting away of life in the Queen. But, I suppose, that neither of those noble personages, who have always sailed by night in ward-rooms and cabins as commodious and safe and as well attended, or better attended, than parlours or bedrooms in their mansions on shore; I suppose, that they could form no idea of the state of things in a Polacre, with twenty-two half-Turks and half-Italians for a crew, sailing on a sea infested by Algerine Pirates! I can form some idea of the matter, and I will endeavour to describe it.

The awning, which covered the Queen, was, at any moment, even in weather apparently the most calm, liable to be taken by

the wind, and snatched away as quickly as a bit of paper is blown from a table; and, in rough weather, every thing on the deck was liable, at any moment, to be swept into the sea. Who can describe the tossing, the buffettings, and the incessant dangers and alarms in such a situation in the night-time: sailing, too, for great part of the time, amidst islands, rocks and shoals, and in the well-known track of barbarian pirates? If you say, "*why* did the Queen, from her own choice, place herself in *such a situation*; my answer is, certainly *not for indulging a propensity, to which such a situation must have been an effectual damper, and in which she might have indulgence in safety and secrecy on shore.*"

There was no hour of any night, in which the aid and protection of a man, and of a stout, active and trusty man too, might not have been necessary to save even the life of the Queen. It has been proved, that a light was burnt under the awning by night, until it was necessary to burn it no longer for fear of alluring pirates; it has been proved, that the light of the binnacle showed in under the

awning, and we know, that that light must burn every night; it has been proved, that there was a gang-way, or staircase, going down from under the awning into the parts below, and that several persons had to go up and down without restraint or ceremony at all hours; it has been proved, that the Lieutenant on deck (by night as well as by day) had frequently to go into the awning part to see and speak to the Queen; all this has been proved; it is a notorious fact, that the Queen might, if she had chosen, have remained on shore, in the safe and secret enjoyment of her alleged paramour! and yet, the placing of this same man as a guard or help or protection, near her person, in such a perilous situation, is, by the *Detested Class*, the plundering abettors of perjury and subornation, affected to be regarded as a proof of an adulterous intercourse with that same alleged paramour!

It might be peculiarly proper for Mr. Hownam to be asked, whether he had seen her Majesty's *lags*; but, what moment of any night was there, when it might not have been necessary for some man to catch her in his arms, and, whether with bare

legs or not, lug her, head or heels foremost, down below! I ask this of any man who knows what it is to sail in a vessel of two hundred tons, and who knows what gales, storms, and squalls are; and, if such man be not a corrupt and partial and sworn abettor of perjury and subornation, he will say, that, for the Queen to have passed a night in such a situation without an able man always at hand to succour and to save her, would have argued, not only fool-hardiness, but downright insanity, on her part.

But, besides these incessant dangers of the seas, was there no danger to be apprehended from a crew, such as the Queen had on board? How long is it since a crew of these half-Italians, quarter-Turks, and quarter-pirates, actually violated as well as plundered their female English passengers? I have known what it is to sail with a mongrel crew partly of the St. Antonio sort, and I could keep on deck with the captain and mates, many hours at a time by night, while my wife, then only sixteen, instead of fifty, was lying in her birth below, not many feet distant from a Frenchman, with no other person in

the cabin. But, did the base thought of illicit intercourse ever come into my head! In the midst of the dangers of the sea and of mutiny, I wished; when I thought it my duty to take my turn on deck, to know some man was near my wife to keep her company, to give her confidence, to quiet her alarms. And what man, worthy of the name of man, would not have entertained the same wish? What, but a base, effeminate, impotent, would-be cornuto, would have thought or acted otherwise?

And, it being absolutely necessary, that *some man* should be constantly near the Queen by night, who so fit as her principal officer? As to the Lieutenants, one must *always* be on deck constantly on the watch, looking after the men and the winds, and the other taking *his turn to sleep*. Sometimes, and that, too, *all of a sudden*, both must be on deck at once; both engaged so anxiously as not to be able to turn aside for one moment, though they saw arriving, Queen and all, going over-board! And, in the midst of all the whistling, bawling, thumping, running and rattling of reefing and tacking, while

the vessel was tossed about like a cork; in the midst of all this, is there a man, except he belong to the plundering and *Detested Class*, to say that a woman ought to have been left alone under that awning? The wonder is not, that her *Majesty's lags* were swalled: the wonder is how men could sit and listen to a detail of her sufferings, her perils and her heroism, and contemplate her cruel persecutions, and still restrain the tears from gushing from their eyes; a weakness which certainly would have been betrayed in any other body of men upon the face of the earth.

In taking leave of the "*tent-scene*," however, and of the *so-called lags*, so many pairs of which I have seen on ship-board, belonging to women, infinitely more virtuous and modest than the wives and daughters of the plundering and *Detested Classes*; in taking leave of this last poor attempt on the part of the abettors of perjury and subornation to stick a stain upon the Queen, and to form a pretence for justifying an expected stigmatizing decision; in taking leave of this miserable pretence for saying, that indecency, though not guilt, has

been proved, there are two things to be pointed out to the public, who, generally speaking, are not at all acquainted with a maritime life: the first is, that, to *bear one's existence at sea*, is, of itself, no little difficulty; that, to make it bearable to the King only for a few days, *yachts*, costing hundreds of thousands of pounds, with accompanying squadrons of frigates, are necessary; and that, when a *Maitland* moves by water, the sweat of the people of England has to answer for his comforts and conveniences. Last year, only in one year, this laborious and heavily taxed nation had to pay no less a sum than 784l. 16s. to the *Honourable Anthony Maitland*, Captain of the Glasgow, for giving, on board that ship, *entertainment*, to Sir *Thomas Maitland*, during his eight trips about the Mediterranean, all the trips together amounting to about 15 days more than the 40 days' voyage of the Queen. This was for mere *entertainment*, in addition to all the expence of a ship of war. This was for *extra comforts and conveniences*! Both these *Maitlands* are, I believe, *near relations of yours*. Sir Thomas did not, I'll be sworn



for him, pass his nights under an awning, with the risk of being blown overboard; and, I dare say, that his *lags* were not *swallowed*.

Then, a thing never to be lost sight of, the preposterous idea of the Queen going to sea at all for the purpose of indulging in amorous delights; when every one that has been at sea knows, that the very situation, besides its necessary exposures, destroys, for the time, every propensity of the kind; that it unsettles the stomach; produces a general loathing of all that was pleasant on shore; causes a disrelish for all the ordinary indulgences; creates a temporary debility; and, in short, suspends the functions as well as the desires. *Sea-sick and amorous!* oh! the filthy; oh! the beastly idea! But, to continue in this fit for forty days and forty nights! To continue in this fit for as long a time as Noah was in the ark! To seek the gratification, and to be constantly seeking it, surrounded by witnesses and in the midst of perils; and actually to prefer this to a bed-room, a grotto, or secluded alcove; and for Bergami, who is alleged to have been all-powerful over the

Queen, to suffer her to indulge in this unnatural preference at the expence of a large part of her income! There is something so monstrous in this, that he who can affect to believe it possible, must be one of the *Detestables*, an abettor of subornation and perjury, and would cheer even the Devil himself, and *shake his hand*, if he came forth in his proper person to assist in the destruction of the victim!

Farewell, then, to the "*Tent Scene*;" and now let us come to something much more worthy of public attention.

*The Conspiracy against the Queen.*—I am not going to waste my time here upon Powell's *speeches*, any more than upon the colour of his skin, the African tossing of his head, or the woolliness of its covering, though they are full as important as the *swallowing* of the Queen's *lags*, or as the *accent* and *grammar* of the Countess of Oldi, the badness of which latter, as being no test of her want of *high-blood*, might be proved by my producing (if I had room for such trash) *seven hundred and twenty-one errors* of grammar in one single book, written by an *hereditary standard-bearer of Scotland!* I am

not going to waste my time upon Powell's speeches, uttered under the name of evidence; but, leaving those to serve as the means of blinding fools who wish to be blinded and led blind-fold to their ruin, I shall proceed to strip the affair of *Rastelli* of the *mystification*, by which it is attempted to envelope and to smother it. It is a matter that defies all painting, and that laughs at all illustration. In plain narrative it is complete and entire. Every step explains its motive. The story being plainly told, the judgment of the world follows.

There will be a time, hereafter, for dwelling particularly on the deeds of those base conspirators by whom papers belonging to the Queen, were obtained from her Attorney's office, by means of a bribe, coming out of English taxes, given to the clerk of that attorney. There will, hereafter, be a time, if even a show of justice is to take place, of hearing, to its full extent, all the evidence against those conspirators, who, as clearly as day-light, have been guilty of conspiracy to compass the destruction of the Queen; that is to say, to *depose* her, at the very least; and, that, therefore, they

have been guilty of *High Treason*; but, for the present, I shall confine myself to the affair of *Rastelli*, and, in order to place the facts in as plain a light as possible, and to do away with that *mystification*, which now appears to be the order of the day, and the last miserable hope of the conspirators; I shall divide the principal facts under distinct heads, so that they will be the more likely to meet with a clear conception, and to make a lasting impression on the mind.

1. It is notorious that a foul conspiracy was instigated against her Majesty in 1806, that it was carried on by perjury, procured by subornation; and that the perjurers, after having been detected, were suffered to escape without punishment, and without trial; and, moreover, that one of the principal perjurers enjoyed a pension during pleasure to the end of his life.

2. It is notorious, that her Majesty, the prosecuted party in this case, did, before the trial began, solemnly declare, in a letter written by herself, signed with her own name, and addressed to his Majesty, that the present proceedings had their origin in a foul conspiracy.

carried on by the means of subornation and perjury.

3. It is, further, notorious, that, these facts being well known, it was asked of the prosecutors, before the trial commenced, what security there would be for the punishment of any witnesses, who might perjure themselves upon this trial; and that the Ministers, who had filled the green bags, and who had assisted in making the Report of the Secret Committee, who had brought in the Bill of Pains and Penalties, and who, to all these functions, were now seen amongst the judges of the Queen, to find evidence against whom, they had established, and sent out, an Inquisitorial Commission; it was now declared by those Ministers, that, whatever witnesses might give evidence against the Queen, *they should all be forth-coming to answer any charge that might be brought against them.*

4. It is a fact, equally notorious with the former, that almost the whole of the witnesses against the Queen were shut up in a small place, called Cotten-garden? that they were locked into that place; that they were guarded, besides, by soldiers, day and night; that provisions

were carried in to them; that they were commodiously lodged, fed, and entertained, with exceeding care and liberality; and that it was physically impossible for any one of them to be subtracted from the enclosure, or fortress, except by the will of the person, or persons, under whose guardianship they were, or without the disobedience or treachery of the keeper of the fortress.

5. But lest, by any accident, any one of them should escape through such a series of precautions, an *Alien Act* was in existence; kept in existence in opposition to a petition presented to the two Houses, wherein the petitioners stated, that vile use might be made of it with regard to witnesses for or against the Queen, and which petition was rejected upon the ground, that, not to pass the Bill, would be to throw on the Ministers *a suspicion that they were capable of using it for so foul and infamous a purpose; that this Bill, therefore, continued to be, and still is, in existence; that this Bill absolutely enables the Ministers to prevent any foreigner from quitting the country without a passport from themselves; that this Bill,*

therefore, fully enabled the Ministers to make good the solemn pledge which they had given, of keeping in the country every witness who should depose against the Queen, in order to that witness being made answerable for any perjury of which he might be guilty; and that, thus, the solemn pledge was not only given, but the full power to fulfil that pledge was possessed by the Ministers.

6. The next fact is, that there was a witness against the Queen, named *Rastelli*; that this witness swore to several things of an important nature.

7. That, after many days had been spent, in the examination of witnesses on the side of her Majesty, there came two most respectable witnesses from Italy, one of them had been the master tradesman in the building line, and the employer of *Rastelli*, who was a journeyman, or labourer, under him; that the evidence of these two most credible persons proved that *Rastelli* had sworn falsely, and it further proved, that he had been engaged at Milan in collecting witnesses against the Queen; in asking them to come and swear against her;

in giving some of them money; in offering others money and other rewards which they refused to take; and, in short, in acting in the capacity of an authorised collector and suborner of witnesses.

8. That it now became essential to justice towards the Queen, to *recall Rastelli*, in order that he might, at once, be interrogated as to these alleged acts of subornation; and that, to the utter astonishment and indignation of the public, it was now found, that *Rastelli* was not only not forthcoming, but that he had been taken out of the locked up fortress; that money had been furnished him to carry him to Milan; that a passport had been given him, signed by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (*Castlereagh*); and that thus he was gone off completely out of the country!

9. The Ministers, who had made the pledge for forthcoming, had the witnesses in their charge and in their power; the Ministers were the accusers and prosecutors; the Attorney-General was their Advocate; the Solicitor to the Treasury was their Attorney, and to his charge and responsibility to the First Lord of the Treasury, were

these witnesses all committed. This man's name is *Maule*; this man was responsible to *Liverpool*, *Liverpool*, to his colleagues, and the whole Ministry to the nation, for the safe keeping of these witnesses.

10. When it is discovered that *Rastelli* is gone, *Maule* is not called upon; the Attorney-General is not called upon; *Liverpool* is not called upon; the Ministry are not called upon; but there comes up to the bar a man of the name of *Powell*, an obscure attorney, living somewhere in London, of whom, indeed, the public have heard, as the frequent visitor of the chambermaid, named De Mont, who went under the name of a Countess; of whom, indeed, the public have heard, as having been in a big house in Pall-Mall, just about the time of the King's death, along with *Majocchi*, at the time when *Majocchi* came out of that house with great parcels of gold in his hands; but of whom in any public capacity, in any office under government, in any public employ whatsoever, neither the nation, the House of Lords, nor the Ministers, knew any thing at all; there comes this *Powell* to the bar of the House

of Lords, without being sent for, without pretending any right to be there, and he tells the House of Lords, that *he it was* who took *Rastelli* out of the fortress; that *he it was*, who, out of his own head, and without instructions or authority from any body, had taken *Rastelli* forth from the depot, had got him a passport signed by *Castlereagh*, had sent him off out of the country, and had received intelligence, that, since his arrival at Milan, he had been *blooded and lay ill of a fever*.

11. Being asked whom the passport was signed by, he said *Castlereagh*; and afterwards *Castlereagh's* secretary was called, and this man, *Planta*, swore that the passport was a blank passport that *Castlereagh* had signed before, and that he, *Planta*, it was, who filled up the passport with *Rastelli's* name, and thus enabled the perjurer and suborner to get himself out of the reach of the laws.

12. When *Powell* was asked what were his reasons for sending *Rastelli* away, he answered that he sent him away to convince the relations of the good people in the fortress, that those

good people were safe and sound, those good people's relations having been alarmed for their safety, in consequence of what he called the riots at Dover, though those good people themselves, *after the riots at Dover*, had once again been in safety upon the Continent; though they might have written from there to satisfy their relations of their safety; and though they might all again have written several times from the depot, or fortress, having this kind and tender-hearted Government to send off their letters for them, and having the no-less-kind Colonel Brown to distribute the letters amongst those affectionate relatives; notwithstanding all these circumstances, *Rastelli* must be sent away to inform the affectionate people of the safety of their friends, of their being so comfortably lodged, and so amply fed, at the expence of the people of England.

13. When the House of Lords heard this story from the mouths of *Powell* and *Planta*; when *Powell* had come before this House, and told this story, Lord *Liverpool* said *Rastelli* had been sent away without his knowledge; but pledged him-

self for the *good motives* and good character of *Powell*; the Lord Chancellor joined in this, and eulogized the character of *Cooke*; and Lord Blessington is reported to have said, that *Powell* was a most worthy person, and that *he had the HONOUR of his acquaintance!*

14. There is only to be added, that the CANDOUR and HIGH CHARACTER of *Liverpool* were extolled to the skies by those who are said to be in *opposition* to him; and that the Counsel for the Queen did not scrape their papers up together, ram them into their bags, make a low bow to the assembly, and leave those who had begun the proceedings to end them in any manner they pleased.

Upon this subject, not another word need be said. The whole matter explains itself: to comment upon it; to attempt any thing in the way of illustration, or of enforcing, would be to diminish the effect which the plain narrative must make upon every mind.

*Conspiracy against the People.*—This matter is very nearly as plain as the last, and not much inferior to it in point of importance. A boy is taken up

for distributing handbills, in the name, and under the signatures of, certain gentlemen composing the Queen's Plate Committee. These placards, or handbills, are such as are usually denominated, in the cant of the day, seditious and treasonable. I have read several of them, and I declare that I think them not only very well written, but that I greatly approve of their contents ; and that Mr. *Franklin*, or Mr. *Fletcher*, or Mr. *O'Bryen*, or whoever else may have been the author or distributor of them, has, for this act, my most unqualified thanks.

But, the merit of the productions has nothing to do with this question, which relates, first, to the object of issuing them ; and, secondly, to the conduct of the Ministry, and of Sidmouth, in particular, with regard to the Police Magistrate, *Baker*, and with regard to the not making of efforts to secure *Franklin*, who had been proved to be a publisher of the handbills, or, at least, had been charged on oath, before the magistrate, of the offence.

As to the first of these, considering the source whence the Bills came, there cannot be the smallest doubt that the inten-

tion was, on the part of *Franklin*, at least, and those under whom *Franklin* acted, to cause it to be believed, that the Radicals were actually preparing for a general violent assault upon that upholder of *Social Order*, called the Government. There can be no doubt that the Placards, that recently led to the shedding of blood in Scotland, proceeded from the same source. Upon any other supposition, it was perfectly miraculous how the country, for twelve miles round Glasgow and Paisley, could be supplied with these without the detection of any printer or any publisher. There cannot be the smallest doubt in the mind of any man, that the object was to produce a sudden burst here, in London ; to cause the rich and timid to be alarmed ; to get some blood to be shed ; to identify the Queen with the apparent rebellion ; to frighten people from the support of her by this means ; or, at the very least, to terrify the mass of quiet people of property ; and to prepare the way for a total extinction of the press under a law of *censorship*.

These were so manifestly the objects of these publications:

considering the source from which it was sworn that they had proceeded, that none but a gross fool could fail to perceive them, and none but a hypocrite could pretend not to perceive them.

Upon Mr. *Hume's* bringing this matter forward in the House of Commons, *Castlereagh* urged, what he called the seditious tendency of the bills as a proof that the Government could not have authorised them. He asserted, as a fact, that the Government did not authorize them. He answered, not only for himself, but for the rest of his colleagues, and particularly for the gentle *Sidmouth*! Mr. *Bennett*, chose to give the Noble Lord credit for *strict veracity*, upon this occasion; for the doing of which I must suppose Mr. *Bennett* to have had very sufficient reasons, though he did not state them. Not having been made acquainted with those reasons, I shall not presume to join Mr. *Bennett* in this respect; and shall leave *Castlereagh's* assertion to pass for as much as it is worth with the public.

But, as to *Castlereagh's* REASON why the Government could not have any thing to do with

the matter, upon that, I have something to say. *Castlereagh* says, in the first place, that the placards were of a seditious tendency, as he calls it; and what were the movements of *Oliver* and *Edwards*? Yet I believe that there are few people impudent enough to pretend, that the Government had nothing to do with those movements. An insurrection might, under the present circumstances, not have happened to terminate in quite so favourable a manner to the Government, as did the enterprizes of *Oliver* and *Edwards*: therefore, the employment of conspirators to circulate these hand-bills, might, in fact, have been labouring for the Government's own destruction; and this would have been very foolish; but, the thing being very foolish, so far from being a proof of its not having been done, would, in the opinion of those who have been attentive observers of the acts of this Government, be a strong presumptive proof of the contrary; for, while it is notorious, that great wickedness is perfectly compatible with great foolishness, it is equally notorious, that this Government (always excepting his Majesty and his two Houses



of Parliament) is carried on by the most foolish set of men that ever breathed the breath of life; of which there needs no other proof than *Peel's Bill* and the *Bill of Pains and Penalties*. The former was quite sure to produce the destruction of the system; but, lest its authors entertained a doubt of that, they seem to have been resolved, by introducing the latter, to make assurance double sure.

Therefore, *Castlereagh's* reason is not worth a straw; and, as I do not, like *Mr. Bennett*, take his assertions for granted, I leave my readers to draw their own conclusions as to whether the discovered conspirators were or were not employed by the Government, always begging them to bear in mind the open avowal of the employment of spies.

As to the second point, the screening of *Baker*, who let *Franklin* go without taking bail, *Mr. Calvert*, *Sir Robert Wilson's* brother *Shoy Hoy*, declared that he knew *Baker* to be a most honourable man. He had doubtless very good reasons for this; quite as good as *Bennett* had for placing such implicit reliance upon the declaration of *Castlereagh*; but, as I am, in this case,

also, unacquainted with his reasons, I have to observe that a man, taken up at Woolwich by a *Rev. Dr. Watson*, for sticking up a placard, merely explaining the nature of the *Bill of Pains and Penalties*, was slapped off, at once, to Maidstone, the Magistrate having insisted, not only upon bail, but upon bail after *forty-eight hours' notice*; and the man was packed off before the eight and forty hours were expired. When brought to the Quarter Sessions, there was a friend ready with the means of defence for the man; and when that was found to be the case the man was turned out of the gaol to go about his business, *no bill of indictment having been presented against him!* Now, I should not be at all surprized if there were plenty of *Shoy-Hoys* to say that this *Dr. Watson* was a most extraordinarily honourable man!

However, there was *Franklin* before *Baker*; there was what is called the seditious hand-bill; there was the oath of his being the publisher; and *Baker* lets the man go without bail; the man finds the means to get clean off out of the country; and the House of Commons, besides containing a member to be

responsible for the honour of Baker, refuses to meddle with the matter, and the gentle Sidmouth refuses also to take any steps for the apprehending of the man, though the Secretary of State for the Home Department had so often taken such steps on similar occasions before. Mr. Clive and Mr. Beckett rise up to justify the gentle Sidmouth; but the whole House seem to have forgotten the Richmond Park Minister's Circular Letter, wherein he told the Magistrates that it was their duty to be vigilant, and to take up, send to prison, or hold to bail, any one whom they found guilty of publishing what he calls sedition or blasphemy! Had he forgotten his Circular Letter, when the conduct of Baker was complained of to him? And will he now keep this Baker in his office; for, observe, Baker holds his office of Police Magistrate during the gentle Sidmouth's pleasure! If, therefore, Baker still retain his office, what are the conclusions which we ought to draw?

I say, that the publications imputed to Franklin; the publications, for the publishing of which he was apprehended, or, at least, such of them as I have

read, were extremely good things. I like them. I am sorry his career was stopped. He made use of such language as we all ought to be permitted to make use of in print, and as ninety-nine-hundredths of the people do make use of in conversation. Franklin was doing a great deal of good; and I am sorry he was stopped. The exposure of the conspiracy is worth something, to be sure; but a good supply of the hand-bills, for another month or two, would have been worth a great deal more. The times are altered. Peel's bill and the arrival of the Queen, co-operating so delightfully as they do, actually pull up people's eye-lids, and make them see whether they will or not. The conspirators are actually labouring for the people; and I do not approve of the abuse of the hand-bills, though I reprobate the object of the conspirators. But this is no matter. Those bills are a vast deal more seditious, as Sidmouth calls it; that is to say, they contain useful truths, just sentiments, and good advice, more plainly and strongly expressed, than any of those publications, against which Sidmouth's circular was levelled,

and for the publishing of which, one man in Cheshire has been sent to gaol, even by the *Magistrates themselves*, from the Quarter Sessions, for *four years and a half*! Yet *Franklin*, after being apprehended, is suffered to go at large without bail; the Home Office refuse, by the particular instruction of gentle *Sidmouth*, to assist in catching him, and off he goes clean out of the country!

*The state of the Boroughmongers.*—Leaving *Sidmouth*, for the present, at least, to his *practice of piety*, and leaving *Castle-reagh* to be implicitly relied on by Mr. *Bennett*, the honour of Sir Robert *Baker* to be vouched for by Mr. *Calvert*, while the Lord Chancellor reposes so safely under the praises and the poetry of Mr. *Hobhouse* the younger; leaving these to amuse those from whom the Boroughmongers have not actually taken the faculty of laughing, let me now take, by way of conclusion, just a glance at the state of those Boroughmongers' affairs, at which I, at any rate, may be allowed to laugh.

The other night, in the House of Commons, *Gascoygne*, the worthy colleague of the absconded son of the pensioned

*Hunn*, introduced by way of episode, the proof of the ruin of the town of *Liverpool*; that hitherto scene of vaunted prosperity, and that sink of servility and mercantile corruption. Not a word was said on the subject. The bands of breaking and howling merchants, of whose petition this *Gascoygne* was the bearer, obtained no more attention than the Radicals, whom they used to despise, were formerly able to obtain. Their petition was laid on the table; and there it will lie, cheek by jowl with the petitions of the *farmers*, who, I thank God, have now to sell their wheat for *six and sixpence* a bushel, and who will, before next May, very probably sell it for five shillings a bushel. We shall then have even the farmers, even the Yeomanry Cavalry, amongst the Radicals, the word *radical* meaning belonging to the root, and a *Radical* meaning a person who wants to tear up corruption by the root, to destroy its very fibers, and to prevent it from ever growing again. This is the meaning of the word *Radical*, and a more apt or more honourable appellation never was applied.

The *Courier*, the trumpet of the Boroughmongers remarks,

with undisguisable spleen, that the Radicals "make no attempt *"to disguise their joy"* at the accession, which the Queen's cause has brought to their ranks. He might have said, at the ranks themselves, which that cause has brought us. *Disguise* our joy! Why should we? Did the Boroughmongers disguise their joy? Did the selfish faction disguise their joy, when the funds rose upon the passing of the Dungeon-Bill in 1817? Did they disguise their joy when OLIVER had brought Brandreth, Turner, and Ludlam to the block? Did they disguise their joy when the Yeomanry had killed and half-killed so many men, women, and children, at Manchester? Did they disguise their joy when Sidmouth, in the name of the King, sent a Letter, applauding the conduct of the Magistrates and Yeomanry of Manchester? Did they disguise their joy, when Parson Hay, one of those Magistrates, got a living worth 2,500*l.* a-year? Did they disguise their joy when the conspiracy of Edwards had been brought to its intended bloody conclusion? Did they disguise their joy at the transportings and beheadings only the other

day in Scotland, brought about manifestly by a conspiracy against the people, of the same description as that now under inquiry? Did this selfish and bloody faction ever disguise its joy upon any of those occasions? And, if not, why are we to disguise our joy at the arrival of an event which has left the faction as naked as a bird two hours old, and almost as helpless? Which has stripped it of every rag of its covering; which has exposed it to the eyes of the blindest of the people; which has caused it to be held in disgust more complete than ever was before felt towards any body of mortals? Why are we to disguise our joy at this? For my part, though my acquaintance have always said, that I was *born laughing*, I now do laugh in good earnest: I go to sleep laughing, and laughing open my eyes. I really must turn out to dig again, or I shall grow as fat as a Hampshire hog.

Who can help laughing to see what is going on in Naples, Spain, and Portugal, while our pretty gentlemen stand stamping, cursing, and grinding their teeth, with their pockets turned inside out? Who can help

laughing at seeing the *Field-Marshal*, Lord Beresford, coming back to Portugal with the high-commands of King John in his pocket, written in kingly style? And must I not laugh, then; shall I see this high and mighty Beresford come, one of these days, into Portsmouth, as quietly as a mouse creeps into his hole, after having taken a peep at a cat; shall I see this, and shall I not laugh? Am I to restrain my laughter when I contemplate the tremulous anxiety, with which an English-newspaper is now opened by the bald-headed and brazen bully, who spoke of "the *re-  
vered and ruptured* Ogden?" Must I not laugh, when I see lying *perdue*, that swaggering, hectoring man, who, when the people complained of *seat-selling*, called them "*a low de-  
graded crew*," and who had the saucy impudence to say, "If I disfranchise Grampound, it is because I will preserve Old Sarum?" Must I not laugh, when I behold the present state of this saucy and insolent man? Well! but must I not laugh, then, when I see the King advised to receive *addresses* from the *inhabitants*, from the *watermen*, of *Cowes*;

to receive them *in person* too, and to return *answers* in person, though this has for half a century been refused to the *Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of London*; the honour of this mode of communication being confined to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, and the two Universities? Must I, having so often seen the City of London refused this honour, not laugh to see the King advised to receive an addressing deputation from the *Watermen of Cowes*, and to deliver them his Royal and most gracious answer? Must I not laugh to see the corrupt press exhorting, beseeching, invoking, "implo-  
ring the loyal to come forward, in every city, town, village, and hamlet with ad-  
dresses to the King," though of inevitable necessity, the real gist of those addresses must be to take part against his wife, and, of course, to give countenance to a prosecution, which, if successful, must establish his own dishonour? Must I not laugh, when I behold the people's enemies stricken with insanity like this? Nay, to cut short this list of topics for everlasting fun, must I, when I see *Peel's Bill*, intended to preserve the paper-

system, hastening to its destruction that system, which, even if left alone, must destroy itself; when I see this great, all-pervading and irresistible cause at work in the depreciation of prices, the enhancing of salaries, the violating of contracts, and the producing of general ruin and misery in all the productive ranks of life; must I not, when I behold this, laugh to see a dunderheaded old Scotsman gravely proposing to *set a' to rights* by regulating the *mant preece of salver*! Yes, laugh I must, and laugh I will; for who has a better right to laugh than

WM. COBBETT.

## CONTRIBUTIONS

TO THE  
LIBRARY OF THE "SELFISH  
FACTION."

1. BERGAMI'S BREECHES and the BLUE MANTLE, a poem, addressed to "*James Mailland, "Citizen and Needlemaker,"*" by his admiring countryman, the

author of the *Forged Eclair*; to which is prefixed the appropriate motto of "*W'a wants me!*"

2. An essay on *conjugal fidelity* (long since promised), by Mr. STREET, one of the editors of the COURIER.

3. ROSA MATILDA'S long-expected and most instructive essay on *female delicacy* and on *platonic love*, illustrated by appropriate examples in her own life and manners. It is not yet settled, whether this shall come forth through her usual channel, the *Morning Post*, or in a separate pamphlet.

4. DOCTOR SLOP is coming out, immediately, with an eulogium on *inquisitions, spies, and poisoners*; to which is to be added, proofs of the wisdom of a man's wishing to be proved a cuckold.

5. The JEW SPYE is about to treat us with an essay, proving, that, to live in luxury with another woman in London, while one's own wife is *actually begging in the streets of Paris*, is a

proof of unshaken attachment to "*morality, religion, and 'Social Order.'*"

6. MR. JAMES PERRY'S is a graphic contribution, exhibiting an *old ass* balancing between two thistles.

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### THE BLOODY JUDGE JEFFERIES.

Mr. Benbow, No. 269, Strand, will publish next Wednesday, an engraving, price 1s. representing the seizing of this ruffian, by the people, at Wapping, at the time of the Glorious Revolution, in 1688. He was disguised in a *Sailor's Dress*; but had not had time to change his wig! This is a striking exhibition of a *corrupt and cruel judge*, at the close of his career. It is an exhibition that every Englishman ought to have in

his house. Tyrants have means enough of insulting the people by exhibiting themselves decked out in their robes of prosperity. Here is the exhibition of a *fallen tyrant*; and, it is such as every man ought to look at as often as he can.

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### TO THE METHODISTS.

I mean, next week, to address a *sermon* to you on the subject of the conduct of your *Conferences*. I have refrained a long while, from a reluctance to do any thing that might, even by possibility, offend *good men*; but, I can, and will, refrain no longer. I commend your piety, your general moral conduct, and, above all things, your *sobriety*; but, the conduct of the *heads* of your Church must be enquired into and exposed.

## PLACARD CONSPIRACY.

*(From the Times.)*

**BOW-STREET.**—On Tuesday morning, as soon as Mr. Birnie had taken his seat, Mr. Harmer and Mr. Haydon appeared in the office, attended by a bill-sticker, of the name of John Jones, for the purpose of laying an information against Mr. Denis O'Bryen, of Craven-street, in the Strand, for publishing an inflammatory and seditious placard. The magistrate directed the information to be laid, and the bill-sticker was examined in a private room. The deposition was taken upon oath, and was to the following effect:—

John Jones, of No. 1, Gardener's-row, Westminster, being sworn, on his oath, says---that on the night of the 19th of July, 1820, about 11 o'clock, a gentleman, whom deponent has been informed, and verily believes, to be Mr. Denis O'Bryen, came to his house, in Gardener's-row, and pulled out a bundle of printed bills, and requested the deponent to post them on the walls from Westminster to Smithfield. Deponent observed that there was no printer's name attached to the bills, and objected on that account to post them, but the gentleman told him not to be afraid, for he would meet him at Charing-cross, and go through with him. Deponent consented, and the following night, about 11 o'clock, he proceeded to post the bills. They were in number about 200. Deponent posted them as far as Charing-cross, where he waited for his employer, but he did not

come there, and he went on posting the bills till he came to Smithfield. The gentleman came to him some time afterwards, and gave him 2*l.* for the job. —Deponent's regular charge would have been about 12*s.* The same person had employed him several times before to post bills at night. Some little time ago the same gentleman came to him, and requested him to post some smaller bills, but deponent objected, upon which the gentleman laughed, and said, he would lend him a great coat to hide his paste-pot. Deponent, however, refused, and the gentleman laughed and said, he need not be afraid, for "if he was taken up, it would be all the better for him." The bill now produced, headed "To the Non-represented," was one of those he had so posted. It was dated July 12, 1819. This examination having been concluded, Mr. Harmer and Mr. Haydon again entered the office, and laid the information before Mr. Birnie.

Mr. Birnie, after having read it over, said, "Is this all?"

Mr. Harmer said it was.

Mr. Birnie.—I cannot issue a warrant upon the unsupported evidence of an accomplice.

Mr. Harmer.—But we cannot, Sir, at this moment, procure any other evidence.

Mr. Birnie.—I cannot help that. This man is equally culpable with his employer, and if we should proceed in this business I should think it my duty to commit him also.

Mr. Harmer.—I think the publisher, or principal, is the most



culpable. We could have had the evidence of the printer, but he would have been liable to the same objection.

Mr. Birnie.—Most assuredly.

Mr. Harmer.—Then I do not see how there could be any other evidence at present.

Mr. Birnie.—I do not know that.

Mr. Harmer.—But while we are seeking for that evidence Mr. Denis O'Bryen may escape.

Mr. Birnie.—Aye, it is very irregular to proceed in this way.

Mr. Harmer.—Sir, if you will suffer the apprehension to take place, I pledge myself to procure other evidence when the matter is brought before you.

Mr. Birnie.—Let me see the placard.

Mr. Harmer here produced a very large placard, dated 12th July, 1819, (at the period of the Smithfield meeting.)

Mr. Birnie, having read it, said, "Why, this is the one produced last week?"

Mr. Harmer.—Yes, but no information was given upon it.

Mr. Birnie read the placard very attentively, and Mr. Harmer pointed out some treasonable passages in it. Mr. Birnie said, it certainly was seditious.

Mr. Birnie then took the deposition of the bill-sticker and the placard, and proceeded into a private room, accompanied by Mr. Harmer, Mr. Haydon, and Mr. Stafford. They remained there for a considerable time. On their return to the office, Mr. Birnie wrote a letter to Mr. Hobhouse, Under-Secretary for the Home Department, enclosing the deposition of the bill-sticker

and the placard. It was given to Mr. Harmer for his inspection, and it was afterwards sealed and dispatched to the Home Department.

In the space of about an hour the messenger returned with an answer from Sir B. Hobhouse, the purport of which we understood was to desire the magistrate to use his own discretion respecting the issue of the warrant.

Mr. Birnie immediately signed the warrant, but Mr. Harmer was not then present, and it remained on the table ready to be served when the parties applying should call for its execution.

Mr. Birnie subsequently explained, that the only motive for hesitation on his part in signing the warrant was, that the evidence on which it was applied for was that of an accomplice.

The warrant was to the following effect:—

PUBLIC OFFICE, BOW STREET.

"To all constables and others whom it may concern:—

"These are, in his Majesty's name, to command you and every of you, upon sight hereof, to take into your safe custody and bring before me the body of Denis O'Bryen, he being charged, on the oath of John Jones, with unlawfully publishing, and causing to be published, a certain seditious and inflammatory posting-bill, with intent to excite disaffection in the minds of the people towards his late and present Majesty's Government, and with intent to subvert the laws of this country.

"Given under my hand and seal, this 17th day of October, 1820.

(Signed) "R. BIRNIE."

We understand that a note was immediately written to Mr. Harmer, acquainting him that the warrant had been issued, and appointing a time for him to appear at the office. The hour we understood to be 8 o'clock. A letter was also transmitted to Mr. Denis O'Bryen requiring his attendance at the same hour. Mr. Birnie received an answer from Mr. O'Bryen soon afterwards, dated from his own house, at 21, Craven-street, informing the worthy Magistrate that he was then extremely indisposed, and that Dr. Maton, who attended him, had declared that his life was in danger if he stirred out. Notwithstanding, at the hazard of his life, he would appear at the office at the time appointed.

At about eight o'clock Mr. O'Bryen appeared in the office, and was apparently considerably indisposed. He took his seat within the partition of the office appropriated to the Magistrates. In a few minutes Mr. Birnie and Mr. O'Bryen retired into a private room, but remained there only a few seconds. On his return Mr. O'Bryen resumed his seat.

Mr. Birnie, looking at the clock, said, "You have been very punctual, Sir. There is no occasion for your waiting any longer here."

Mr. O'Bryen said that he had come here, as he had been requested, he hoped, in time.

Mr. Birnie.—You have not

been brought here; you have come here of your own accord.

Mr. O'Bryen.—I am aware of that, but here I am. After some pause he added, I know all this will appear to-morrow in the papers.

Mr. Birnie repeated, that he need not keep Mr. O'Bryen there, and asked him if he had come in a coach; Mr. O'Bryen answered in the negative, and Mr. Birnie immediately ordered a coach to be fetched.

Mr. O'Bryen then rose, and, in an agitated manner, said, "Before I go may I be allowed to say one word."

Mr. Birnie.—Certainly, as many as you choose.

Mr. O'Bryen, then putting his hands together in an energetic manner, addressed Mr. Birnie thus:—"If, you, Sir, had been accused of murder, or of parricide, upon my honour, and you have known me upwards of 30 years, you would have been as guilty as I am of being implicated with these placard-makers, or bill-stickers."

The messenger who had been sent for the coach then returned, and stated that the coach was at the door. As Mr. O'Bryen was going out—Mr. Birnie took him by the hand and said, "Good night, my good friend, good night." Mr. O'Bryen then left the office.

In about a quarter of an hour afterwards Mr. Harmer came into the office much heated, as if he had walked fast. Mr. Birnie then explained to him the circumstances which had occurred, and told him that Mr. O'Bryen was apparently very ill. Mr.

Harmer said he certainly should not at this late hour disturb Mr. O'Bryen, but he would write him a note, appointing to meet him on a certain day. Mr. Harmer soon after left the office, and nothing further transpired.

## HER MAJESTY'S ANSWERS TO ADDRESSES.

TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE FEMALE  
INHABITANTS OF ST. IVES.

The female inhabitants of St. Ives, in the county of Huntingdon, will accept my unfeigned thanks for this loyal and affectionate Address. I am happy in this instance, and it is my hope, as it will be my solace in every occurrence of my life, to have my actions applauded, and my principles approved. The favour of Providence has been clearly manifested in the striking vicissitudes of my eventful history. Those vicissitudes, when viewed in conjunction with all their associated circumstances, with their preparatory incidents, and their subsequent results, will be found, in a very impressive manner, to exemplify the moral government of the Deity.

TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE FEMALE  
INHABITANTS OF THE BOROUGH OF  
TRURO.

I return my cordial thanks to the female inhabitants of the Borough of Truro and the adjacent streets, for this loyal and affectionate address.

Slender has long filled her quiver with envenomed arrows

to pierce the very vitals of my reputation; though not one of those malicious shafts has been able to penetrate the shield of my integrity. It is not only my destruction that has been the object of my enemies—it is the destruction of every thing that ought to be most dear to Britons; my fall was designed to prepare the way for their humiliation. I was to be deprived of a crown: this was a loss, in which I might have acquiesced with less repugnance, if I had not been certain that my loss of rank would have been their loss of liberty. But the courage of the people, aided by the noble exertions of the press, will both maintain the security of the Queen and the liberties of the nation.

TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE MALE AND  
FEMALE INHABITANTS OF THE PA-  
RISH OF ST. ANNE, LIMEHOUSE.

I feel much satisfaction in receiving this loyal and affectionate address from the male and female inhabitants of the parish of St. Anne, Limehouse.

Whatever may be the final issue of the present proceedings against me in the House of Lords, the measure itself will not form one of the bright pages in the Judicial History of our country. Though the conclusion of the most honourable judicature should be in favour of my innocence, it will never be forgotten that the principle of the Bill was highly unconstitutional—an infraction of individual right, and an invasion of national liberty.

To behold all existing laws,

both civil and ecclesiastical, deliberately set aside in order to crush one individual for the purpose of gratifying another, is a proceeding which, however it may have found support in the obscured judgments, or in the corrupt interests of particular individuals in the present generation, will experience the unqualified reprobation of posterity.

When the tumultuous agitation of the present conflict shall have subsided, and men's minds shall have recovered their former serenity, it will hardly be thought credible that any Ministers, not absolutely insane, would have suffered such a question to endanger the peace of the community.

The great excellence of a free constitution is, that the law is one and the same for all. But how can we reconcile to our ideas of a free constitution the violation of every existing law for the benefit of an individual? Yet is not this, in a few words, the substantial intent of the Bill of Pains and Penalties?

Conformity to the laws is, for the sake of example, more requisite in a King than in any of his subjects. Ought, therefore, a divorce to be granted to his Majesty in circumstances in which it would be denied to any of his subjects? Ought it to be granted to him on terms which are neither compatible with the precepts of the Gospel as interpreted by the Church; nor with the temporal laws, as fixed by the state?

TO THE ADDRESS OF THE DEACONS OF  
THE EIGHT INCORPORATED TRADES  
OF THE CITY OF PERTH.

I have great satisfaction in receiving this loyal and affectionate address from the Deacons of the eight incorporated trades of the city of Perth, in the Convener's Court assembled.

The indignities which I experienced when abroad were excrescences from that great trunk of conspiracy, against my honour and my rights, which has taken such a deep root in this country, and has spread its branches far and wide over the continent.

The nation has been insulted in the person of the Queen; nor ought it to be forgotten that a minister of the Pope dared, in an official instrument, to deprive the Queen of England of that appellation to which she is lawfully entitled. There have been times when such an insult would not have been suffered by any Ministry, and when, if they had been endured by the Ministry, that Ministry would not have been endured by the people.

The malice of my enemies has done its worst; and the day of moral retribution is at hand. Injustice and falsehood may flourish for a season, but it can be only for a season. That season will soon pass away; and he who seeks them, where they were once seen, soon finds that they are to be seen no more. The ways of Providence are not as our ways, but they are always in favour of moral rectitude in their ultimate results.

TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE INHABITANTS OF CROYDON, SURREY.

I have been much gratified by the loyal and affectionate Address from the Inhabitants of the parish of Croydon, in the County of Surrey.

It is not possible for the dim sight of man to penetrate far into the dark immensity of the moral world; but still there is light enough upon the confines of that awful vast, to teach us a few simple but salutary truths. Our limited experience and confined observation are sufficient to prove that evil is often one of the means of good, and that the seeds of misfortune often throw up a harvest of happiness. My life will furnish numerous instances of a moral retribution; and will, at the same time, prove that there is more native strength in unprotected innocence than in the most systematic falsehood or the best fabricated perjury.

In the conspiracy against me in 1806 there was no want of well contrived circumstantial particulars, which were formed into a very plausible story; nor did the tale want the support of witnesses who had no scrupulosity about an oath; but the whole fabric was no sooner touched by the wand of truth than it dissolved into empty air. The present conspiracy, in like manner, is demonstrated to have been the deliberate contrivance of falsehood and malevolence.

Where a country has been long governed for the benefit of a few, it is not surprising that the people should be, clamour-

ous for such an extension of political rights, as may enable them to check that corrupt influence which, while it lasts, will more or less paralyze the moral energies of those within the sphere of its agency, and finally sap the very vitals of the Constitution. All political institutions, like the material fabrics of man, are composed of perishable elements. They contain in themselves the principle of decay, of which the agency, unless scrupulously watched and carefully retarded, is never still. But how few Governments ever see the necessity of early reformation! Hence they delay reform till it is too late; or too late to be beneficial. They either never intend a remedy, or they procrastinate the application till it is applied in vain.

TO THE ADDRESS OF THE LETTER-PRESS PRINTERS OF LONDON AND ITS ENVIRONS.

I am highly gratified by this loyal and affectionate Address from the Letter-press Printers of London and its environs.

It is public opinion which has supported me in the otherwise unequal conflict with numerous adversaries, who not only possess unbounded resources, but who have never scrupled to use any means by which their vengeance could be gratified. This public opinion is the concentrated force of many enlightened minds, operating through the medium of the Press. Hence the public sentiment has been directed, and the public feeling excited, till the people have risen up like one man, in vindication of my rights. The conviction, with

few exceptions, has become universal, that I am the victim of a foul conspiracy, and that I have for years been persecuted by the most flagrant injustice and inhumanity.

There is a part of the Press which has been busily employed in fabricating the most atrocious slanders against myself, and all who have manifested any zeal or ability in my defence. Base natures cannot endure natures of a higher order. They loathe the moral and intellectual superiority that they never can reach. Hence calumny is the tax that worthlessness is perpetually levying upon worth. It is the Bill of Pains and Penalties that envy and malevolence are ever busily labouring to pass, in order to degrade virtue and talents to their own contemptible inferiority. But when I consider that my adversaries are invested with all the patronage of the country, and possess such extensive means of intimidation and corruption, I am not surprised that I should have been vilified by a few of their unprincipled mercenaries. My surprise is, that the greater part of the persons engaged in the conduct of the Press should have remained incorrupt and incorruptible. It is a great honour to be honest in any times; but, to be honest in bad times, is a species of panegyric which no man need blush to have inscribed upon his tomb.

The Press is at this moment the only strong hold that liberty has left. If we lose this, we lose all. We have no other rampart against an implacable foe.

The Press is not only the best security against the inroads of despotism, but it is itself a power that is perpetually checking the progress of tyranny, and diminishing the number of its adherents. That sun never rises which does not, before it sets, behold some addition to the friends of Liberty. To what is this owing? To what can it be owing, but to the agency of the Press? The force of truth is ultimately irresistible; but truth, without some adventitious aid, moves with a slow pace, and sometimes its motion is so slow as to be imperceptible. The Press is its accelerating power. The Press gives it wings. The Press does more for truth in one day, than mere oral teaching could in a century.

What is it that has made the members of the Holy Alliance turn pale with dread? It is that the Press has inspired the love of liberty even in the sword.

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TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE INHABITANTS OF STOCKPORT.

I accept with many thanks this affectionate Address from the inhabitants of Stockport and its environs.

Those circumstances which are most adverse to our wishes often prove, in the end, most favourable to our happiness.—The afflictions with which I have been visited by the chastening hand of Providence, and the numerous wrongs which I have experienced from the injustices and inhumanity of my enemies, have tended to increase my opportunities of intellectual im-

provement. That improvement has, from early life, been amongst the objects nearest and dearest to my heart. The highest pre-eminence of man is to be a rational being. The cultivation of the mind is one of the first duties when we are placed in circumstances which furnish leisure for the acquisition of knowledge and the improvement of the mind.

Those very events which, at the time, I thought most disastrous, have enabled me to take a more comprehensive view of life, and to obtain a more thorough insight into the human character than usually happens to persons in my elevated station. My long and extensive travels, in which I have viewed a large portion of mankind under such a diversity of social and political aspects, have increased the conviction with which I set out in early life, that liberty is essential to the happiness of individuals and to the prosperity of nations.

TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE INHABITANTS OF SHEFFIELD.

I am convinced that the Females of the United Kingdom are my warmest friends; and amongst those females who so zealously espouse my cause, this affectionate Address convinces me that I may number the Female Inhabitants of the town of Sheffield and its vicinity. Their kind expressions of condolence and congratulation tell me that they feel a deep interest in my welfare.

I am convinced that all the evils which I have suffered, and

all the persecutions which I have undergone, whatever may be the sorrows which they have occasioned to myself, will prove ultimately beneficial to the English nation. It is this assurance which throws a cheering ray over the dreary horizon of my present circumstances. I have long felt it a duty to live as much for others as for myself: and, indeed, the more my life is prolonged, the more I am conscious that the best way of adding to my own happiness is to promote that of my fellow-creatures.

TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE INHABITANTS OF THE BOROUGH OF MALMSBURY.

I am much obliged by this affectionate Address from the inhabitants of the ancient Borough of Malmsbury.

In the conspiracy that was directed against my honour and my life, in 1806, I felt that integrity was strength, and innocence security. I am not at all dismayed by the present conspiracy, though it is supported by the arm of overwhelming power. Vast as are its resources, and formidable as is its character, I am convinced that it will experience the fate of preceding similar attempts, and disgrace only the actors in this drama of malignity and injustice.

When my enemies find their exertions as abortive in the present, as in the former conspiracies, I trust that I shall experience an evening of repose after such a long day of storms. If I am to enjoy this blessing, my heart tells me that it will be principally owing to the ge-

nerous sympathies of Englishmen.

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TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE FEMALES  
OF HALIFAX.

I shall always be ambitious of preserving the esteem of my own sex; and, among those of my own sex, whose good opinion I value, I am far from being indifferent to the approbation of the Female Inhabitants of Halifax.

I am not the narrow-minded advocate of any sect or party, but the common friend of all parties and sects. Every Sovereign suffers a diminution of his sovereignty in proportion as he becomes a partizan. There is nothing factious or sectarian in goodness; and those who aim at benefiting mankind must not suffer themselves to be fettered by exclusive partialities.

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TO THE SPITALFIELDS ADDRESS.

I have been much gratified by an Address so loyal and so affectionate from the Churchwardens, Overseers, and other Inhabitants of the Parish of Christchurch, Middlesex, commonly called Spitalfields.

There is no period in the history of this country, in which the feelings of the people have been so universally or so powerfully excited as in the present. A case of individual oppression has interested every heart.—Every member of the community who is not enlisted in the service of the selfish faction, has made my wrongs and sufferings his own sufferings and wrongs.

The sympathy which my af-

fictions have excited has produced a degree of close and cordial union in the sentiments of the nation, which augurs the most glorious results. Union is always strength, even in a few; but union in a nation is might irresistible. An united nation has only to express its will to have it obeyed.

The great fault in the Statesmen of modern times, and particularly of our own country, has been, that they have not kept pace with the increased knowledge and improved sentiments of the age. While the nation has been progressive, they have been stationary, or even retrograde. While the nation has been making mighty strides in political science, and acquiring a fitness for more liberal institutions, they have been fixed, as if by the spell of enchantment, in the narrow circle of ancient prejudices, or have been labouring to keep others within the confines of ignorance and superstition. In short, they are still children, while the nation has grown up to manhood. They are still in the leading-strings of puerile maxims, while the people have learned to walk erect in the light of new truths and of better principles.

My heart is tenderly touched with a sense of those miseries which the inhabitants of Spitalfields mention as characterizing the general state of the country at the present period. Had I the power of mitigating those miseries, my grief would be less; but, at present, I lament evils and deplore calamities for which I cannot furnish a re-



medy; and I grieve the more, because I grieve in vain.

TO THE ADDRESS OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF STROUD, IN GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

I receive with cordial satisfaction this loyal and affectionate Address from the Inhabitants of the town of Stroud and its vicinity, in the county of Gloucester.

The sympathies of the people with my wrongs and my sufferings have been so universally manifested, as to make my adversaries pause in their career of oppression, and politically to hesitate when they do not morally relent.

I have experienced adversity in many of its most distressing calamities, and in some of its darkest hours; but I have always found that it never has passed away without leaving some moral benefit behind. Adversity usually compensates its immediate evils by its subsequent good, and its uses are, in numerous instances, so precious, that it may often be regarded as prosperity under another name.

I have been at times sunk in the depth of affliction; but from those depths I have been raised by the invisible hand of the Allmerciful, to rejoice in the dawn of happier days, and to contemplate a futurity of hope for myself and for mankind.

Whatever may have been the will of Omnipotence with respect to my destiny in time past, I acknowledge it to have been both wise and good; and I trust that my safety will be protected by the same wisdom, and my

happiness be promoted by the same goodness, in the time to come. These sentiments are my cheering associates during the day, and at night they smooth the pillow of my repose.

TO THE FEMALES OF LEEDS.

I have derived no ordinary satisfaction from the consciousness that my conduct has excited the approbation of the Female Inhabitants of the Borough of Leeds and its vicinity.

In the conflict with my enemies I have steadily adhered to my original purpose of vindicating my innocence at every risk; and have suffered no lure, however tempting, to make me forget that my rights are not exclusively my own, but belong to the common stock of public liberty. If I had tamely surrendered those rights I should have betrayed the people, for whose good they were bestowed; and to whose generous attachment I am indebted for all that I possess.

I never could consent to make reputation an affair of mercenary traffic. If I could have been guilty of such baseness, it would have rendered me totally unworthy of the title or the rank of Queen. But yet if I would have stooped so low, and unresistingly have become an accessory to my own infamy, I might have avoided the Bill of Pains and Penalties, and have had my enemies bearing testimony to the purity of my conduct and the patriotism of my principles.

The SELFISH FACTION, who have become my accusers, have

been in the habit of truckling to superior power, and of complying with all its fickle inclinations, till they have acquired a fondness for turpitude, as persons may live in a polluted atmosphere till they lose all relish for the breath of the zephyrs or the fragrance of the fields.

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TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE BOROUGH  
OF LEEDS.

My cordial thanks are due to the inhabitants of the borough of Leeds for this affectionate address. The religious sentiments which it breathes are such as meet with corresponding sentiments in my own mind. I feel it my duty not to dispute the wisdom, or to question the goodness of the Eternal, in any even of his most afflicting dispensations.

Our views are bounded on all sides; and we are apt to regard things only in their immediate relations to our present interest; but the Supreme Wisdom adjusts his discipline to our good, not only in the time which now is, but in that which is to come. If I have been despitefully used, and wrongfully persecuted, I still hope to derive benefit from the evil I have experienced.

All injuries are apt to rebound upon the author; and though vengeance is slow, yet how few are there who can ultimately avoid its shaft or elude its pursuit! I should not be a human being, if injury excited no feeling of resentment in my breast; but I am conscious that not only out of a regard for a higher au-

thority, but from a desire not to disturb my own internal tranquillity, I ought not to suffer that feeling to rankle in my heart.

The sentiment of integrity, which has its fixed residence in my soul, makes me despise the accusations of my enemies. I know that the malice of my oppressor has never yet been restrained by any moral consideration; but that malice has hitherto been rendered imbecile by the public indignation which it has excited on one side, and by all the better sympathies which it has roused in my defence on the other.

It cannot be supposed that the Bill of Pains and Penalties, which has not hitherto been supported by a particle of honest testimony, will receive the sanction of the Legislature; but if it should, it will be found not merely to inflict the penalty of degradation upon the Queen; but of servitude upon the nation. Its professed object is to deprive the Queen of her honour and her rights, but its real effect will be to destroy the liberties of Englishmen.

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TO THE INHABITANTS OF TAUNTON.

The Inhabitants, Male and Female, of the town of Taunton and its vicinity, are requested to accept my cordial acknowledgments for this loyal and affectionate Address. I am much gratified by their approbation of my conduct; and their honest declaration in favour of my innocence.

I trust that no part of my

conduct has ever exhibited any of the conscious apprehensions of guilt. If I had been guilty I should not have rejected the offer to sin with impunity; but it is the elevating sentiments of innocence that made me at once disdain the splendid bribe that would have secured my character from all judicial investigation, and which next impelled me to challenge my enemies to produce proofs, if proof could be produced, of their criminal accusations. Though my adversaries have had the means of purchasing evidence, wherever it could be procured, they have not been able to adduce any thing like credible testimony in support of any one of their allegations. The testimony which they have produced, instead of making good any charge, has been most efficacious in demonstrating its own iniquity and that of my adversaries. My acquittal must be their condemnation.

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TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE INHABITANTS OF ST. PANCRAZ AND ITS VICINITY.

I accept with unfeigned satisfaction this loyal and affectionate Address from the Inhabitants of the parish of St. Pancras and its vicinity.

I feel that my interest is completely identified with that of the people; and that there is a reciprocity both in our friendships and our enmities. Those who are labouring to pollute my honour are, in the same act, tarnishing the national glory in its judicial character. Those who are so solicitous to deprive

me of my dignities have ever shown themselves ready to embrace any opportunity of stripping the nation of its rights. Those who are eager to degrade the Queen have never manifested any repugnance in abridging the liberties of the people.

Where any country is governed by a faction, it must be governed more for the benefit of a few, than for the interests of all. Under the government of a faction, the common good is a prey to the rapacity of individuals. The vulture and the cormorant penetrate into the treasury, where patriotic disinterestedness ought to preside; and into the sanctuary, where gentle piety ought to dwell.

Under a just and beneficent government, neither good nor evil is partially dispensed: there is an equal distribution of benefits, and a similarly equal participation of burdens or calamities; there is nothing exclusive. The blessings of a wise administration are impartially scattered, as the dew of Heaven is equally diffused.

A Bill of Pains and Penalties is so unconstitutional in its principle, so tyrannical in its nature, and so unjust in its operations, that I trust the present is the last attempt of the kind that will be made on the liberties of Englishmen. If I should be the means of putting an end for ever to such an arbitrary exertion of legislative power, and such an illegal invasion of individual right, I shall not have lived in vain.

TO THE ADDRESS OF THE FREE WATER-  
MEN AND LIGHTERMEN OF THE PORT  
OF LONDON.

It is commerce to which Britain is principally indebted for its wealth and its power: and commerce, if it does not owe its origin to liberty, is, at least, never known to flourish in any country where the people are not free. Commerce, like the bird that wantons in the air, loves the unrestrained expansion of its wings; and will not flourish when it is impeded by restrictions, loaded with prohibitions, or subjected to arbitrary imposts. Liberty is the life of commerce, but slavery its death; as it is the death of every thing that is most intimately connected with the happiness of man.

I have ever felt a strong interest in every thing connected with the welfare of commerce, and the prosperity of navigation. I was, therefore, much gratified by this loyal and affectionate address from the Lightermen and Watermen of the Port of London. It speaks the sentiments of free men. The Lightermen and Watermen of this crowded Port are actively engaged in conducting the trade, and aiding the navigation, of the first commercial river in the world. Usefulness is never a very erroneous criterion of value in the great scheme of society; and, if we apply this criterion to the Lightermen and Watermen of the Port of London, we shall find that the best interests of the metropolis are in no small degree assisted by his honest body of useful citi-

zens. I thank them, from my soul, for this artless expression of their condolence, and this zealous tribute of their regard; as long as they continue to navigate this river, I trust they will never cease to remember that the Queen, who is now living on its banks, was a warm and steadfast friend to their particular interests, and to the general prosperity of this great maritime community,

TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE PARISH  
OF CLERKENWELL.

I accept with unfeigned satisfaction the affectionate Address from the Parish of Clerkenwell.

No intimidation shall prevent me from doing right; no bribe induce me to do wrong. I have a monitor within, whose injunctions I deem superior to any temptations of interest, or any incitements of ambition. As long as I do not behold myself contaminated in the mirror of my own conscience, I cannot only calmly look my enemies in the face, but I can solemnly invoke the Almighty to testify my innocence.

When I reflect upon the pain and misery that seem, in a greater or less degree, inseparable from the condition of man, I do not consider myself to possess any claim to an exemption from the common afflictions of humanity; I look up to the author of my being only as the author of my happiness; and, though I may lament his chastisements, I cannot question his benevolence.

The members of the hierarchy who have silently given their consent, or openly lent their sanction to the exclusion of my name from the Liturgy, must inconsiderately have forgotten it to be their duty, not to prostrate themselves at the feet of any temporal master, in questions in which conscience is concerned.

Every day tends to furnish more and more clues for penetrating into the dark labyrinth of that conspiracy, which has, for so many years, been preparing its train of artifices against my character, and my happiness. The present plot has been carefully got up; and no pains have been spared to make it complete in every part.—Falsehood has been purchased wherever it could be found; and the witnesses, who have been brought to appear against the Queen Consort, will cost the Exchequer more than the pay of many a gallant regiment. The actors in this grand representation of connubial infelicity are to be seen in every kind of costume; and Europe, Asia, and Africa, are to play their respective parts at the bar of the House of Lords.

My adversaries have no regard for the venerable principles of the British Constitution—for the rights it confers, or the liberties it guarantees.—Their love for the Constitution is only a cover for their own selfish views. They love no part of the Constitution except that which is in decay. It is that decayed part alone, in which “they live, and move,

and have their being,” in which they, bound with transport, and seem drunk with joy.

The good and the wise, among all classes, contemplate with horror the tremendous probabilities of a disputed succession; with which the present Bill of Pains and Penalties menaces the country. But my adversaries are so ravished with the present delights of place, and so busy in rifling the immediate sweets of corruption, that they think nothing real but what is in close contact with sense. They live only for the day; and they leave it to their successors to provide for the morrow.

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TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE LADIES  
OF CAMBERWELL.

I am unfeignedly obliged to the Female Inhabitants of the parish of Camberwell, for this loyal and affectionate address.

Elevation of rank ought to be associated with elevation of sentiment. In proportion as we ascend in the gradations of political life, we ought to find more disinterestedness and magnanimity, more expansion of the heart, more inflexibility of principle, more steadiness in friendship, and more generosity even in enmities. But my experience would not justify this hope, or verify this expectation.

With one ever-memorable exception, I have been deserted by the very persons by whom I ought to have been most assiduously attended, and most affectionately cherished; but the middle and the inferior ranks have received me with gene-

rous transport and enthusiastic delight. Most of the addresses with which I have been so affectionately greeted have been from the middle classes of society, who are placed above the line of dependence, and below the confines of corruption. The middle and the subordinate ranks appear to have been educated till they have been raised above the higher in energy of mind and generosity of heart. Great virtues and bright talents are, at this moment, to be found in the lowest conditions of life; and hence it requires no great sagacity to discover that the age of delusion is almost past; that craft of all kinds must give way to the force of common sense; and that governments will no longer be respected than while they are good and wise.

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TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE FEMALES  
OF CLIFTON, KINGSDOWN, BRISTOL.

I am much gratified by this loyal and affectionate Address from the Females residing at Clifton, Kingsdown, in the vicinity of Bristol.

Life is largely furnished with occasions for the practice of resignation. No one can have been much versed in the drama of human existence without being strongly impressed by the multiplicity of its vicissitudes. Hope, here and there, dazzles our view with gay phantoms; for experience usually proves that they are but phantoms. The deceptive forms vanish; and the vision that interested the imagination disappears. As if life were a dream, we grasp

at airy illusions and let solid realities pass unheeded by.

If any monitor is wanting against the folly of indulging extravagant expectation on the one hand, or of yielding to fruitless despondency on the other, my life will furnish numerous instructions of this kind, and will impress the necessity of never hoping too much, but of never sorrowing without hope.

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TO THE ADDRESS OF THE INHABITANTS  
OF THE BOROUGH OF HORSHAM,  
IN THE COUNTY OF SUSSEX.

I have been much gratified by this loyal and affectionate Address from the Inhabitants of the Borough, Town, and vicinity of Horsham, in the County of Sussex.

The strong excitement which at present pervades the whole kingdom is most honourable to the character of the nation. It is an excitement which has nothing factious in its origin. Faction, more or less, implies the opposition of a part of the state to the whole, or of a few opinions or interests to those of the majority. But, in the present instance the excitement is universalized; the opinion is one and the same in all, with the exception of the few who are the menials of corruption, or who are the dependants upon those menials. And even of these many are secretly favourable to my interest; or, at least unwilling to espouse that of my enemies.

The generous enthusiasm of virtue kindles the blush of shame, even in its adversaries.

TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE INHABITANTS OF THE PARISH OF ALL SAINTS, POPLAR.

I am unfeignedly obliged to the inhabitants of the parish of All Saints, Poplar, for this agreeable testimony of their loyalty and attachment.

When my persecutors commence their atrocious attacks upon my honour and my happiness, they little thought that they were investing me with an unbounded power over the sympathies of the people. Their conspiracy against my peace will ultimately prove an involuntary attack upon their own. They have fixed the worm of remorse in their breasts, nor will it speedily be removed.

Happily for mankind malice is short-sighted, and its short-sightedness usually renders it impotent to hurt. In the majority of instances it recoils upon itself, and is a torment to the mind in which it originates, and whose tranquillity it destroys.

The agency of the benevolent principle is the only certain source of internal satisfaction. This causes peace within and allays suspicions from without. Malice is haunted by its own fiends; it swarms with inquietudes of every degree of intensity, and with apprehensions of every variety of hue.

The interior state of my adversaries is not an object of envy. The victim of injustice is usually more happy than the perpetrator of the deed.

TO THE INHABITANTS OF KIDDERMINSTER.

I sincerely thank the inhabitants of Kidderminster for this

loyal and affectionate address. I shall be more than recompensed for all the sufferings I have experienced, if they ultimately promote the happiness of these realms. That can never be true happiness which begins and terminates in self. That alone is true and unsophisticated happiness which is reflected upon the consciousness of the misery we have alleviated, and the good we have produced. The most religious man is he who bears the nearest resemblance to what the most enlightened minds can form of the Deity; but reason, in its most reflective hours, can imagine no higher perfection in God himself, than that of the most unbounded beneficence. What most ennobles man is the zealous imitation of the Almighty in this resplendent attribute.

TO THE ADDRESS OF THE CORPORATED TRADES OF THE BURGH OF CRAIL.

I gratefully accept this loyal and affectionate Address from the Convener, Deacon, and Members of the ancient Royal Scotch Burgh of Crail.

The afflictions which I have endured have not weakened my trust in an overruling Providence. They have rather increased that trust; while they have habituated my mind to the soothing sentiment of humble resignation. My enemies will, at length, allow that the aggressions of injustice, and the artifices of falsehood, cannot permanently prevail over integrity and truth.

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 37.—No. 18.] LONDON, SATURDAY, Oct. 28, 1820. [Price, 6d.]

I am compelled to postpone my *Sermon to the Methodists* for another week. I cannot let the Queen's affair receive a decision without one more attempt to support her righteous cause.

## TO THE RADICALS,

*On the probable close of the Queen's Incident.—And on the conduct of her Lawyers.*

London, Oct. 26, 1820.

MY FRIENDS,

You will bear in mind, that I always regarded the affair of the Queen as an incident in the Grand Drama, of which the workings of the Funds, or Debt, is the plot: a great incident indeed; but still an incident: that is to say, a thing which might assist in producing the main event sooner than it would otherwise have come; just as a knock on the head may help out of the world a man perishing of a cancer; but, the absence of which knock in the head, or a failure in its effect, cannot save, or prolong, the life of the wretched being, whom the cancer has doomed to die. Therefore, we, who depend on the plot, have not placed any very great reliance, as to immediate effect, on this

incident; though it has been a capital thing, and has produced us a large mass of unmixed good. It has been a perfect "God's send" to us. It has been so much of clear gains. Let it terminate how it may, all that we justly detest is become more openly exposed, more odious, more contemptible and more loathsome than it was before. Divine Providence sent her Majesty here for our good; but she has been the instrument in that good; and she will always be an object of gratitude with me. When I kissed her Majesty's pretty little hand, I did it with real devotion; I blessed her in my heart, for having opened the eyes of so many poor blind people, and for having torn the mask from such swarms of villains and hypocrites, who will never again be able to impose on the credulity of mankind. She has done us wondrous service; and the man must be a wretch, who does not feel grateful towards her.

Perhaps the Lords will have decided before this Register will



come from the press; but, I may venture to *guess* at what they will do. That they will not *pass the Bill*, as it stands now, is, I think, evident. All the signs of that are too clear to be mistaken. But, yet, it is supposed, that they will *do a something*; and that that something will be of a kind to make it impossible for the Queen to be permitted to hold her courts, to live in a palace, and to be recognized *as Queen* in the *usual way*. In short, that a *vote of degradation* will be passed on her.

If the Bill were to be passed, with whatever modifications, it must go to the *House of Commons*, and it is evident, that there is a great dislike to send the Bill thither, and thereby revive the inquiry. By not passing the Bill, this renewed and long-continued struggle will be avoided. But, not to pass a *vote of degradation* would be to leave the Ministers to encounter the whole weight of royal, party and popular vengeance, without any thing to shelter them. Whether it be better to do this, or to leave to the king the honour of having for the remainder of his days a wife, standing degraded by a vote of the Peers, I leave others to de-

termine; but, at any rate, one or the other of these will now, according to all appearance, take place; for, it seems impossible that the Bill, as it now stands, should pass. And yet, what a situation will the affair and the parties be placed in by this expected vote of degradation? In the first place, there is the House of Peers, who have entered into and gone through an inquiry, which, terminate how it may, the House of Commons have declared to be derogatory from the dignity of the throne and injurious to the best interests of the nation! Then, there is a Queen, *degraded* by the House of Peers, and this Queen is not only the king's wife; but is his cousin also; is in the line of succession to the throne; and may possibly, and even probably, yet come to the throne herself, and reign over the kingdom, though standing *degraded* by a vote of the House of Peers! Next comes the King, who, while the Peers vote his wife to be a degraded woman, unfit to hold courts and to be at the head of the females of England, is left to enjoy the honour of having that degraded woman for his wife; and, observe this, that, if

the *divorce* part of the Bill be rejected and the Queen degraded, the same assembly that *degrades* her, refuses to *relieve* him from her! And yet it does seem a little hard, that "our most religious and gracious king," as we devoutly call him every Sunday, in repeating the Liturgy, should be compelled to remain coupled to a wife, whom the Peers have *degraded*, and whose name has been thought unworthy of insertion in that same Liturgy! The "*morals of the nation*," to preserve which has been the professed object of this stir; these *morals* will, doubtless, have received great benefit from the detail of the evidence of *Demont* and *Barbara Krantz*, the latter elucidated by the High Dutch learning of the Right Reverend Father in God, Bishop Marsh. Doubtless the nation's *morals* will have received great improvement from the evidence of these two prying and sharp-sighted lasses, who, as SWIFT said of the diverting vagabonds (players) of his day, carried the matter as far as words could be of any use, and, like SWIFT's vagabonds, "stopped short only of the actual performance of the

"thing." Nay, in the examination with regard to the exhibitions of *Leone*, or *Mahomet*, which the Attorney-General called "an imitation of the sexual intercourse," the witness was actually asked, whether she perceived any alteration in the shape of the operator's trousers! Doubtless, the nation's *morals* will have been, and will be greatly benefited by the book of evidence, printed by order of the Peers, after having been sent all over the country in sixpenny parcels; but, my friends, I greatly doubt, whether the purse of the nation will be much benefited by this book and the fillers of it. However, this is a matter for future observation; and, I have no hesitation in saying, that it is better for us to have our money bestowed upon the inhabitants of Cotton Garden, than upon placemen, pensioners, or Austrian soldiers. The thing will cost us a good deal; but, in this case, we shall have had something for our money: the three hundred thousand pounds, which I imagine, will be about the mark, will have been well laid out in obtaining so fine, so clear, so full an exposure of our deadly enemies.

We have talked so long about this Bill of Pains and Penalties, without having the Bill itself before us, that we almost forget what the thing really is. I shall, therefore, go back, to the origin of the proceeding, which will enable me the more clearly to explain the situation in which the parties are now placed. Let us bear in mind, then, that on the sixth of June last, the King sent a message to the Houses of Parliament, accompanying it with a green bag to each House, informing the Houses that the papers in the bag contained matter respecting the conduct of the Queen, and expressing his confidence that the Houses would adopt that course of proceeding, which "the justice of the case and the honour and dignity of his Majesty's Crown" may require."

Now, it is material to observe, that the King, in this message, said not a word about the *morals of the nation*. He had only in view the *honour and dignity of his Crown*. On the next day, in the Lords, a motion was made to refer the Green Bag to a Secret Committee. Nothing was still said about the morals of the nation; but a great deal was said about

affording relief to the King. The Lord Chancellor, after having pointed out the difficulties of obtaining relief for the King, by impeachment, by civil action, or in the spiritual courts, observed that no one would say that the *King should have no relief at all*. Thus, then, at the outset of the business, *relief to the King*, and the support of the honour and dignity of the Crown, seem to have been the only things thought of. The idea of *preserving the morals of the nation*, by the instrumentality of De Mont, Powell, Brown, and Barbara Krantz, seems, at this time, not to have been engendered; for certainly it did not make its appearance.

The Secret Committee, when they had read the papers of the Green Bag, declared that the charges contained in it deeply affected the honour of the Queen, the dignity of the Crown, and the *moral feeling and honour of the country!* But this declaration took place on the fourth of July, that is to say, nearly a month after the date of the King's message; and after there had been, in Parliament and out of Parliament, a great deal said upon the subject of his Majesty's

being entitled to *relief*, in a case like the present. We next come to the Bill, which was brought into the House of Lords by Liverpool on the fifth of July. The Bill consists of a long preamble stating the offences of her Majesty, which preamble concludes with asserting that the Queen "has violated the duty she owed to his Majesty, and has rendered herself unworthy of the exalted rank and station of Queen Consort of this realm."

This preamble is all *talk*; but there follow a couple of stings in the tail of it, in these words: "I. That the Queen be, and is hereby, deprived of the title of Queen, and of all the prerogatives, privileges and exemptions, appertaining to her, as Queen Consort of this Realm, and be, from and after the passing of this act, for ever disabled, and rendered incapable of using, exercising and enjoying the same, or any of them.—II. That the marriage between his Majesty and the said Caroline Amelia Elizabeth be, and the same is hereby, from henceforth for ever, wholly dissolved, annulled, and made void to all intents,

"constructions and purposes, whatsoever."

We have now something like a clear view of the matter. We see what was intended at the first, and also the grounds upon which the intention proceeded. In a short time after the Bill was brought in; or, at least, after the evidence in favour of it began to be produced, Liverpool declared that, as to the *divorce* clause, that was the least important part of the Bill. The *morals of the nation* were now put forward as demanding preservation through the means of this proceeding; through the means of the description of beds, sheets, and bolsters, given by the Countess Colombier, Barbara Krantz, and the rest of the Holy Catholic community of Cotton Garden.

But, now, at last, when all these strenuous efforts to preserve our morals are happily in our safe possession, there remain to be disposed of these two enacting clauses of this Bill. The divorce clause, that is to say, the second clause, is to be given up; or, at least, an intimation has been made to that effect. Well, then, observe that this will be a pretty sort of answer to the King's Message, in which

Message, he called for a something required by the honour and dignity of his Crown. How will the honour and dignity of his Crown be preserved by the rejection of this clause? For, mind, the clause must be *rejected*; which is a very different thing indeed from its never having been submitted to the House.

The next thing to be considered is, will the first clause pass the House? It might pass; and, thus, the Bill would be a complete Bill without the divorce clause. The Bill, in this shape, would unqueen the Queen; would leave her wholly destitute, not only of prerogatives and privileges, but would deprive her of all claim to maintenance of any kind or in any degree. It would actually turn her out to beg in the streets, unless maintained more comfortably by charity of another sort. It would, in fact, be degradation as complete as that of the son of Louis the Sixteenth, when the despotism had been abolished and when that youth had been bound apprentice to citizen Simon, the Cordwainer. Degradation more complete it is impossible to conceive; and if the Bill pass in this shape, it will serve as a *precc-*

*dent* for the degradation of a Queen, at least.

But, in this case, the Bill must go to the House of Commons; for, until it has passed that House, and until the King has given his assent, also, the Bill does not become a law; and, of course, it is only a parcel of useless words, and the Queen is not degraded. The House of Commons will finally pass the Bill, in my opinion, if the Lords pass it; and, it is possible, too, that they may pass it *without any examination of witnesses*. And, indeed, there is no good reason why they should not, supposing it to be a Bill proper for them to pass. The House of Commons cannot examine witnesses upon oath. They cannot come at the truth in the same way that the Lords can; and, if the testimony given before the Lords be laid before the Commons; there can be no reason why they should go over the evidence again except we could suppose it possible that the members could take delight in seeing the lips and hearing the sound of the voices of the Countess Colombier and Barbara Krantz.

It is possible, therefore, that the Bill may pass, with the exception of the divorce clause;

and if this take place, the Queen is degraded; but whether this degradation will answer the purpose expressed in his Majesty's message, namely, *preserving the honour and dignity of the Crown*, is a question which I will leave you to determine.

There is another mode of proceeding, which would obviate any risk that there might be in passing the Bill without the divorce clause. That is to say, the House of Lords may set aside the Bill altogether, and come to a resolution or vote; or may make an address to the King; which vote, or address, should express, in the first place, that which is expressed in the preamble of the Bill, and should then express the opinion of the House, that the charges against the Queen had been proved, and that it was improper that she should be suffered to enjoy, or exercise, any of the rights, privileges or functions usually enjoyed and exercised by a Queen Consort.

This would, in some measure, screen the Ministers; and it would also serve as a ground for refusing a royal residence and establishment to the Queen. It might be made the ground of

those and other measures of humiliation. But, still, it would fail in the main object which the Ministers must have in view; namely, putting an end to the struggle; for, instead of putting an end to that struggle, it would be sure to perpetuate it till there arose out of it something which the Ministers must desire to avoid. The rights, privileges and immunities, though checked in their exercise, would still exist; they would still be an object of contention; and, what would render the matter still more irritating would be, that the exercise would be prevented by the direct authority of the King, and that, too, without law, and even against law.

For my part, therefore, I can see no way out of the difficulties into which our pretty gentlemen have plunged themselves; have plunged themselves of their own good will and pleasure, without any assistance of ours, and even contrary to our supplications and prayers; and great fools we were for our pains for supplicating and praying to them, only, indeed, we were pretty certain, and I myself was quite certain, that whatever we prayed against they were sure to pursue with re-

doubled vigour! Their case is now past praying for. They never can bring themselves back to where they were on the 5th of June last. Pass the Bill or not pass the Bill, makes not a straw of difference to us; and, if I were to have my choice at this moment, I should, all the circumstances considered, have very great difficulty in saying which I thought best for the nation.

From the very beginning, it has been manifest that the Ministers, their supporters and abettors, wished to keep the Queen out of the country, in the first place, and afterwards to get her out of the country. How arduously, and yet how foolishly, they laboured to effect this object, we all recollect. It must be confessed, however, that they had something to contend with in their pursuit of this great object. If they were busy, others were not idle. When once the Queen was got here, it was not so easy to get her away. They had the cordial assistance of her law advisers; they had the assistance of Mr. Wilberforce and his associate deputies; they had an abundance of craft and cunning to aid them; and, at the time of that

deputation going to the Queen, success appears to have been so nicely balanced against defeat, that a straw would have turned the thing one way or the other. I call heaven to witness the anxious hours that I passed, between the making of Wilberforce's motion and the rejection of the advice contained in the resolution of the House of Commons. I remember a passage in Othello; I think it is:

"O! what damned minutes counts  
he o'er,  
"Who doats, yet doubts, &c."

I called this passage to mind at the time; and certainly Othello's ravings hardly came up to a full description of what I felt. No forlorn dog of a poacher, who, after groping about all night in vain, after fish, ever felt more anxiety when he, at last, felt the tail of a solitary eel slipping through his fingers, than I felt while Wilberforce, Auckland, Banks and Wortley, were going up in deputation to Portman Street. When the answer came to the House of Commons, I recovered my serenity a little; but I never felt perfectly at ease 'till the Green Bag was actually open, and the Report of the Secret Committee sent forth to the world. Then I

knew that all would follow which has followed; and I had a right to hope for as much more as I pleased, seeing that Sidmouth's Circular, and even the Six Acts, have not made it criminal to hope, especially if we keep our hopes within our teeth, as I have had the prudence to do.

When once the Green Bag was opened, actually opened, it could not be closed again. I feared no Lawyers from that moment; for one thing or the other must take place, either the Queen must go abroad with the vomitings of the Green Bag upon her, or she must stay here and combat her enemies, who, as it happened, were the enemies of us also. She could not do them harm without doing us good; and the feeling of the public was such as to make us hope for a result such as I have always prayed for, that is to say, a result greatly beneficial to the throne, as well as to the people.

Nothing will be accomplished, at last, to suit the views and to quiet the alarms of our pretty gentlemen, unless, by some means or other, **THE QUEEN CAN BE GOT OUT OF THE COUNTRY.** Mind, my friends,

this is the point. This is the thing which, above all things in the world, they desire: in their anxiety as to this matter, they forget, for a while, *Peel's Bill*; the howlings of the Merchants and the farmers, and all the other difficulties that are tumbling about them like hail. *To get her away*; this is the thing that they have at heart; and yet, pretty gentlemen, how hard have they been working to prevent the possibility of getting her away! Divorce her and degrade her; nay, even fix on her the stigma of a vote; and how is she to go; where is she to show her face; where has she a friend on the face of the earth, but in England? In England, even if the Bill pass to its full extent, she will still have millions of friends. If no Bill be passed, and merely a vote declaratory of the opinion of the House that his Majesty ought to restrain her from the exercise of her rights, she will still possess those rights, and, while here, will be able to carry on a contest for them; but, out of the Kingdom she will go branded by the vote; she cannot, in the face of that vote, have a yacht or man of war to take her away; she can-



not be introduced as Queen of England at any foreign court; and, in the face of such a vote, how can our *faithful Representatives* vote away our money to enable her to live in splendour in a foreign land.

Thus the very means that the pretty gentlemen have been pursuing to destroy her, must tend to preserve her, for they must tend to keep her here, and here only can she possibly be sure of receiving even the means of putting bread in her mouth. It is, therefore, very difficult to say what is best, or what is worst; or rather, what is the least bad of the things that now may be done; but this I am very sure of, that, let what will be done, things never can be brought back to the state of the 6th of June last; and that this incident of the Queen will have given the system a blow, the effects of which it will feel to the last moment of its existence. The blow may yet be mortal; but, if it be not, it will be like one of those gun-shot wounds, which, though the ball be extracted and the mouth healed over, is always afterwards felt in company with every succeeding ailment, and goes gra-

dually on helping to accelerate final dissolution. For this reason, this whole nation ought to feel grateful towards her Majesty; and ought to do every thing in its power to assist her and support her under any and every circumstances.

Leaving, now, these wise men who have the business in hand, to pursue whatever measures they please, as to the disposal of the Bill, I proceed to remark upon the conduct of her Majesty's lawyers, meaning particularly to speak of those two dignitaries in the law, Messrs. Brougham and Denman. I have upon several occasions, had occasion to speak of this conduct. Their speeches in Parliament; their conduct with regard to the Protocols; their answers to the addresses from Nottingham and Preston, all these clearly proved that they wished to keep her aloof from all popular communication and support: that they wished her out of the country; and that, at any rate, even when the green bag was opened, they wished her to have no reliance but upon them.

It must now be evident to all the world what would have been the result, if the press and the people had not stepped for-

ward in her defence; and it must also be manifest that neither would have done it if the advice of those law advisers had been followed. But I am now going to speak upon the manner of conducting her Majesty's defence. The Ministerial papers say that the defence has broken down; and, as far as relates to the mere legal proceedings, it certainly has broken down, even without waiting to hear one word in reply from the Attorney-General. Never was so fine an opportunity for lawyers to display talent and zeal, and these two gentlemen have, upon this occasion, displayed neither. The opening speech of Mr. Brougham might have been made to work up a feeling people like the English almost to madness; instead of this, it passed over all the topics calculated to excite indignation against the enemies of her Majesty, and drawled itself along leaving the filthy slime of its praises upon the judges of the Queen, upon PITT, whose very name the people detested, and upon PERCEVAL, who, to his general demerits, added that of having deserted the Queen after he had made her the ladder of his ambition. There required

nothing but the telling of the plain story; there required nothing but a simple narrative of the persecutions of the Queen, in order to make it terrible to continue those persecutions for one moment longer; and yet, the speech of Mr. Brougham came to a driveling close with a supplication to her judges to uphold nobility, the ornament of the country; to save the Monarchy from the claws of the seditious, and to protect the altar from the unholy touch of blasphemers. The speech was, in fact, a speech against the interest of the Queen. It aimed at exalting those who are well known to be hostile to her, and at degrading those who are well known to be her friends. The Bill of Pains and Penalties charged her with having degraded herself by associating with inferior persons; and this speech took occasion to admit that she had so associated herself; and, of course, that she had thus been guilty of self-degradation. Was this the tone for an advocate to assume, and for an advocate, too, who had so strongly described the duties of his office, which, he had said, imposed upon him to become almost a trait-

tor to the King rather than lose sight of the defence of his client.

This speech was calculated to produce the worst possible impression. The falterings of fear became manifest within six sentences of its commencement. At a time when nothing should have dropped from his lips that did not breathe defiance, and anticipate triumph, all was humble, all was submissive, all was reliance upon the wisdom and justice of the judges: nothing was heard, but of the enormous difficulties under which the speaker laboured; the dreadful weight of responsibility upon his shoulders; the hardship of the unfortunate lady whom it was his duty to defend; and not a word about her cruel persecutors; about their atrocious proceedings; about her undaunted resolution to repel their attacks; and about his resolution to be amongst those who should perish by her side rather than see another act of injustice inflicted upon her. In short, the description of his client was sufficiently doleful to excite pity; and, perhaps, he thought that enough, forgetting that pity is the most short-lived passion that inhabits the human breast, and that, in the few cases where it

is not allied to contempt, it never leads to the inspiring of confidence of success to the pitied object.

In the conducting of the defence with regard to evidence, though a hundred objections could be made, I need mention only one instance; namely, that of neglecting to establish clearly the falsehood of the charges with regard to the polacre. It was very clear to every one who attended to the subject, that, if the facts could be established, that the Queen did actually sleep under a tent for the space of five weeks, and that her Chamberlain slept under the same tent for that five weeks, and that no other person slept there during that time; it was very clear that, if these facts were clearly established; and, that, if nothing was done to prove clearly the necessity of a man constantly sleeping under that tent; it was clear to every one that if these naked facts, without any explanation, were established, the fair and honest inference was, *that an adulterous intercourse did take place.*

Now, then, the master and his mate had sworn to these facts. This was the only part of the evidence against the

Queen, which presented any thing like difficulty; and the difficulty arose from the *bare fact* being true; and from the total disacquaintance of people, in general with those circumstances, which, if properly explained, would destroy the inference naturally resulting from the fact. Tell any family of plain honest people, who have never been on board a ship, and who can have little more knowledge of the state of things there than they have of what is passing in the moon; tell such a family (and of such families the nation is composed); tell such a family that the master and mate of the vessel have positively sworn, that Bergami and the Queen slept both under the same tent, one upon a sofa, and the other upon a bed, every night, for five weeks, nobody else being under the tent, at the same time; tell such a family that such a fact has been positively sworn to in evidence against the Queen; then tell them, further, that this evidence has been confirmed by the Queen's own attendant, and one of her own witnesses, and a Lieutenant in the Navy, too; and further tell them that this acknowledgment has been

drawn from this latter witness by *cross-examination*: tell any honest plain English family this, and, in spite of all their strong feelings in favour of the Queen, they will say that the fair inference is, that there really was an adulterous intercourse carried on between the parties.

Here, then, there was something to defend the Queen against. All the stories about the disposition of chambers in dwelling-houses and at inns. All the signs and wonders and pretty little circumstances related by *De Mont, Majocchi, Saccini, Barbara Knapp, and the Journeymen Bricklayers*. All these might have been left, with great safety, to be destroyed by the characters of those witnesses. But, besides this, their atrocious falsehoods were fully met upon every point but this, by the testimony of credible witnesses. But this poltroon scene remained. The testimony, here, so far from being negatived, by other witnesses, was confirmed by the testimony of the Queen's own witness, and by that most zealous person, too, Lieutenant Hownam, who had sent a challenge to the picklock Baron.

Was it not, then, of vital im-

portance to prove, to the Court, and more especially to the people, that the description given of this affair was wholly deceptive; that it was made to appear before the public as being a thing wholly different from what it was; that, in short, the whole story was a lie in the words of truth; that it was a tent by name, and not a tent, in fact; that the parties did sleep under it, and yet that it was not two people sleeping under a tent; that though the Baron was under the tent with the Queen every night, it was absolutely necessary for him to be there, or for some men to be there, in order to secure her against broken limbs, and probably against being killed? Was it not necessary to do this; was not this a part of that bounden duty of which Mr. Brougham talked so much? And yet, what did this lawyer do, what attempt did he make, towards the performance of this most important part of his duty?

He had heard the swearings of the Queen's adversaries, as to this fact. He knew well the weight of the fact itself. He must have known that Hownam would be cross-examined with regard to it: he had abundant

opportunities for the space of nearly two months to question Hownam upon the subject; and yet he suffers the acknowledgment of Hownam of the truth of this fact, to be *drawn* out of him, as it were reluctantly, by a cross-examination! And he leaves it after his re-examination, almost in its pristine state of nudity, unexplained by any questions and answers showing the existence of that necessity for the Baron's being under the tent in the night-time, of which necessity Hownam must have been convinced, and to which he would have sworn clearly and positively.

Was this a matter to be left to the common-place drudgery of Mr. Vizard; was the leaving of this matter to the scrabbling of an attorney; was this shewing that true "*chivalrous*" spirit of which Mr. Denman speaks in the close of his two-days' tissue of feebleness? Hownam's head seems to have been confused enough. The "*blunt*" "tar," seems, indeed, in one sense, to have fully merited the epithet; but, if I had had such a fact to deal with, and had known that Hownam was to corroborate it, I would have planked him down to the same

table with myself; I would have got from him a description of this thing nick-named *a tent*; I would have stripped it of its name of *tent* pretty quickly; I would have made him tell me that it was made up of old sails, that it was fastened with strings to different parts of the ship; that it covered a space of *four hundred and fourteen square feet*; that the place of the Baron's bed was not probably *within sixteen or eighteen feet* of that of the couch of her Majesty; and that, in fact, he only slept, when he did sleep, *upon the same deck with the Queen*.

I would have had from him, or from somebody else, under his direction, a *plan* of the deck of the vessel, showing the situation of this thing nick-named *a tent*; shewing where the man at the helm stood the whole of every night; shewing where the binnacle was with the two lights burning in it constantly every night; shewing the station of the several persons of the crew during the night; describing the general station of the officer on watch; describing the hatchway going from the interior of this pretty little tent down into the cabin, or waist of the vessel; and, in short, leaving nothing

undescribed even to the precise situations of the couch of her Majesty and the pretended bed of her Chamberlain. Then I would have made him describe to me the dangers to which her Majesty was exposed from sudden squalls; from the violence of the waves, and from other accidents which are continually to be apprehended in such a situation. I would have got at a full knowledge of all his slang about *larboard* and *starboard*, about *heeling* and *pitching* and *tacking* and *wearing* and *reefing* and all the rest of the gibberish that trips so glibly off the tongue of a sailor; and that fills his head with conceit when he finds it not understood by persons on land. I would have caught him by the button and compelled him to talk to me in the language of this world. When he talked of *heeling*, I would have taken my pen, held it up before him, and made him describe to me in what degree the deck of the vessel was made to become a *slope* upon certain occasions; I would have made him shew me how nearly the Queen must have been in danger of being dashed across the deck every time the vessel took

*a heel*: I would have made him explain what the *shipping of a sea* meant; and I would have made him, even from his "*blunt*" lips, *prove* to the public, that the *shipping of a sea*, which might happen at any time of any night, might, without speedy assistance, have dashed her Majesty to the opposite side of the deck, if it had not sent her for ever beyond the reach of all her malignant persecutors.

This is a part, and a part only, of what I would have done with Lient. Hownam, before I would have placed him at the bar. If I could not have got plain common-sense answers out of his mouth, I would have confronted with him some one of the many thousands of intelligent merchants and supercargoes, who are in this city, and who have sailed in the Levant. I would have clearly understood all about the whole matter, and I would have made him understand very clearly, or, at least, quite clearly enough for the purposes of truth, what I wanted to extract from him.

Having done this; having satisfied myself that I had got proof of the necessity of some man being constantly upon the

deck near at hand to protect her Majesty; being prepared with my plan, I would have put the polacre scene in the *very front of my case*. I would have saved myself the trouble of making, and the Judges the time of hearing, a fulsome eulogium upon themselves, and a most false eulogium upon Pitt and Perceval; I would have gone at once into my case, and would have taken the polacre charge as a striking instance of the malignity, as well as the falsehood of the accusations against my client. I would have made this a substantive point in the opening of my defence. I would have had my plan in my hand; I would have minutely described every circumstance; I would have cited every corroborative proof of the truth of each circumstance; I would have explained the thing so clearly, that a farmer and his family, who had never seen a ship or a wave, should have comprehended the whole matter as clearly as I comprehended it myself; and before I had done, before I had dismissed this point, even in my opening speech, I would have put forth that which should have filled

the public with indignation against the prosecutors, and with admiration at the bravery of my client. Tears of compassion for her sufferings, mixed with those of joy at her approaching triumph, should have bedewed the cheeks, not of my *hearers*, perhaps, but certainly of my just and generous *readers*.

When I came to the production of my witnesses the bungling Lieutenant should have been the *first*. I would have left the perjuries and amours of *De Mont*, and the rest of that tribe, to bring up the rear. My Lieutenant should have taken the lead, and I would have had such a harvest out of him, as to leave the Solicitor-General not a single ear to glean. I would not, as Mr. Brougham did, have run scrambling over the head of the crop, and left the clean reaper to come after me. Every doubtful thing; every thing to which suspicion could be made to attach; every particle of matter that had adhesion in it, would I have had out of him, or I would have left him without either brains or tongue. Mr. Brougham had known this Hownam long enough: he had had nearly four months of opportunity to talk with him. His evi-

dence was all-important. It related to things going on upon an element of which the people knew nothing; and was such a witness to be left to a mill-horse of an attorney, to a mere grinder of briefs!

This man's story, this "*blunt British tar's*" story, to Capt. Briggs, and which story, by the way, this other "*blunt British tar*" kept as safe and as snug as a pocket-pistol, and did not remind Hownam of it when Hownam went to see him a little while ago, though Hownam then asked him what evidence he had to give, and though the Captain could remember not to forget to relate the story to Cockburn, *one of the Lords of the Admiralty*! This man's story to Captain Briggs about his having gone upon his knees, and with tears in his eyes, to beseech the Princess not to take Bergami to her table; this story shows what a sort of man Hownam must be; and should not I, if I had been a sharp-sighted lawyer, like Mr. Brougham, have discovered what sort of a man he was; and, having made that discovery, should I have hung him down to be rummaged and raked and turned inside out by the Solicitor General? Should I



have brought such a man there, knowing what point he was to be questioned to, with nothing but the brief of Mr. Vizard in my hand, and without being prepared with the means, even of an efficient re-examination, after a cross-examination of three whole days!

In every case where great attention and great labour is required, an ounce of industry is worth a ton of brilliant talent; and, as Mr. Brongham possesses an extraordinary quantity of aptitude for labour, as well as an extraordinary quantity of talent, both brilliant and solid, the failure, as to this point, is the more inexcusable. Of what avail has been the poor feeble stuff of Mr. Denman upon this great point? Of what avail can be a few flimsy, pointless remarks, without order, and without any one single quality, calculated to encounter facts like those sworn to by the master and the mate, and fully corroborated by the testimony of

Hownam? Of what avail can these be, while the idea of a tent; of a snug tent; of a couch and a bed near each other, hidden from all eyes, quiet and secure, during five whole weeks; while these impressions remain unremoved; while the agitation of the vessel, the buffetings of the waves, the constant peril, the incessant danger of broken limbs, or of being washed overboard; while the interior of the tent remains looked on by the public as being as level as a champaign, instead of being frequently as much a-slope as the roof of a house; as long as nothing is done, either in speech or in evidence, to remove these impressions, of what avail, or, rather, how directly mischievous, are all the innumerable proofs of the Queen and Bergami sleeping in their clothes! Oh! wise and zealous advocates! Just as if the affairs of love were never carried on except the parties were naked in a bed! Swift, in observing upon the admirable

judiciousness of the minds of lawyers, supposes a case wherein a cow has been unjustly taken from him by his neighbour; and he says, the questions on which the lawyers would lay the greatest stress, would be, not whether the cow really belonged to him, and had been unjustly taken away by his neighbour; but whether the cow were white or black; whether the field in which she fed were round or square; and whether she were a good milker or the contrary: and of this judiciousness in the practice of lawyers, Mr. Brougham's conduct with regard to the Pullao case, is a most happy illustration. A great deal about Bergami's dress. Most satisfactory proof, that he did not sleep in buff. Testimony upon testimony, that the Queen was never seen naked; and that Bergami was on no occasion seen without the covering of small clothes; but, no attempt at all to make it out clearly and satisfactorily

that his being under the awning, nick-named a tent, during the night, was absolutely necessary to the safety of the person of the Queen; though, as we shall finally see, whatever may be done by the House of Lords, hostile to her Majesty's honour, will mainly rest upon the want of proof of that necessity.

If this part of the case had been well and truly attended to and carried through, there would not have remained this fragment of a pretence for saying that any part of the preamble of the Bill had been made good. There are, however, other things which have been omitted. Why were not the witnesses called to give proof respecting the character of Barbara Krantz? Why was not the witness called who went to Carlton-house with Majocchi? Why were not witnesses called (and plenty were at hand) to prove that the Master and Mate had been

in England with their vessel after their sailing with the Princess, and that they always spoke of her in the highest terms of praise, and declared their opinion, that the rumours in circulation against her were false? Why was not Count SCHIAVINI called, who was on board the *solace*? He could have talked plain common sense, if a *clang* gabbling sailor could not. He could have described the danger of a woman sleeping upon such a deck without a man at hand to assist her. Why was not the Countess of Oldi called? Why was not Louis Bergami called? and, finally, *why not the Baron himself?*

Upon this latter point, I have always been of an opinion different from that of some of the real friends of her Majesty. I expressed that opinion from the moment of her arrival; not only in private, but in three separate Registers. I do not say, that actually to call him to the bar would have had much effect in

the way of *testimony*; Yet his presence would have been greatly favourable to the cause of the Queen. He would have been there in person; and that person, of itself, together with his deportment and manners, would have been the bitterest of re-proofs to the calumniators of her Majesty. It would have been soon that he was a man of rare endowments and qualities. In his person and manners would have been seen a presumptive proof of his fitness for the situation which he had so long and so honourably filled.

In the very phraseology of Mr. Brougham and Mr. Denman, there has been something tending to do great injury to the cause of their Royal Client. In speaking of this gentleman they have talked about "*that man*," "*that person*," and never have called him by any name other than that of *Bergami*; just as they would talk of *Vichary* or *Cribb*! They should have left the pro-

secutors and their malignant agents to talk in this way. They should never have spoken of him without calling him the *Baron Bergami*, or the *Queen's Chamberlain*. When the object of the enemy was to *lower* him in the eyes of the nation, they should have taken care not to assist in the furthering of that object. What would they think if any one were to call Sir JOHN ELBY, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Royal Horse-Guards, "*Jack Elby, the pot-boy?*" yet Sir John's mother really kept the *Furnival's Inn Cellar*, a low pot-house between Leather-lane and Brook-street; and Sir John began his career, just as the Baron did; that is to say, as a Quarter-master in a regiment of horse. What would they say, were we to trace back a considerable portion of the long robe themselves to beer cellars and chandlers' shops, and were to call Mr. GURNEY, who is a King's Counsel, and Attorney-General

to the Society for the Suppression of Vice, the son of an old woman who kept one of the lowest pamphlet shops that ever was known in London?

It became the advocates of the Queen to adopt, as far as possible, even the very feelings of their client. It was their bounden duty to dwell with particular emphasis on the services and endowments of this gentleman. They should have had at hand, and running glibly off their lips, a long list of men distinguished for talent filling high stations, wearing the highest honours, select companions of Sovereigns, rising from the very lowest walks in life. What a figure might they have made here! Almost the whole of our celebrated writers, a very large portion of our most famous lawyers and judges, generals and admirals, they might have traced back to the shop or the cottage. Here was a subject perfectly inexhaustible. The low origin of the Chamberlain

stood staring them in the face in the very first paragraph in the Preamble of the Bill against which they were contending; and while, by a statement such as I have just pointed out, they might have made the authors of the Bill hang down their heads, to the very lodging of the chins upon their breasts, they resorted to poor puling apologies and more pitiful lamentations than their client, in consequence of having been deserted by the English nobility, that first society in the world, had been compelled to take up with persons beneath her! This might be a very good way of currying favour for themselves, but it was the worst way in the world of defending the Queen, and it very badly comported with that flaming declaration of Mr. Brougham, that an advocate was bound to sacrifice himself, nay, even to sacrifice his own reputation, if necessary, to the defence of his client.

Low birth, indeed! How the farmers of this charge might have been complimented!—Would I have suffered it to pass without a compliment to the merits of the coal merchant's son who sat upon the Wool-sack? Would I have suffered it to pass without reminding the noble Peer, *who brought in the Bill*, of the merits of his own father, who had once been a very humble personage, indeed, in the House of Lord Bute, who had been a reviewer of books, and paid for his writing as a reviewer, and who had had the great merit of rising to a Peerage and riding in a coach with a coronet on it, after having many and many a time, gone from London to Litchfield on the outside of the coach with his pint of good warm *purl* in his belly? Would I have said nothing of this sort? Would I not even have glanced at those meritorious personages, the M'Mahons, the Addingtons, the Cannings, the Huskissons, and that great constellation of ta-

Low birth, indeed! How the

lent, the Right Honourable Sir Benjamin Bloomfield; Baronet, whose uncle is an industrious baker in Wapping! Would I have done nothing of this sort? Would I have stood staring like a stock pig and heard my Royal Client abused for taking the *Courier*, *Bergami*, to her table; and, when it came to my turn to speak, assume a pitiful aspect, a plaintive tone, and the miserable self-convicting language of *apology*!

I have, as I said before, always thought it wrong that the Baron did not come over with the Queen. The advice which prevented it was, I am very certain, the offspring of sincere friendship to her Majesty. It was, too, I dare say, the offspring of reflection; but, of reflection not carried far enough. *The Queen came to face her enemies*, and, above all the persons upon earth, the Baron should have come with her. All this dirty talk about the *Courier*; about *Bergami*, about

a man standing behind her chair; all this despicable rubbish; this calumny, in apparently insignificant words, would have been dissipated at once. The very presence of the man would have been an answer to the preamble of the Bill.

There was, too, an appearance of something looking a little too much like *shyness*, in keeping the Baron from the scene. There could be no good reason for it. It seemed to be a step, for which there was no accounting; and, as it is always the best way, to correct an error as soon as possible after it be committed, the Baron *ought to come now*. It is never too late to correct that which is wrong. I dislike the circumstance of the Baron's being kept at a distance; I dislike it for many reasons; but I dislike it most, because it is *unnatural*; because her Majesty must, of necessity, act, in this case, against the dictates of her inclination. It is unquestionable

that she has great confidence in the Baron, that she has preferred him before all other men, as an attendant upon her person; and we know that he has been six years in her service. It is, therefore, unnatural that her other foreign servants should be with her, and that he should be kept away. I could see no reason from the beginning for this measure; and I see every reason that can be imagined for speedily putting an end to this species of banishment.

It is false reasoning that can lead any one to the conclusion, that the national prejudice against foreigners would have any weight with the people in this case. That prejudice is not a prejudice against *individuals*; nor, indeed, is it ever, in any case, a prejudice of a *hostile* nature. It is a haughty, domineering sort of spirit, that makes this nation look upon all other nations with a species of disdain and contempt; nor can I, though I am perfectly impartial in my

judgment, say, when I look at this country, and compare it, taking it all together, with the countries on the Continent, that this disdain and contempt is wholly unjust. But, the people of this country have no prejudice against *individuals* of other countries; and it would be a pretty thing, indeed, to take an objection to the Queen's continuing to employ her Chamberlain, merely because he is a *foreigner*, while the King's own regiment of cavalry is actually commanded by a foreigner, and that, too, *directly in the teeth of the law*; whereas the Queen's employment of the Baron would violate no law at all. This Commander of the King's Regiment, as another instance of sudden elevation from low birth and station, was a *private soldier* only a few years ago. He *rode to please the Prince*. He became a *riding master*; and now he is the first Lieutenant Colonel of the 10th Regiment of Dragoons; and in that station, he is,

I repeat it, in direct opposition to the very letter of the law. It were a pretty thing, indeed, while things like this exist (and many such do exist) to pretend a prejudice against the employment of *foreigners*! It were a pretty thing, indeed, to talk of this, while we are actually paying about two hundred thousand pounds a year, under the name of *half pay to foreign military officers*, who live and spend the money out of the country; and is there any one so divested of all sense of shame as to trump up an objection to the Queen's continuing to employ her Chamberlain, because he is a foreigner, when it is well known that we have been taxed to the tune of millions upon millions for the maintenance of *foreign emigrants*; and while we, even to this hour, are paying more than *fifty thousand pounds a year* for the support of those emigrants, after having buried ourselves in debt for the purpose of restoring the governments of those emigrants!

Away, then, with all the rubbish about prejudice against foreigners. It is a paltry pretence for keeping from the Queen, the man in whom she has so long, and so naturally, and, indeed, so successfully confided. I would have had him at the bar. I would have had him to follow the Queen to the House of Lords. I would have suffered nothing to wear the appearance of *shyness* upon this score; and I am perfectly satisfied that her Majesty's better judgment would have avoided all such appearances. It had, I must repeat it, an ill look; and especially when Count Vassali and Schiavini came, and when even the sister of the Baron came over. What reason could there be for his not coming? It is utterly impossible that the Queen, who had so justly bestowed on him such great marks of favour, could desire now to cast a sort of reproach upon him; to banish him, as it were, from her presence. This is impossible. Every



one will say that this is impossible; and, therefore, to remove the possibility of any lurking suspicion; to remove the possibility of an imputation of a consciousness of something wrong, he should have been here in preference to every other foreigner.

At any rate, he ought to come now. He ought to be seen by the people; and especially ought he to be here if the Bill, or any part of the Bill, should pass. The Attorney and Solicitor General have called, and they will call, most lustily for the Baron and his brother, and, if I were in the Queen's place, please God, they should not call in vain! I would have them here, and I would take an airing occasionally in every one of the Parks, having the Baron for my principal attendant. "Love me, love my dog," though blunt in words, is a maxim dictated by honest nature and sanctioned by the approbation of all ages. I would say to any man, if you

wish me to be ungrateful as the price of your attachment and support, keep your attachment and support for your own service.

But, there is another witness, who was not called, and, indeed, whose name never ought to have mentioned in the opening speeches of the defence; namely, *the sister of De Mont*. I was astounded when Mr. Brougham pledged himself to call this person as a witness. Did ever a thought such as this before come into the mind of an advocate? *The sister of De Mont*; the sister of the Countess de Colombier; the sister of the Shepherdess of Frith-street; the sister of the *bonne amie* of Whitcomb; the sister of her whom the Queen had turned from her service on account of her intrigues, and of which, turning away the Baron had been the instrument; the correspondent of the writer of *double entendres*, the sister of her with whom Powell was proved to be

living in sweet and uninterrupted friendship. Could Mr. Brongham believe that there was a wall as high as heaven between Frith-street and Brandenburgh House, or could he believe that any other means which God or man could invent would keep the *naïf* Shepherd from communicating with the sister of the Countess? Could he believe that there was any mode of communication that would remain untried? Could he believe that there was no one to slide into the house with a letter? Had he taken care to surround the house with guards, to have the doors locked and bolted, as safely as that of Demont at Naples? Had he stopped all the key-holes? Had he placed an inspector of milliners' ban-boxes, and of match-sellers' baskets and of the patches on beggars' eyes? Had he, in short, found out a something with more eyes than Argus to watch all the numerous channels between Frith-street

and Brandenburgh House? If he had not, and if he did not see a wall surrounding Brandenburgh House, reaching from the ground to the sky, to call, as a witness in defence of the Queen, this sister of the noble Countess, the sentimental journalist and the *tete a tete* acquaintance of the *son of Quachi*, would have been the maddest thing, or the most treacherous thing, ever done by mortal man.

He was not guilty of this most flagrantly wicked act; but why then did he *talk* of bringing this sister as a witness? Why did he *positively declare*, that he would do it? Why did he give his adversaries this fair ground for taunting him with his *apprehensions*? Why did he thus wantonly expose himself and injure his client?

However, to dwell further upon particulars I have neither room nor time. The great sin of the defence is, the negligence with regard to the scenes on

board the polacre. Upon those scenes ; upon the evidence with regard to them, the result will exclusively turn. Take "*the tent* ; " take this thing, nicknamed a tent, out of the case, and you take away the possibility of finding any thing like a plausible pretence, any thing like a colour of a pretence, for passing any part of this Bill.

I have just got a glimpse of the speech of Dr. Lushington. In that, indeed, there is something to the purpose ; there are some points, and those points well and clearly stated. But, it is the evidence that is deficient. How much better would it have been, if the labours which I have described above, had been previously performed ! In such a case as this, nothing should have been left doubtful, and especially when it required nothing but skill and labour to make every thing clear and satisfactory. The far greater part of the judges themselves can have no clear conception of the constant dangers to which her Majesty was exposed while sleeping on the deck, and, of the consequent necessity of having some active man always at hand. Could I not have found the means out of the thirty thousand pounds which Messrs. Brougham and Denman have caused to be drawn out of the public treasury for purposes connected with the Queen's defence ; could I not have found the means, out of these thirty thousand pounds, to provide myself with a complete model of the Polacre, from the top gallant mast to the keel, "*tent*" and all ? With this model in my hands, it being four or five feet in length, could I not have exemplified the necessity for which I was contending ? Could I not have made the witnesses exhibit before their lordships the movements of the pitching and the heeling of the ship ? Could I not have shown the point for which I was contending in so

clear a light as to make any man ashamed to think of pronouncing guilt upon the circumstances relating to the co-existence of the Queen and her Chamberlain under that "*tent*?" And, when I saw, as Mr. Brougham must clearly have seen, that there would remain not a fragment of the adversaries' case undestroyed, if this were destroyed, ought I to have slept night or day, 'till I had destroyed this part of their case?

Before I dismiss this subject, and wait for the reply of the Attorney and Solicitor-General, I cannot help observing on two things: first, Mr. Brougham's often repeated, and never executed, *threat of recrimination*. This threat was, he stated in his opening speech of the defence, to be resorted to only in case of *necessity*. Of what that necessity was to consist, or by what circumstances or symptoms it was to be evinced, he did not inform us. It is, how-

ever, fair to conclude; and, indeed, such is the necessary conclusion, that he meant to exercise the threat of recrimination with a view of rendering service to the cause of his client. There might, during the defence, arise circumstances which would amount to this necessity of recrimination. For instance, the sending away of Rastelli; the compliments paid to Powell, who had sent him away; Powell's having taken him out of the locked-up and guarded depot, of his own head, of his own mere motion; and having obtained for him a passport, signed by Castlereagh, without Castlereagh's knowing it; the refusal to go on with an inquiry into the conspiracy carried on at Milan and elsewhere. These might have been circumstances to create that dire necessity, of which Mr. Brougham talked, of going into the recrimination. Yet it seems that they had no such effect! for the defence has been begun, continued and end-

ed, and not a syllable have we heard about the recrimination!

This recrimination appears to be a *good thing* that Mr. Brougham is *treasuring up* for some important purpose, though it is very difficult for us plain people to perceive how it can now possibly be used *for the benefit of her Majesty*, while it is not quite impossible, if we were to set our wits to work, for us to form a conjecture as to the use of which it may possibly be made *for the benefit of others*. Whether Mr. Brougham will ever make any use of it in his life time, or whether he will leave it as a "*legacy*," as he told us PITT left the cause of the Princess to PERCEVAL; whether he look upon it as a possession of his own; or whether he only partly enjoy it, as a sort of corporator; whether it be a possession in fee; or whether it be held in trust: these are questions which I shall not, at present, take upon me to answer. *Time*, and, probably, a *short time*, will elucidate a mat-

ter, which is certainly now involved in a great deal of mystery.

Leaving this, therefore, for the present, to engage the speculations of my readers, I shall conclude this long, and, I fear, tiresome letter, by observing, that Mr. Brougham ought to have summed up the case *himself*; and not have left it to Mr. Denman. I am aware that *etiquette* claimed the honour for this latter; but, according to Mr. Brougham's own doctrine, the advocate is to sacrifice even himself and his reputation to the safety of his client; and surely, then, there might have been a sacrifice of *etiquette*. I have no disposition to criticise harshly the efforts of Mr. Denman. But I have a duty to discharge myself; and I cannot look at this two days of talk; of poor, feeble, disjointed, drawled-out observation, without feeling indignant at Mr. Brougham for not having undertaken the task himself. There required, upon

this occasion, clearness, strength and fearlessness. There did not require an exordium of fulsome compliment to the Judges and the adversaries of the Queen; but there required a *regular and judicious classification of the charges*. That, the want of which was complained of by Mr. Brougham, with regard to the Bill of Pains and Penalties, ought to have been found here. Here ought to have been found a list of those very charges, of which no list would be furnished by the adversary. These charges ought to have been stated distinctly, one after the other; *first, second, third, fourth*, and so on to the end. Then I would have begun with all the evidence relating to the first charge. I would have stated it neatly, clearly, as briefly as possible. I would not, like Mr. Denman, have begun my sentences at the wrong end. All the evidence against me should have come first. Then the evidence for me.

Then the characters of the witnesses, and their probable or proved motives. In my analysis of this evidence, I would have been clear and strong, pointed, and, I trust, convincing. And, having thus dispatched one charge, I would have gone to the next.

Was not this the mode of proceeding, which even common sense pointed out? Who is to carry along in his mind the former part of a defence, when there is such chopping about, such skipping backwards and forwards; such repetitions; such a mass of confusion? Speechifying; quotation of evidence, analysis of evidence, flights of fancy, statements of facts, appeals to the passions, all mixed up together pell-mell! Who, amidst such a mixty-maxy of matter, is to arrive at a rational conclusion? The charges should have been kept distinct; regularly enumerated, discussed under separate heads; each brought to a close

before the speaker had proceeded to another. This was the way to produce a strong and suitable impression upon the Judges; and, which was of full as much importance, upon the attentive and anxious nation.

When this had been done, very little remained to be done in the way of appeal to the justice of the Judges. Here, however, was the proper occasion for stating the case of her Majesty, including the conduct of her husband towards her; for this is a bill of *divorce*, call it what else they will; and here the whole history of the conduct of the husband ought to have been fully and boldly stated; and the only argument which ought to have been attempted, in order to induce the Judges to act agreeably to what had been proved, was, that they were bound to act by their duty towards their country, as well as their duty towards the throne.

Instead of this, what have we by way of conclusion, from this defender of the Queen? I am almost ashamed to cram up my pages with any part of this, at once, feeble and swaggering effort of Mr. Denman; but, that the whole of the press, in a lump, may not be accused of participating in winking at this instance of imbecile loquacity, I feel myself called upon to insert the close of this everlasting harangue, which was in the following words. "I have heard it said, that a spirit of mischief was actually at work, among the friends of her Majesty; but the same person

"who uttered that memorable expression, in a few weeks was obliged to admit that it was false, because the truth could not be concealed, that the whole of the generous population of England had enlisted themselves with ardour on the side of the innocent and the injured. At the same time, it is possible that *both may be true*; the *sound and middling* classes of society may feel acutely for the situation of her Majesty; and there may be, also, *some apostles of mischief lurking in a corner meditating a blow at the Constitution*, and ready to avail themselves of any opportunity for open violence. If that be so, the generous sympathy to which I have alluded would be aggravated by a verdict of guilty; while *those mischievous and disaffected men* would deprecate nothing half so much as to see your lordships, in the face of the power of the Crown, venturing to pronounce a *verdict of acquittal* for a defendant so prosecuted. I trust your Lordships will not allow the idea of having *fear imputed to you* to divert you from the straight course of your duty; it would be the worst of injustice to the accused, and the worst of cowardice in yourselves. I say, therefore, if your own minds are satisfied that all that has been proved has been scattered *like dew-drops from the lion's mane*, you will never hold yourselves justified in pronouncing a verdict contrary to the evidence, be-

"cause your conduct may be  
 "imputed to the dread of a  
 "mob; or, to use the jargon of  
 "the day, which I detest, the  
 "apprehension of a radical at-  
 "tack. You have but one  
 "course to pursue, and that  
 "course is straight forward; it  
 "is to acquit her Majesty at  
 "once of those odious charges.  
 "We may truly say, that as  
 "there never was such a trial,  
 "so there never existed such  
 "means of accusation. Before I  
 "conclude, I must be permitted  
 "to say, that during the whole  
 "of this proceeding (though  
 "personally I have every rea-  
 "son to thank the House for its  
 "kindness and indulgence) the  
 "highest gratification resulting  
 "to my mind has been, that  
 "with my Learned Friend I  
 "have been joined upon *this*  
 "*great occasion*. We have  
 "fought the battles of morality,  
 "Christianity, and civilized so-  
 "ciety throughout the world;  
 "and, in the language of the  
 "*dying warrior* I may say,

'In this glorious and well-foughten  
 field

'We kept together in *our chivalry*.'

"While he was achieving the  
 "immortal victory, the illustri-  
 "ous triumph, and protecting in-  
 "nocence and truth, by the ada-  
 "mantine shield of his *prodigi-*  
 "*ous* eloquence, it has been my  
 "lot to discharge only a few  
 "random arrows at the de-  
 "feated champions of this dis-  
 "graceful cause. The House  
 "will believe me when I say,  
 "that I witnessed the display of  
 "his *surprising faculties* with  
 "no other feeling, than a sin-  
 "cere gratification that the

"triumph was complete; and  
 "admiration and delight, that  
 "the victory of the Queen was  
 "accomplished. This is an in-  
 "quiry, my Lords, unprece-  
 "dented in the history of  
 "the world: the down-sitting  
 "and up-rising of this Illus-  
 "trious Lady have been sedu-  
 "lously and anxiously watched:  
 "she uttered no word that had  
 "not to pass through this se-  
 "vere ordeal. Her daily looks  
 "have been remarked, and  
 "scarcely even her thoughts es-  
 "caped the unparalleled and  
 "disgraceful assiduity of her ma-  
 "lignant enemies. It is an inqui-  
 "sition, also, of a most solemn  
 "kind. I know nothing in the  
 "whole race of human affairs,  
 "nothing in *the whole view of*  
 "*eternity*, which can even re-  
 "motely resemble it; but the  
 "*great day* when the secrets of  
 "all hearts shall be disclosed!

'He who the sword of Heav'n will  
 bear

'Should be as holy as severe!'

"And if your Lordships have  
 "been furnished with powers,  
 "which I might almost say  
 "scarcely Omniscience itself  
 "possesses, to arrive at the se-  
 "crets of *this female*, you will  
 "think that it is your duty to  
 "imitate the justice, beneficence,  
 "and wisdom of that benignant  
 "Being, who, not in a case like  
 "this where innocence is mani-  
 "fest, but when guilt was detect-  
 "ed, and vice revealed, said—  
 "'If no accuser can come for-  
 "ward to condemn thee, nei-  
 "ther do I condemn thee: GO,  
 "AND SIN NO MORE.'"

There! ye professors of bung-  
 ling, bombast and egotism,



match that if you can! I care not who you are, or how numerous: come all of you, from the four quarters of the globe; even bring Castlereagh and lawyer Phillips amongst you; and match that if you can! Passing over, however, the two heroes who go off in the language of the "dying warrior;" barely looking at the two men in their great big-wigs, parson's bands, and long black gowns; barely looking at them and hearing them describe themselves as keeping together in their *chivalry*, in this *well-foughten field*; passing over the *pradigious eloquence*, the *surprising faculties*, and the *immortal victory*, with which one be-plasters the other, at the same time that he claims a full partnership in the concern; passing over the idea of a battle fought by these heroes for *morality, Christianity, and civilized society throughout the world*; passing over also, the immediately succeeding adulatory blasphemy, comparing the approaching decision to that of the great judgment, and putting the power of the judges nearly upon a level with that of the Almighty himself; passing over these things, there is an *argument* to notice here, and, as it had the most important place assigned to it, it is worthy of notice.

Mr. Denman asserts, or takes it for granted, it having been asserted by others, that the *sound and middling classes* of society feel acutely for the situation of the Queen, and

that there are *some apostles of mischief*, lurking in a corner, meditating a blow at the Constitution, and ready to avail themselves of any opportunity for open violence. Now, though this is as false, and as malignant and as base as any thing that has been done or attempted against her Majesty; though it is a poor creeping, crawling, sycophantic sacrifice made to the upholders of the system by which Mr. Denman hopes to thrive: though this is manifest, do not, my friends, trouble yourselves with the falsehood of the fact, or with his motives for uttering the falsehood. Confine yourselves to his *argument*. Here, then, he says that there are two bodies, the sound and the mischievous. That the sound are very numerous and wish the Bill not to pass. That the mischievous lurk in a corner, and that they wish the Bill to pass, in order that they may get at their game of mischief. Now, supposing the Lords to be influenced by the *dread of having fear imputed to them*, who are we to suppose they would be most likely to fear; the *numerous sound class*, or the *apostles of mischief lurking in a corner*? The former class, to be sure; for, if fear be imputed to them, the fear must necessarily arise from the expected displeasure of the sound body, the middle ranks of society; and, therefore, if they act upon the dread of having fear imputed to them, they must *necessarily pass the Bill*; because nobody can suppose it possible for them to be..

actuated by fear of offending the "some apostles who lurk in a corner." Thus, then, here is as good an argument for passing the Bill as one could possibly expect to come from the lips of so confused and feeble a reasoner. And this is to be ascribed purely to his desire to evince his enmity to the "apostles lurking in a corner," and his desire to prove his servility to those who are most anxious to keep down those apostles; in his eagerness to gratify which double desire, he blundered into an invocation to the Lords to condemn the person, to make every sacrifice to obtain whose acquittal was his bounden duty.

But, if this is calculated to excite a mixture of astonishment and contempt, what are we to say of the concluding sentence of all; where, having placed the Lords almost upon the throne of the Almighty; having raised them thus high by his adulatory blasphemy, he invokes them to imitate that benignant being; to imitate the justice, beneficence and wisdom of that Being, and to say to her Majesty, the Queen, "GO AND SIN NO MORE!" And this is an advocate! This

is a *Solicitor-General*! This is a man who, in the words of the dying warrior, tells his companion: "in this *glorious and well-foughten field*, we have kept together in our *chivalry*." The poor bungling thing does, indeed, put in, in the way of parenthesis, an assertion that this case is *unlike* that in which Jesus Christ humanely extricated the harlot from the clamours and peltings of her hypocritical accusers; but, still, these are the words that he puts into the mouth of the Lords; these are the words in which he calls upon them to dismiss her; he invokes them to *imitate* that Benignant Being, and to say to the Queen, "go **AND SIN NO MORE!**" It is very curious, but it is perfectly true, that an address intended to be presented to the Queen, was shown to me, before being presented, and that it contained *these very words*, with just such a qualification, or saving clause, as is here made use of. I pointed out to the writer the inevitable interpretation that it would receive, and gave him, as my opinion, that, qualify the thing how he might, the *bare use of the words*, would be an insult to her Majesty. He had the good

sense to perceive the error, and the further good sense to strike out the passage; and here I find it again staring me in the face at the conclusion of a two-days' harangue in defence of the Queen.

This close is a pretty fair specimen of the whole. Here are a parcel of quotations got together. With the exception of the malignity against the people, the servility towards the people's enemies, and the impiety and blasphemy against God; with the exception of these, here we have all the characteristics of barrenness and feebleness of mind, puerility and pure childishness. Here we see the school-boy prompted and tricked off for show by the sanctified, gormandizing and mercenary master. Here he is, with his string of quotations; his "dew-drops from the lion's mane," his "well-foughten field," his "sword of Heaven;" and, at last, he comes out

with his "go woman and sin no more." Some people say that *Mr. Denman* is honest. It may be so; but who will swear as much for those who set him to make this defence! These things will not escape the Attorney and Solicitor General of the King. They will not neglect to give method to their analysis and their argument. They will not be diverted from their points to run about after "foughten-fields" and "lions' manes." They will not call upon the Lords to imitate God, by telling the Queen to "go and sin no more." They will find other texts of scripture better suited for their purpose. They will call upon the Lords to *pass the Bill*; and all that we have to do is to wish that they may labour no more effectually for accomplishing their object than *Mr. Denman* has laboured to prevent its accomplishment.

WM. COBRETT.

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 37.---No. 16.] LONDON, SATURDAY, Nov. 4, 1890. [Price, 6d.

Again I must put off my *Sermon to the good Methodists*. There will be time for that, when the affair of the Queen is a little more settled.

TO THE  
PEOPLE OF MIDDLETON,  
LANCASHIRE.

*Difficulty upon Difficulty; In-  
trigue, upon Intrigue; Trick  
upon Trick; or, the Crisis of  
the Queen's Affairs.*

London, Nov. 2, 1890.

MY FRIENDS,

A Letter, which I received from you some little time back, informed me, that you had forwarded an Address to her Majesty, the Queen, through the hands of Major Cartwright, to be presented by that gentleman, Mr. Wooler and myself. Owing to a mistake as to time, I was not present at the presenting of your excellent Address; but, I beg you to consider me as duly sensible of the honour you did me, and as having been present in heart and soul, though not in person. You inform me, at the same time, of a circumstance, on which it may be useful to offer you some remarks, after I have

stated it. You say, that Mr. Harbord, son [brother he is] of Lord Suffield, and a Member of Parliament, who has a great deal of property near Middleton, came to his place there some time back, wished to have, and had, an interview with the leading Reformers, told them that he was strongly attached to the cause of Reform, and, after expressing the lively interest he felt in the well-being of the people of Middleton, left an impression upon their minds, that he *must be sincere!* That, therefore, when your Address was ready, you wrote to this sincere gentleman, requesting him to present it in company with Major Cartwright, Dr. Lushington, and me. That, at the end of a fortnight, this sincere Reformer, wrote you word, that he had no objection to present the Address unaccompanied by any one; or, with his friend, Dr. Lushington, or any other respectable gentleman; but that he would have *nothing to do with the Major or me.* And, you add, that, considering the great benefit you had derived

from my writings, you resolved, that I should be amongst the presenters of your Address, which you, therefore, sent to the Major, to be presented by him, Mr. Wooler and me.

In return for this mark of your friendship and respect, I address to you this Letter on the intrigues and tricks that are now going on upon this theatre of matchless plots and conspiracies. But, before I proceed to my main subject, let me trouble you with a few words about this *Harboard*, whose name is *Edward*, and not *John*, who is the brother and heir apparent of *Lord Suffield*, and not his son, and who is a member for the rotten borough of *Shaftesbury*. You have probably read the "*Peep at the Peers*." A companion-piece to it, entitled the "*Links of the Lower House*," is preparing for the press; and, when you get that, you will find this *sincere Reformer* to stand as follows: — "HARBOARD, Edward, (*Shaftesbury*.) Brother and heir apparent of Lord Suffield, who is brother-in-law of Lord Castlereagh. He is himself son-in-law of Lord Vernon. He is thus closely linked to the families of Vernon, Londonderry,

and *Duckinghamshire*, and more distantly, to that of *Camden*, *Hertford*, and many others; and is related directly or collaterally, to nearly a hundred place and pension people; all of whom, with their immense receipts, see in "*Peep at Peers*."

Now, my friends, is it possible, that you could look upon such a man as a sincere friend of that reform, which you must know would not leave to all these families one single penny a year of all the money that they receive out of the taxes, and which, if you do not know it, this *Harboard* certainly did? Could you think it possible, that this man's very soul would not sink within him, at the bare thought, not of co-operating with me, but even at that of seeing me, or at hearing the sound of my voice? Do not complain of his delay in answering your letter; for, I dare say, it required the fortnight to cure the ague-fit and the curdling of blood occasioned by your application. The halcyon days, which dreamers have so long promised the world, may, at last arrive. When those days come, the fox may be friends with the sheep-dog, the rat may legitimately

lap with the cat; but even a millenium would not make such a man as *Harbord* cease to dread, to hate and to shun a radical reformer!

Pray, be cured of this ridiculous hope of uniting things so opposite and so hostile in their very nature and essence. Pray, be cured of this lingering deference for rank and opulence. Pray cease to be votaries at the shrine of arrogance and insolence. We far, and very far indeed, surpass in talent, and in every virtue, those who call us the "*Lower Orders*." Let us not, then, basely abandon our own superiority. The Catechism teaches us "to order ourselves lowly and reverently," "to call our *bettors*." This is very right, indeed; it is a precept which we always ought to bear in mind; I always bear it in mind, and obey it most religiously; but then another part of my duty is to endeavour to ascertain who are my *bettors*. And, in my endeavours in this way, I am to be guided, to be sure, by those principles, which God has given us for our guide. He has never told us that *goodness*, that *superior goodness*; that that which makes one man the better of another man, is *rank* bestow-

ed upon one man by the breath of another man, and sometimes bestowed from mere caprice or for some quality in the receiver, which would deserve censure and contempt in place of applause and honour. It is not this which God has told us makes one man the better of another. Neither is it wealth; that is to say, the possession of money or of lands; it is not this possession that makes one man the better of another. Am I, or are you, to regard a rich stock-jobber, who has acquired all his wealth by a constant violation of the law; or are we to regard a West India slave-holder, whose means of voluptuous living are obtained by his negro driver's lash; are we to regard such men as these as being our *bettors*? We are to regard as our *bettors* those and those only who are distinguished and who are actually placed above us by their superior talents, and by the great use which they make of those talents for the good of the people at large. Towards such men, it becomes us to order ourselves lowly and reverently. But, it is servility, it is slavishness, it is baseness, it is almost impiety and blasphemy for us to acknowledge as our *bettors*, those

who have nothing to recommend them but their titles or their money. You are kind enough to say that you have derived great benefit from my writings; and, I hope, therefore, that you will pay attention to what I have here said. You have seen me prove over and over again, the want of talent, the want of learning, the gross ignorance of those who have the arrogance to pretend that they are our betters. For God's sake, then, break yourselves at once, of the vicious habit of paying any thing like respect to this description of persons. Suffer not hat or tongue to move in complaisance towards them. Look upon them as beneath you; for, until you can do this, and do it upon all occasions, too, you are wholly unworthy of political freedom or civil happiness. Be sure to neglect no opportunity of *reading*. This is the way to make yourselves the masters of the arrogant and insolent tribe; and that this is the great source of their danger is manifest enough from the infinite pains they take and incessant anxiety they discover, to put a stop to it. That which they fear must be good for us; therefore, once more, I pray you, read every

thing you can get at upon the subject of politics and public matters of every description. Neglect not the affairs of the next world; but be sure to attend to what is passing in this; to every thing in it affecting your interests and those of your children; for it never can have been the will of God that any part of his creatures should be exposed to the lash of slavery or the pinchings of starvation. He who, in his abundant compassion and care of his creatures expressly ordered that the ox should not be muzzled while he was treading out the corn; he who thus ordained that even the animal, while at work upon the crop, should have a share in consuming it; he, be you well assured, never intended that the labourer and the artizan, who provide all the food, raiment, and dwellings of a nation, should pine out their lives upon a half or a quarter supply of those things which are the products of their labour.

Having now, I hope, made a suitable use of the information which you have given me with regard to the conduct of this HARBOUR, I shall proceed to lay before you some information of what is passing; and of

what I think is about to pass, with regard to her Majesty, the Queen, who, it appears to me, is now in the crisis of her affairs.

In the first place, I am of opinion that a Bill will pass the House of Lords, and that it will pass the House of Commons also. My opinions are not at all changed with regard to the innocence of the Queen, which I believe to be as perfect as innocence can be. Yet, her own lawyers have left her case in so imperfect and suspicious a state; the thing called their summing up has been so feeble, so full of trick and contrivance; it has been so childish, so perfectly babyish in its declamatory parts; so disjointed and weak in point of statement; so inconclusive in point of argument; so tricky and so shuffling all through; and has been followed by such perseverance, such patient digging into the case, such talent, zeal and spirit, by the Attorney and Solicitor-General, that, *as the case now lies before the House of Lords*, it is impossible for any man to say that there does not exist a plausible pretence for passing the Bill.

In my last Register, I clearly showed the negligence of the

Queen's lawyers with regard to the scenes on board the *polacre*. Those scenes, with regard to which the adversary was fully sustained by the Queen's own witnesses. Those scenes, together with the *absence of Bergami*: those two points, wholly undeniable in point of *bare fact*: those two points, and those two points only, were the case of the prosecutors. The former of the two, was not only not battered down, but was left confirmed by the Queen's own witnesses, and left unexplained, unreconciled with an absence of all guilt, by the summing up of her lawyers. The second point, namely, the absence of Bergami, needed but to be stated by the prosecutor's counsel. It was matter of public notoriety. It was a circumstance, which, from the beginning; from the hour of the Queen's arrival, struck me as something that would weigh heavily against her. But, why need I allude to what I then thought about this matter, when I could refer to my public writings, at the time, in which writings I insisted upon the *absolute necessity of Bergami's coming over*. We now see what use has been made of the absence of



this gentleman. I pointed out, in my last Register, the use that would be made of it. I was writing on the Friday, and, as near as I can calculate, the Attorney-General was speaking of this very matter; he was making this very use of that circumstance, during the same hour that I was putting upon paper my opinion that he would make such use of it!

It was too important a thing to be overlooked by either Attorney or Solicitor-General. The first stuck his claws into it and tore it about pretty decently. The last made still more of it. He regarded it as a circumstance of such weight as to be reserved for the close of his speech. It was the last great circumstance that he put forward; and he laid it before his hearers in such a way as to compel them to pay attention to it.

Need he call their Lordships' attention to what he had mentioned before; that there was *one individual*, who might have been called to their Lordships' bar, to give evidence to negative this conclusion, if it could be negatived? If this parson would *pledge his soul*, if he would deny that there was any intercourse, if he

would submit to a cross-examination, and show that he was merely what he was asserted to be, an humble, dutiful, obedient and respected servant; he knew not that there was any thing so incontrovertible in the facts of the case as to stand this denial. If he was a man without blemish and without imputation on his character, his testimony might have some weight. He came towards this country, but his courage failed. Her Royal Highness put him into one of her carriages at St. Omers, a carriage bearing probably the Royal arms, and he departed; not daring to accompany his Royal mistress to the shores of England. His sister came here; Nassali came hither; but he did not dare to appear on the shores of England! This was said to be the first time within the memory of man that any thing so extravagant as this—the most monstrous part of these extraordinary proceedings was ever proposed! His learned friends, who had learning and understanding beyond any thing he could describe, were, he should satisfy their Lordships, mistaken in this parti-

“ cular. There was a recent  
 “ occasion in which such a wit-  
 “ ness had been examined at  
 “ *this very bar*. He should  
 “ like to see this man cross-ex-  
 “ amined, and if he would swear  
 “ positively respecting the fact,  
 “ if on cross-examination he ha-  
 “ trayed no instance of false-  
 “ hood, he (the Solicitor-Gener-  
 “ al) *did not know that there*  
 “ *were facts sworn to of a na-*  
 “ *ture to outweigh his positive*  
 “ *evidence*. Whatever was the  
 “ cause of Bergami’s absence, it  
 “ was manifest, that there *was*  
 “ *not good faith on the other*  
 “ *side*, or he would be put to  
 “ the bar. As he was not, the  
 “ case was so clearly demon-  
 “ strated, so free from doubt,  
 “ that they could not, for a mo-  
 “ ment, hesitate about it.”

This reasoning is wholly with-  
 out an answer. It rests upon  
 the evidence of no perjured wit-  
 ness: it rests upon a notorious  
 and undeniable fact. Why,  
 then, was Bergami not placed  
 within the reach of the court?  
 It is said, that as to Schiavini,  
 the Countess Oldi, and others,  
 that they might have been got  
 at and bribed by the prosecutors;  
 but allow it to be possible for  
 countless millions to bribe Ber-  
 gami to give false witness against

the Queen, and you must regard  
 him, not as a faithful servant  
 worthy of so many and such  
 great favours, but as the great-  
 est monster, as the most diabo-  
 lical wretch that ever disgraced  
 the human form. He was a  
 witness of whom no doubt could  
 be entertained; and, if I could  
 believe that he was kept away  
 from the bar and even kept out  
 of England at her Majesty’s re-  
 quest, I should have no hesita-  
 tion in the world in declaring  
 that request the strongest pre-  
 sumption of conscious guilt.  
 But I am perfectly satisfied that  
 he has been kept away by the  
*advice of the lawyers*. I am  
 perfectly satisfied of this; and  
 though it is now too late to bring  
 the proof of it before the House  
 of Lords, it is by no means too  
 late to bring the Baron here;  
 and especially if there should be  
 an opportunity of producing  
 him before the House of Com-  
 mons.

However, as the case now  
 lies before the House of Lords,  
 owing to the negligence on the  
 part of the Queen’s lawyers; or  
 owing to their want of talent  
 and skill, there exists a plausi-  
 ble pretence for passing the Bill  
 in some shape or other; and,  
 therefore, I will now turn your

attention to what appears to be passing in what is commonly called, in the parliamentary slang, "*out of doors.*"

It appears to me, if I judge from circumstances that make their public appearance, that for some time past, an opinion has been entertained at Brandenburg-house, that the Bill would not pass; and that it was very desirable not to do any thing that should tend to irritate any of those on whom the passing of the Bill at all depended. This is merely a conjecture of my own, founded on the circumstances which I will now state to you. In the first place, the Queen has, of late, been induced to slacken her fire in her answers to addresses. Those answers have been less personal, less hostile, less pointed, and rather of a conciliating cast. So much has not been said about a *selfish faction*, about conspiracy, subornation, perjury and tyranny. The Queen's cause has been kept more distinct from that of the people; abstract propositions have supplied the place of more practical matter. And, particularly, the judges have been spared; nay, a part of them have been positively praised; and, which

was the most striking symptom of all, her Majesty's lawyers have come in for a share of the applause, which has fast come on to supplant the language of reproach.

In the next place, her Majesty appears to have adopted, all at once, a system of seclusion. She has not, let it be observed, even left her dwelling-house, as far as the public have been informed, since the close of the evidence against her, which is now about seven weeks. This was a singular change in her manner of acting, and, as actions have their rise in the mind, it is to be wilfully blind not to suppose that there must have been a change equally important in her way of thinking; in her views and intentions.

An alteration also took place with regard to the times of receiving addresses. From an every-day's readiness to receive the testimonials of the people's attachment and zeal, her Majesty reduced the times of reception to *once in the week*. There appears to have been no motive for this, other than that of showing that her Majesty was not over eager to avail herself of the people's support.

Lastly, comes the dry, caustic, abrupt, impolite, uncivil, nay, even *rude*, notification from the "*Vice Chamberlains*," Mr. Keppel Craven and Sir Wm. Gell, which could have been put upon paper by nobody but men half Italianised as to taste and manners, and which amounted to neither more nor less than a declaration, that the Queen wished to make it known that she desired to have no more communication with the people. This was conclusive with me; and there was, besides, in it, that word "*Vice*," which meant a great deal more than these gentlemen thought the public would perceive; but which has not escaped the pointed elucidation of those two sharp-eyed and sharp-tongued gentlemen, the Attorney and Solicitor-General.

Now, though I am quite satisfied that all these manœuvres have been the work of other persons; though I am quite satisfied that the real friends of her Majesty, those who went to meet her, and have had no other object in view than that of securing to her the enjoyment of her rights, her honour, and her happiness; though I am quite certain that they have had no

hand in these manœuvres; and that her Majesty's own unsuspecting and generous nature has induced her to yield to the councils of others; though I acquit her real friends and her of all blame; still, I must regard all these concurrent circumstances as amounting to a proof of an opinion that the Bill might be prevented from passing by these timely acts of concession, or, at least, of conciliation.

Little, alas! did the new counsellors of Brandenburg-house know of the character of the enemies that her Majesty had to contend with! When did they retract? When were they softened by attempts at conciliation? When did they draw back, except from an enemy with a bold front? The Queen's new counsellors should have looked at Spain and Portugal: they would have there seen the altitude to be taken by those who have to deal with enemies like those of the Queen. But, has not her Majesty herself had experience enough? Has not she seen and felt too enough of the effects of attempts to conciliate? Such attempts she made; forbearance she tried in 1807, in 1812, in 1813, in 1814; and the fruit,

the ripe fruit of all her series of forbearances, will now be a Bill of Pains and Penalties stuck upon her for the remainder of her life; and that, too, you will observe, only through the means of the forbearance now practised by her lawyers, and the forbearance which she has now been advised to put in practice herself.

Such, it appears to me, have been the motives for the change of conduct which I have above described; and this change of conduct, it will be very soon seen, will, to say the least of it, have totally failed of what appears to me to have been its grand object. A Bill will assuredly pass; and, though this Bill may be greatly modified, I shall be very much mistaken, if it will not be, with regard to her Majesty, full as injurious as if it were passed, divorce clause and all. The actual adultery has not been proved; but enough has been proved, by the Queen's witnesses themselves, and left in such a miserable state by her lawyers, as to afford, as I said before, a plausible pretence for passing a Bill of degradation, and to remove

lawyers had all their means completely in their power.

I am, therefore, of opinion, that a Bill will pass, enacting the degradation of the Queen *from her rank as Queen*. But this would not only leave a deep stigma upon the King. It would not only be saying, she is fit to continue to be your wife, though she is not fit to be at the head of the women of England; it would not only be saying this to the King, but it would be to leave him exposed to all the claims of a *wife*, on the part of the Queen. For, though such an act would un-Queen her, it would not un-wife her; and she would retain the right of *cohabiting with her husband*; that is to say, of going to, and living in, any palace, mansion, house, or building, in which he was residing, or in which he usually resided. How a wife can torment a husband in this way, any yellow-stockinged and miserable dog may find out in a minute by going to Doctors' Commons. To leave his Majesty in this state is impossible; and, therefore, the act of degradation must also take from the Queen the right of cohabitation. Then there must be a *separate maintenance*; and it is very possible

to settle this maintenance in such a way as that her Majesty herself shall never have at her command one farthing of the money; and to place her, though very commodiously and comfortably, in a situation to possess not one particle of power or influence; and to leave her to pass the remainder of her days in the enjoyment at once of the compassion of her friends and the scorn of her enemies. To this may further be added, a clause enabling the King to give her his *Royal permission to reside abroad under certain local restrictions, and under some title not appertaining to the Crown of England!*

One's blood freezes at the idea; but all this is possible; and, what is more, I give it you as my firm belief, that those who advised the issuing of the notification of the two "*Vice-Chamberlains*," would advise her Majesty to receive such a sentence in silence, and even to apply to her husband for his gracious permission to suffer her to avail herself of the provision ~~not~~ mentioned; for, whoever it was that advised the issuing of that notification is prepared to go to the lowest depths of degradation and infamy.

The manœuvres; of which I have been speaking, having failed of their object, another course may possibly be adopted; but there is but too much reason to suppose that the present visiting of great personages at Brandenburg-house indicate any thing but an intention there to resume the former course. These visits are, upon any other presumption, wholly inexplicable. They appear to me to have arisen from this motive: the parties, much better informed than her Majesty and her new counsellors, saw that a Bill would pass. Look at these persons, leaving the Royal personages out of the question, the leader is Lord Fitzwilliam, the famous alarmist of 1793; the patron and the follower of Burke; the alarmist of 1817; one of the Secret Committee who made the Report against the Reformers in that year; one of those, and the leader of those who were called Opposition Lords, but who voted for that memorable Bill, by the powers of which so many men were crammed into dungeons on the mere warrants of Sidmouth, without ever being confronted with their accusers, and without ever being brought to trial from first

to last, after having been kept in dungeons for nearly a twelve-month. This is the man that takes the lead in visiting the Queen, at the moment when he sees the approaching passing of the Bill.

Why did he visit her? Why did his wife visit her? Why select this time for the visit? The Queen has been in England since the month of June last; since the Sixth of June last. Could these friends find no opportunity between that day and this? It was said in the public papers that they had visited her, upon her arrival. The statement was false; and, what is more, they, themselves, lost no time in *contradicting* the statement. Why, therefore, visit her *now*? She was accused then, and not acquitted. And is she acquitted now? She was then under trial, as it was called; her case was pending. And is she not now under trial; is not her case now pending? If we believe that this alarmist Lord has now visited her, together with his wife, for the purpose of assuaging her resentment; and for the purpose of preventing her from putting her threat in execution, when the hour of condemnation ar-

rives. If we believe that the object of this visit is to neutralize her feelings, give her hopes of aristocratical protection, and keep her in a state of separation from the people; if we believe this, our belief has common sense for its foundation: if we ascribe the visit to any other motive, we set reason, experience, and common sense at defiance.

It is supposed, by some, that a part of the Whigs, as they are ludicrously called, will openly espouse the cause of her Majesty, and by that means, bring the people to their backs, and to work themselves into those places for which they have been so long sighing and praying. I believe that this is their hope; but I also believe that in this, as well as in all their past tricks and contrivances, they will fail of their object. That Reform of the Parliament which is now, more than ever, obviously necessary, they abhor, full as much as their opponents; and, without espousing that cause, sincerely and zealously, they will soon find, that, even with the Queen in their ranks, their opponents may safely set them at defiance.

However, these are intrigues

and tricks of a common-place kind. The main thing for us to keep our eye upon, at present, is, the tricks that are playing off, and will be played off, in order to keep the Queen quiet and silent under the passing of the Bill. It has always been with me a matter of doubt which our enemies would prefer, or rather, ought to prefer, the passing of the Bill, or the not passing of the Bill. There were dangers to the **THING**, (for I really do not know what to call it) in either case. That the whole mass of the people were on the side of the Queen was manifest; and there was a particular description of active citizens, whose peculiar pursuit in life rendered their friendship or hostility of a very *decided character*; and this description of active citizens also were notoriously unanimous on the side of the Queen.

The passing of a Bill of *Pains and Penalties*, which had something extremely severe, and even cruel, in the very sound of it; the passing of such a Bill while such a mass of powerful friendship surrounded the Queen, was manifestly full of imminent dangers to the **THING** itself, and seemed to be pretty sure to

produce the destruction of many of those that were attached to it. In short, to pass the Bill, under such circumstances, seemed to be to rush upon self-destruction.

On the other hand, not to pass it was as full, if not fuller, of danger. For, in the first place, there stood the Milan Commission; there stood the Hanoverian Ambassadors; there stood the Ministers; there stood others that need not be named, all self-convicted of foul conspiracy and false and wicked charges against the Queen. If any of these have been compelled to play at *boo-peep*, during the thing called a trial; if any of them have been compelled to imitate the owls and bats, and venture themselves out of doors only in the dark; if any of them have been compelled to flit from place to place with such velocity and such secrecy as for scarcely any human being to be able to ascertain, at any given time, the place of their abode; if any of them have been obliged to muffle themselves up, to put patches upon their eyes, change the colour of their wigs, and disguise their persons to such a degree as to be unknown to their own ser-



vants: if any of them have been compelled to do these things, even during the thing called a trial, what must they have resorted to if the trial had ended without a passing of the Bill! In no part of this Island, on no part of its coasts, could they have found a hiding place; and to have insured safe refuge from hootings and revilings, they must have crept to the distance of six feet under ground.

Then would have come such illuminations, such bonfires, such firings of cannon, such enthusiasm, and such triumph as never were witnessed before in this world. Amidst all this; amidst addresses and processions everlasting; amidst these never-ending ebullitions of popular exultation, together with the Queen holding a Court, and all the incidents therewith connected; in the midst of all this, how could the thing have subsisted for six months?

There were, therefore, great dangers to be apprehended in either case. But, (and now mark me well!) if the Queen could be *neutralized*; if she could be drawn off from the people; and, especially, if she could be made to offend the people, *before the passing of the*

*Bill*; then, the danger was *obviated*. Then, the Bill could be passed without any danger at all. She would be left without support from the mass of the people; without any thing to rouse their feelings into action, and without any thing to call forth a declaration of that class of active citizens, whose interference would have been of a character so peculiarly *decided*. It was, therefore, of the very greatest importance that the Queen should be thus *neutralized* and withdrawn from the people before hand; an object which, if it have not been effected, has, at any rate, had every pains bestowed upon it, that persons, whom I need not describe minutely, have been able to supply.

This is the grand intrigue: This is the thing on which we are to keep an eye. It may succeed, or it may not; but this is what has been attempted, and what is now in the full tide of experiment. It is possible that large promises have been made on both sides; and it is also possible that these promises have never been intended to be kept on either side. One thing we may rely on, and that is, that the intrigue will answer only a

temporary purpose; and, that, in the end, even it's success will be conducive to the benefit of the people at large.

But, there are innumerable difficulties to be got over, before the success can be insured. Nothing is done, after all, unless the Queen can be got out of the country; and how is she to be got out of the country after the passing of the Bill? Supposing it possible, for instance, that her Majesty would consent again to quit England; a thing which I do not suppose possible; but the possibility of which I put by way of argument; and supposing the thing possible, how is she who refused to go, though the House of Commons declared that she might go without any imputation on her character; though she might have had a gilded yacht, or a man of war to go in, and though she might have been introduced as Queen of England at a foreign Court; she that would not go, under all these circumstances, acknowledging her innocence, and giving her the rank of a Queen; how is she to go stripped of all rank and title, and with a sentence of *guilty* upon her head? The belief of such a thing is monstrous. To

pass the Bill is, unless four months have worked a change in her very nature, made her wholly insensible to fame, to reputation, and have taken from her bosom every feeling of resentment; unless these four months have worked this more than miraculous effect upon her, to pass the Bill is to compel her to remain in England for the rest of her life. For, here she will, at the very least, have numerous kind and cordial friends; while, in any other country, she will be without friends to cheer her, and without the hope of ever seeing better days.

Therefore, it is manifest, that while the great object is to get her out of the country, the passing of the Bill must, upon all principles of ordinary calculation, necessarily tend to keep her here! Yet, the Bill will pass! And, for the reasons before given, and for other and weightier reasons that might be given, those who wish to get her from the country must still wish the Bill to pass. Here is difficulty upon difficulty, intrigue upon intrigue, and trick upon trick!

When the Bill has passed, we shall see what will take place.

We shall see in what manner it will reach the House of Commons, and how that House will deal with it. But, the more interesting thing is, what her Majesty will do upon the passing of the Bill. Those who have advised the notification of the two "*Vice Chamberlains*," will find their speculation blown up. They will find themselves in a very awkward situation; for, they will have to encounter the resentment of her whom they have deceived and misled, and in whose name they have almost insulted the people. They will find their scheme defeated, or, at the least, will see that it cannot be accomplished without entailing everlasting disgrace upon the Queen. As in the case of the answers to the Nottingham and Preston addresses, they may find, that they are again got to the length of their tether, and that, other advice must be listened to; in other words, that they must give place to more honest advisers. In *submissive silence* the Queen never can suffer the Bill to pass. Every drop of blood in her will boil at the idea of remaining *silent*, under such an intolerable indignity. Therefore, out it must bring something;

and that something must be of a nature interesting *to us*. We need not care a straw what it is. It must be of a nature to do mischief to our enemies; and, therefore, of a nature to do us more or less good.

Let not the lawyers, therefore, exult too soon. The whole of these lawyers, on both sides, without one single exception, have had their cut at the Radicals. Whether they have asserted the innocence of the Queen or the guilt of the Queen; whether they have prayed the Lords to acquit her or to find her guilty; everyone of them has taken occasion to give a brutal Jack-ass-like kick at those whom he has designated the *mischievous*, the *disaffected*, the *factionious*, the *disloyal*; in short, the Radical Reformers. From the very moment that the Queen arrived, I took occasion to tell the Radicals, that the whole thing would be ascribed to us. During the very first discussion in Parliament, Mr. Brougham charged us with eagerness to get at an exposure of the parties, and to make the Queen the means of tearing to pieces a thing which was the "*envy of surrounding nations and the admiration of the world*."

Now, really, my friends of Middleton, this is a little too much. What have we had to do with this matter? We were not the husband of her Majesty; it was not from our house that she went with her baby in her arms; we neither married her nor sent her forth to the wide world; we did not listen to the Douglasses; we did not rake together accusations against her in 1806. We asked for no secret tribunal then, to set upon her actions; we never recommended the King to caution her against future levities; we never wrote a book in her defence; then suppressed the publication of that book, and got ourselves into office by the suppression; we never signed a minute of Council, declaring her perfectly innocent, recording the perjury of the witnesses against her, and, then, gave those perjurers pensions in place of the pillory! It was not we who tore her from her child or her child from her. It was not we who drove her from the late Queen's Court. In 1814, it was not we who advised her to leave the country; but that ball-pated blackguard Bully, who could make a jest of the "revered and ruptured OG-DEN." Was it we who sent

out the ferrets to Milan, who employed Brown, Powell and Cooke? Was it we who sent Ompteda to betray her and clandestinely to correspond with her menial servants? It was not we who did these things. We never sent a Protestant Ambassador to the Pope, for the manifest purpose of carrying on intrigues against her. Had we any thing to do with leaving her name out of the Liturgy? Was it a Radical that went to St. Omers with a bonus in one hand and a threat in the other, and, that afterwards very quietly took his seat amongst her judges? Were those Radicals who filled the *green bags*? Was it a Radical that questioned Barbara Krantz as to the spots in her Majesty's sheets, their colour and their degree of humidity? Was it a Radical, or was it *Powell* that subtracted Rastelli from the depot; that got a passport for him, signed by *Castlereagh* without *Castlereagh's* knowing it! Were those Radicals who vouched for the goodness of *Powell's* motives and character; and, was that a *Radical*, who boasted of the honour of *Powell's* acquaintance? Were those Radicals who cheered the evidence against the Queen,

and who congratulated *Demont* with *shakes of the hand*?

Is it not a little too much, then, for these impudent lawyers to bring the Radicals into the filthy discussion; to ascribe blame to them; and to endeavour to turn upon their heads that indignation, abhorrence, and contempt, due to the malignity, cruelty, and folly of those lawyers, their employers, aiders and abettors? Impudent and insipid varlets! One set of them give to the Queen every appellation and quality appertaining to a strumpet; not only charging her with manners the most debauched, a life the most lewd and profligate; not only as abandoned to an adulterous intercourse, but carrying it on in a manner the most disgusting and loathsome, the most filthy and most beastly. One of these men called her a *meretricious* woman, and the other asserted that she had actually witnessed a representation of the *sexual intercourse*; and that she had done this, too, in the presence of several men. The other set laid upon the King every species of abuse that their slanderous imaginations could invent; and one went so far as to compare him

to NERO, the debauched and bloody tyrant of Rome! This is the way the two sets have acted towards the Queen and the King; and, having done this, having done their utmost to degrade and vilify the King and his wife, both sets cordially join in abusing the Radicals, and accusing them of designs to undermine royalty, and to destroy this glorious fabric, the "*envy of surrounding nations, and the admiration of the world*!" If we believe what has been said by these two sets of lawyers, our minds must be filled by detestation and loathing at hearing the very name of Queen or of King. We must be ashamed of ourselves when we reflect that we suffer such a thing as Royalty to exist in the country. We must regard Royalty as a thing which it is our duty instantly to extirpate, root and branch, and to cast forth from amongst us, as the Israelites did the accursed thing from their camp. These must be our thoughts and feelings, as to Royalty, if we were to believe these two sets of lawyers: and yet these two sets of lawyers chime in most harmoniously in accusing the *people*, that is to say, in accusing their

hearers ; in accusing the nation to whom they address themselves, and more especially the Reformers, who have never meddled with this matter, with a design to degrade Royalty and to subvert the Throne! Proverbially impudent and insolent as lawyers are, to this point of impudence and insolence they never before proceeded.

Let me stop here a moment to point out to you the reason why the varlets of the bar detest the Reformers. The law, at this time, swallows up of the earnings of the people, very nearly as much as would pay the amount of all the poor-rates. There are, in the whole, about two thousand lawyers constantly employed by the government in various ways. These men are wise in their generation. They know full well that a Parliament, composed in part of a House of Commons chosen by the people at large, would never suffer this enormous evil to exist. They know very well that an abolition of the Excise, a great reduction and simplification of the Customs, a well-arranged and cheap mode of collecting the necessary taxes, an effectual stop put to vexatious parochial processes, a simplification

of the laws of Debtor and Creditor, a total alteration as to the affairs of Bank paper, an end put to the frauds of banking, a simple and effectual mode of verifying titles to real property; they know very well that these things, and some others which would speedily be done by a reformed House of Commons, would go a great way towards stripping that hungry and rapacious race called lawyers of that which they now feed on. Law-suits would no longer be found to last for ten, twenty, or thirty years, in defiance of both plaintiff and defendant. To recover a debt of ten or twenty pounds would no longer cost thirty or forty pounds in law. These things are well known to lawyers. They know that a reformed Parliament would operate upon them as the fashion of shoe-strings operated upon the buckle-makers; or, as the cropped hair fashion operated upon the dressers up of toupees and pig-tails. Therefore it is, that they are, the whole of them, to a single man, enemies of Parliamentary Reform; and they detest the Radical Reformers full as much as those Reformers are detested by the Bo-roughmongers themselves.

Their general hostility, therefore, we have to expect; but still we must be astonished at their audacity upon the present occasion; when, by no possibility in the world, can they so twist words as to make it out that the Radicals have had any thing to do in any part of that series of acts which began in a few weeks after the marriage of her present Majesty, and which terminated, for the present, at least, with that speech in which the Solicitor General took occasion to pour forth his false and malignant charges against us. We have had nothing to do in regulating the Queen's life or conduct. She did not go abroad accompanied by Radicals: if she had, very different, indeed, would have been her present situation. The bully, who made a jest of Ogden's rupture; he who crowed like a cock upon his dunghill, and called us a low degraded crew when we prayed that proof might be received of the selling of seats; he who then said that it was time to make a stand against democratical encroachment; he who has since declared that he will preserve Old Sarum, and has openly avowed the employment of spies, which was justified by Mr.

Brougham: this bully it was that advised the Queen to go to the Continent. And who went with her? Who were her companions and her counsellors? Every one of them were of the aristocratical order. Lords, ladies, honourables and Sirs. Not a Radical was found in her suite. Accordingly, we find them not acting a very Radical part. One falls sick almost directly. Another stays with his Mamma. A third gets the gout, and can't travel. A fourth wants a ramble for himself. The ladies go off, we know not how. One is brought as a witness for the Queen; and she acknowledges, that, though she saw nothing amiss herself, she did hear rumours; and she will not swear that she never did say or write any thing about those rumours. We have two or three Peers besides who were visitors, and the story they tell us is not of a character extremely decided. Not a single Radical was there ever of the party. If there had been two or three sensible, active, zealous and faithful young men, and as many young women, taken from amongst the Radicals in England, her Majesty might not have found it necessary to resort to Italians

for associates and protectors. No wonder that she sought the society of a sensible and gallant man like Bergami, when she took nothing with her but such as those that I have above described, and two of whom have now put forth her disavowal of the people, or, at least, that which amounts to a rejection of their proffered friendship and support, and which two men, let it be observed, have the meanness to sign themselves "*Vice Chamberlains*," thereby acknowledging themselves the inferiors of Bergami. If the Queen had been attended from England by Radicals, she would have had Radicals in her suite, and would not have been compelled, in order to find something rational and manly to pass her time with, to resort to the soldiers of the army of Napoleon. Call Vasali and Bergami; call them quarter masters, call them sergeants, or call them what you will, still they were preferable to those persons that the Queen took out in her suite. They were superior to these men, at any rate; and two of these men have now, under their own hands, acknowledged that superiority.

But, be this as it may, certain-

it is; evident it is to all the world that this eternal disgrace upon Royalty has been brought about; has been hatched and nurtured up to perfection by persons belonging to the *privileged Orders and the Bar*. And yet these impudent lawyers must abuse us; must, at last, wind up their several harangues by an attack upon the people, who have been the unwilling spectators of these disgraceful proceedings, and who have protested and prayed against them in every stage of their progress. Not only this kingdom and all its numerous colonies; but the whole of the civilized world, have been inundated with this unparalleled fifth. In the United States of America, every word of the disgusting details has been published, and is under the course of publication. Mr. Birkbeck and his colony, though at two thousand miles from the Atlantic shores, will have the whole communicated to them. The deepest recesses of the American wildernesses will resound with the nasty, the loathsome, the execrably filthy pages published by the authority of the English House of Lords. Here will be a pretty lesson to mankind! Here will be an over



living eulogium on Aristocracy and Royalty ! But let not the base lawyers dare again to assert that the people of England ; and especially the Radicals of England, have had any hand in bringing upon those orders this indelible disgrace.

To say the truth, these proceedings have brought forth demonstrations from the people, which, in the opinion of every just and discriminating man, must do us very great honour. We saw a woman deeply injured and grievously oppressed. We saw craft and power united against her. We saw her quite unable to stand against these without our support. We generously flocked round her, and gave her that support. From that support, her lawyers, united probably with other new advisers, now seem to be endeavouring to induce her to withdraw herself. If they succeed, she is doomed to degradation for life ; but, of that degradation, we shall not have been

the cause ; and the blow which Royalty will have received will be, in no respect, ascribable to us. We had not the management of her defence. We were not her accusers. We have not betrayed her. We have done nothing, in short, but that which was called for by the best and most amiable feelings in the nature of man.

Her Majesty, when she, as appearances seem to indicate will be the case, shall have to pass under some other name than that of Queen, will have leisure to reflect on the past, and to distinguish, when it will be too late, her friends from her foes ; she never can, at any rate, say, that she has been abandoned by the people. She never can impute fickleness, want of feeling or want of generosity to the people of England. Her nature must be changed, and ingratitude mark her for its own, or she never can ascribe any portion of her misfortunes to the people of

England; and more especially to that part of them on whom her negligent and impudent lawyers have thought proper to heap their foul-mouthed abuse.

If those lawyers had been as faithful to her as the Radicals have been, would the proceedings have ever gone to their present length? Would not a Radical lawyer, if one can suppose the two characters to meet in the same person; would not a Radical lawyer have put an end to the defence in less than twelve hours after it had been opened? Would he not have begun by examining those witnesses, who swore to the acts of subornation on the part of Rastelli? That subornation having been proved, would he not have instantly called for Rastelli; and, when Powell came forward, and one Lord vouched for his good motives, another for his good character, and a third boasted of the honour of his acquaintance; when this had taken place, would not a Radical law-

yer have scraped his papers into a bag, made their Lordships three extremely low bows, and left them to go on according to their own will and pleasure? This is what a Radical lawyer would have done, especially if the Radical lawyer had known, as Mr. Brougham and the rest of the Queen's lawyers well knew, that Rastelli had been out of the country for more than a fortnight! These lawyers must have known this; for *I knew it* the next day after he went away; and though Messrs. Brougham and Denman, who exclaim,

"In this glorious and well-foughten field,

"We kept together in our chivalry;"

though these chivalrous gentlemen; these devoted defenders, though they could coolly leave London for three weeks, one going a hundred miles to the west and the other two hundred miles to the north, and there remain until the very eve of the

re-assembling of the House of Lords; though they could do, and did do this, they must know and they did know of Rastelli's absence before they opened their case. Was there, then, but this one straight path to pursue? Were there not here the means of at once putting an end to the prosecution? Does not every one see, that if this course had been pursued, the Bill never could have passed, and is there a man in England who believes, that a Radical Lawyer would not have pursued this course? It was so obvious; so short; so conclusive, so infallibly efficient in preventing the passing of the Bill, that it is impossible for it not to have been perceived; and it would have been impossible for it not to have been adopted by any man of sound intentions and sound understanding.

Let these lawyers, and especially the two lawyers that her Majesty had honoured and benefited by putting silk gowns

upon their backs, and placing them before the bar; let these lawyers answer this; let them answer this charge, which I directly and explicitly prefer against them; let them do this before they impudently and insolently renew their attacks upon the Radicals.

However, there they are, defeated in a cause which tendered them three several occasions for insuring complete victory. The Queen had still left, and I trust, she still has left, the people at her back. And now, when this is her only prop, miners and sappers are at work to deprive her even of this. There are many difficulties to be overcome before the Queen can be completely ruined; and I have great hopes that those difficulties will prove insurmountable. If, however, they should not. If she be, at last, to be made a sacrifice to the greediness of her pretended friends, we, the Radicals, at any rate, shall stand clear of all imputation of blame. Had it not

been for us, she would have been sacrificed at once, upon her arrival. We have preserved her thus far in spite of enemies secret as well as open. If she now fall a sacrifice, not only shall we have no blame to take to ourselves for the past or the present; but we shall remain firmly attached to her for the future. We shall not ascribe any of her recent steps to her own unbiassed mind; but to that sinister and base influence, which has so often, heretofore, been a source of calamity to her. Her situation is one of peculiar difficulty. She has been so often betrayed, that she can scarcely know where to place reliance. All the faculties of her mind must be bewildered by the everlasting suggestions of pretended anxiety for her safety. Before one can censure any step that she may take under such circumstances, justice demands a full knowledge of all her embarrassments. She must naturally be extremely desirous for the

Bill not to pass. This must necessarily be the wish nearest her heart. In balancing as to the steps to be taken, in order to ensure that great object; with her mind in this state, it was easy for some artful knave to turn the scale, and to induce her to pursue the course which she has recently pursued.

When she find that the Bill has passed, she may discover the perfidy of such adviser; but, let what will take place, I shall never ascribe a base or bad motive to her Majesty. Perfidious advisers may pour into her ear in a moment of disappointment and chagrin, even the desperate course of quitting these shores. Even then, her Majesty will carry with her my attachment and gratitude. I shall say that she has been betrayed; I may be persuaded that she has, at last, found herself, in an hour of debility and despondency, induced to consent to her own irretrievable ruin; but I shall always say that she

is intitled to the lasting gratitude of this nation. She has done us more good than we could have done for ourselves in an age. She has stripped our base enemies of their disguise. She has exposed them naked to our view ; their turpitude is now so clearly seen that the way-faring man, though a fool, cannot err respecting it. Those who run may now read it, as they run. She has cut the viper asunder : the parts may linger in life for a while ; but all the powers on earth never can re-unite them and give to them the poisonous powers which they before possessed. Therefore, let what will happen to her Majesty ; whether present or absent, during life she will have our blessings upon her head, and after death she will live for ever in our grateful recollections.

Thus, my friends, have I offered you my remarks upon these matters. I have done this in a letter addressed to you, as a

mark that I feel sensibly the honour you did me in appointing me to be one of the persons to present your Address to the Queen. What the contents of Harboard's letter to you may have been, I know not ; but I should, I must confess, if you see no impropriety in it, like to see *the whole of the letter*. If it be not proper to make the letter public, I, of course, do not wish to have it. In the mean while I remain

Your most obedient

And most humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

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#### AFFAIRS OF PORTUGAL.

Our attention has been so entirely absorbed by the affairs of her Majesty, that we have scarcely been able to look at the glorious events, which have taken place in Spain, in Naples, and especially in Portugal. We must not suppose, however, that these have been over-looked by our old friends the Boroughmongers,

who, you may be well assured, would, if they could, bite and tear every individual of those nations (the despots and priests excepted) with their own teeth and nails.

Portugal, above all things! Portugal, which was little other than a province of England, and which has been such for so long a time! Here has been a Revolution, announced in the first place, by a Proclamation, stuck up by a Serjeant-major, attended with eight soldiers! This Revolution has been effected without bloodshed; has released a whole nation from slavery; has laid the foundation of prosperity, ease, and happiness for the present, as well as for future generations; and all this has been begun, continued, and ended during the time that our rulers have been half finishing a process for maintaining the honour and dignity of the Crown of this kingdom, by bringing forward against the King's wife the swearings of Majocchi,

Demont, Rastelli, and Barbara Krantz; by inquiring into the state of her Majesty's bed linen and into the fact of the swelling of her legs. There are many ways of supporting established government: whether our Ministers or the Portuguese Serjeant-major have taken the most effectual means; or, rather, which of them have taken the most effectual means of supporting the established order of things, it would be really very difficult to say.

I shall insert, if I have room, the recent intelligence from Lisbon, respecting the arrival and departure of "*Marshal General near the King's person,*" *English Lord and Portuguese Marquis, BRESFORD.* You will observe that he was sailing in the ship of a Captain *Maitland*, who, I believe, is the same person that brought Napoleon over to England, previous to his transportation to the rock of St. Helena. This Maitland is, I believe, a

son of Lord Landerdale. Now, then, this Maitland, you see, had some specie and jewels on board, brought from the Brazils and consigned to the public treasury of Portugal. It appears that Captain Maitland refused, at first, to give this treasure up; but, luckily-for the Portuguese, and perhaps, for all parties, there arrived, the day after the *Vengeur* (Captain Maitland's ship), another ship, bringing duplicates of the bills of lading; and, upon sight of these, the treasure was delivered up.

It appears that Beresford, upon his arrival, was preparing to disembark, having with him a new commission, constituting him, in fact, a sort of Viceroy of the kingdom of Portugal. The New Government would not, it seems, suffer him even to land, though he was extremely anxious so to do. Upon this, the following correspondence took place; or, rather, the following may be regarded as a sketch of the correspondence.

FROM BERESFORD.

" The Marquis de Campo,  
 " Mayor, Marshal in Chief of  
 " the Armies of the United King-  
 " doms of Portugal, Brazil, and  
 " Algarves, near the King's  
 " person, was inexpressibly as-  
 " tonished at the communica-  
 " tion he received from the new  
 " Government established in  
 " Lisbon, in which the latter  
 " refuses to receive the Mar-  
 " shal in Chief, and acknowledge  
 " him as such, as it is bound to  
 " do, since he has recently re-  
 " ceived, through the favour of  
 " his Most Faithful Majesty, ho-  
 " nours, which he alone can  
 " grant; and if the Government  
 " proclaims him as the head of  
 " the nation, it in no way can or  
 " ought to alter the precepts of  
 " the Monarch, and in this case  
 " the nation does or does not  
 " acknowledge him. If it does  
 " acknowledge him, it ought to  
 " preserve to him this undenia-  
 " ble authority, and if it does  
 " not acknowledge him, the  
 " whole of Europe will feel  
 " this offence, but more espe-  
 " cially England, and insist on  
 " the observance of her treaties,  
 " as sincere as they are ancient.  
 " On board the *Vengeur*, &c."

## ANSWER.

"The Supreme Government  
 "of the Kingdom, in acknow-  
 "ledging his Most Faithful  
 "Majesty as the head and chief  
 "of the nation, declares to  
 "Beresford, that the nation has  
 "at present re-assumed all the  
 "rights belonging to it, in order  
 "to recover its happiness.—  
 "Lisbon, Palaca of Govern-  
 "ment, &c."

Now, if I call this man Be-  
 resford, it really is because I do  
 not know what else to call him.  
 He calls himself "Marquis De  
 "Campo Major, Marshal in  
 "Chief of the Armies of the  
 "United Kingdoms of Portugal,  
 "Brazil, and Algarves, near  
 "the King's person." Now  
 this is too long, and, besides,  
 some of these titles, at any rate,  
 cannot now be in existence  
 without our refusing to acknow-  
 ledge the New Government in  
 Portugal, which I am by no  
 means disposed to do. He is,  
 besides this, a *Lord*, how,  
 therefore, am I to know what  
 to call him? The Spaniards and  
 Portuguese have generally a  
 great many names; and they

relate a story of one of them go-  
 ing up to an English Inn, in the  
 night, and asking for lodgings.  
 The landlord asked who was  
 there; and, upon the Spaniard  
 answering, and mentioning all  
 his names, the landlord, in shut-  
 ting the window, said "You  
 "must go on to a larger house  
 "then, for mine will not hold  
 "you all!" High blood is apt to  
 break out into numerous names,  
 as high living is apt to bring  
 clumps of noses upon the face;  
 and, be it known, to those who  
 are not already acquainted with  
 the fact, that *Richard, Plan-*  
*tagenet, Grenville, Nugent,*  
*Chandos, Temple*, is the name,  
 or, rather, are the names, of  
 one single Member of which  
 the English House of Com-  
 mons can boast.

Formidable, however, as were  
 the names of Beresford, the  
 New Government of Portugal  
 knew very well how to deal  
 with him. They resolved that  
 he should not land; and the  
 gentleman seems to have been  
 in a very great rage. It will be



perceived that he threatens the Portuguese that, if they do not acknowledge him, *the whole of Europe* will feel the offence, and more especially England, and insist on the observance of her *treaties*.

What! was this man mad! Is there any *treaty* with England constituting this Beresford, a foreigner to the Portuguese? is there any *treaty* with England constituting him the master of Portugal? The man had so long been used to domineer, that he forgot himself. There is a *treaty*, perhaps, of peace and amity between England and Portugal. This *treaty* stipulates or implies the unrestrained commercial intercourse of the two nations; that is to say, the free ingress and egress of British subjects in the States of Portugal; and the same with respect to Portuguese in England. But, will the man of many names contend that Portugal must, in virtue of this *treaty*, be free to the English; while it is per-

fectly notorious, that England is not free to Portuguese; but that Portuguese cannot enter here without a passport of permission; that they cannot remain without supervision; and that they may be seized at any moment and sent out of the country by Capper, or his employers, or agents, *without cause assigned!* What right, then, had Beresford to land in Portugal without the permission of the Government; and had not that government as good a right to forbid him to land as our Government had to seize on General Gourgaud, and force him out of England by the agency of Police officers, or to drive back the Countess de Montholon with her sick baby in her arms, to be insulted on the hostile shores on the other side of the channel?

This Beresford had just come piping hot from the Brazils with his new commission in his pocket; and, therefore, his audacity may be accounted for with-

out thinking him mad. His menace of bringing England and the whole of Europe upon the back of Portugal, on account of the refusal to acknowledge him, is something perfectly ridiculous. It is contemptible beyond any thing that we can conceive. It is the most complete instance of bloated and insolent pomposity that ever was heard of. This is true puddle in a storm. He had but one step further to go, and to assert that if they did not acknowledge him, the two worlds would meet, and a universal crash of nature would take place.

It is very pleasing to see with what dignity and firmness the Portuguese government has acted. The nation felt itself and must have felt itself indignant, at having been swaggered over so long, by this foreigner. What right had he there; what right had the King of Portugal to put him over his people. The having done this before, was just grounds for proceeding, at once,

to a total Revolution. In my last Register but one, I anticipated just what has now taken place. I said, must I not laugh to see the great Portuguese Marshal "coming back to Portugal " with the high commands of " King John in his pocket, writing " ten in kingly style: must I see " this, and must I not laugh, " then? Shall I see this high " and mighty Beresford come, " one of these days, into Portsmouth, as quietly as a mouse " creeps into his hole, after having taken a peep at a cat; " shall I see this and shall I not " laugh?" This was written on the 19th of October. It was easy to see what could take place in the main; but really the thing has been more complete than even I could have anticipated. Come he is, and into Portsmouth, too; and so quietly that hardly a soul there heard of his landing. What a pretty story he has to tell to his masters here! Disgarnished of all his high-sounding titles. And

has had a trip to Lisbon merely for the purpose of carrying the new Government a supply of money for their army. If this is not an Irish Bull I don't know what is?

And there stand our pretty gentlemen, staring like the clown in the play when somebody has suddenly caught away his dinner. I defy the world to produce me an instance of a disappointment equal to that of this man of many names. He goes to the Brazils for the express purpose of getting the authority to act as King in Portugal; and when he comes back, his Kingdom is gone! We have often seen fools that have suffered kingdoms to slip through their fingers; but here is one that goes away across the seas to get the means of making his kingdom safe; he has already firm footing in it; he is, in fact, the master of it; but he wants his title to be made clearer and stronger; he wants to make surer that which ap-

peared to be already sure; and when he comes back he is not allowed even to set his foot in that kingdom! Go thy ways, Marquis del Campo Major, Marshal in Chief of the United Kingdoms of Portugal, Brazil, and Algarves, near the King's person; go thy ways, if thou hast not got enough of Portugal; if the rap on thy knuckles be not sufficient to make thee more modest for the future, thou hast a front of brass exceeding even that of the *Beresfords*.

That the reader may see what were the powers which his most faithful Majesty had invested this man with, I shall here insert his Commission; after which I shall subjoin an article from the Courier, the spleen evident in which, will, I am sure, be highly diverting to the reader.

#### BERESFORD'S COMMISSION.

I Don JOHN, by the grace of God, make known, by these presents, that the great and signal services which the Marques of CAMPO MAJOR, Marshal-Ge-

neral and Commander-in-Chief of my army of Portugal, has done me, having been considered worthy of my royal regard, and seeking to give him a new public testimony of the particular esteem in which I hold them, and of the honour and confidence which he merits, I have raised him to the eminent post of Marshal-General, attached to my person. I determine, in consequence, to *place under his immediate authority* all the military corps of the three services; and all the objects which belong to the discipline, equipment and recruiting of the army, the state of the garrisons, and any fortifications to be made for the defence of the Kingdom of Portugal and the Algarves, the royal arsenals of the army, the foundries, the public military works, the authorities and civil jurisdiction of the army, the military college, and every thing that relates to the execution of the regulations, laws, and commissions, which military law has determined, or may afterwards determine, regarding all or any of the above objects, referring immediately to me all his plans or propositions, of whatever nature, that I may sanction them by my royal will

through the competent Minister; and when the proposals for promotion are made out of the kingdom, where I have fixed my residence, he will have the power to grant the exercise of their commissions to Ensigns, Lieutenants, and Captains, till I issue my royal sanction for that purpose. Finally, I ordain that, in whatever part of my United Kingdom the said Marshal General attached to my royal person, shall be, beyond the district of my immediate jurisdiction, the Governors and Generals must afford whatever he may require for the knowledge of the state, discipline, and economy of the corps, or of the state of the fortifications existing, or necessary to be corrected or increased. *And I command all the authorities, both civil and military, and all my subjects of all classes*, as far it lies in their power, to obey and to assist the aforesaid Marshal-General attached to my Royal Person, in the discharge of the obligations and authorities, which, by these letters patent, I impose upon him, or with which I invest him."

[Signed and countersigned as usual.]

Given July 29, Rio Janeiro.

# CRYING ARTICLE OF THE COURIER.

" We have given, in our preceding page, intelligence from Lisbon, which was brought by the last mail. In addition, we now lay before our readers the following private letter, which is extremely interesting, as disclosing the real motives by which the Portuguese Revolutionists are animated. We understand that in the answer which the Lisbon Junta returned to the letter of Lord Beresford (which will be found in that part of our paper already referred to) they simply designated him by the republican title of " Beresford," not deigning to give him his British title of Lord, nor his Portuguese one of Marquis. The answer ran thus:— ' The Supreme Government of the Kingdom, acknowledging his Most Faithful Majesty as the head of the nation, declare to Beresford,' &c. It is added, that Lord Beresford felt justly indignant at this piece of democratic insolence.

" LISBON, OCTOBER 17.— Marshal Beresford arrived here from Rio de Janeiro, in the *Vengeur*, Capt. the Hon. F. Maitland, on the 10th instant. As soon as his Lordship was

made acquainted with the state of things in this capital, he sent to inform the existing Authorities that he should land as a simple individual, for the purpose of settling his private affairs in this country, previous to his departure. A hasty and peremptory order was sent down in answer directing him to remain on board; and on his representing that his health, the length of the voyage, and necessity of the *Vengeur's* proceeding on a fresh service, would render this very disagreeable and inexpedient, a verbal message was sent in reply, desiring him to depart either in the *Falmouth* packet, or in the *Vengeur*, within 24 hours. A similar intimation was conveyed in writing to Capt. Maitland, both communications concluding with a threat to resort to violent measures, in case compliance with these orders were refused.

" As, however, the packet was not intended to be dispatched till the arrival of its successor, and as the *Vengeur* was taking in two months' stores, compliance was impracticable. A grain of prudence, however, or of something else, prevented the Portuguese from

resorting to hostilities: and the arrival of the *Prince Ernest* packet, causing the departure of the *Arabella*, in which Lord Beresford takes, his passage, will set the matter at rest.

"The Thirty Kings have trembled in their beds whilst he has lain in the *Tagus*—at once violent and pusillanimous, their weak and furious conduct has shewn the nation what their own opinion is of the solidity of the basis on which is founded their power.

"All attempts at communication with the Marshal, were studiously rendered difficult. His servants, who had gone from his house to welcome his arrival, were arrested as soon as they set foot on shore, at their return. The British Packet Agent, who went on board to pay his respects to his Lordship, was also taken into custody as soon as he landed. And these violences took place without the previous publication or issuing of any order, forbidding the visiting his Lordship. Such measures, however, proved but too effectual, in this regenerated order of things, so hailed by Sir Robert Wilson and Co., to stifle all feelings of gratitude, and to smother that proud sen-

timent which leads some noble minds to shew that urbanity of bearing towards a good and fallen Statesman, which their sense of independence might have led them to withhold from him while in the plenitude of his power. Of the scores whom I have seen feasting at his hospitable board—of the hundreds whom I have witnessed enjoying the midnight festivity under his roof, five individuals were found who asked permission from 'the Thirty' to visit him—who ventured to ask permission under this free, enlightened, liberal Government, to visit an individual accused of no crime under the sun! These five were refused, reprimanded, and marked down as suspected Aristocrats. None dared go without permission; no more presumed to ask it.

"You do not suppose that our countrymen in this service, when no general order existed to the contrary, would suffer themselves to be deterred, by any consideration of the risk to their interests, now dependent on the breath of 'The Thirty,' from rendering that homage to their gallant Chief, which brave men are wont to pay to the Commander under whom they have fought

and bled. No, they would understand no hints or innuendoes. They went; and mark the consequence.—Lieutenant-Generals Blunt and A. Campbell, Sir J. Campbell, and Sir Victor Arentschild, yesterday received an order to quit the country without delay.

“I shall conclude this record of meanness, tyranny, and new-born military liberty, with the answer of the gallant Sir A. Campbell to the General who intimated to him that this conduct in visiting the Marshal had given such umbrage to the New Governors, that he must quit the

kingdom.—‘Sir, if your power to injure me were ten times greater than it is: if the advantages of your service were ten times greater than they are, I would not have abated one tittle of the respect which I have shewn, and will always shew, to an Officer whom I have known, have esteemed, and honoured, for more than twenty years.’

“I ought to remark, that the soldiery are by no means satisfied with these indignities shewn to their late Chief, and the Officers, in whom they had the highest confidence.”

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 37.---No. 17.] LONDON, SATURDAY, Nov. 11, 1820. [Price, 6d.

TO  
THE WOOL-COMBERS  
OF WARWICK  
AND THE  
INHABITANTS OF BURY  
ST. EDMUNDS.

*On the last week's proceedings  
relative to the Queen; or, an  
illustration of "the envy of  
surrounding nations and ad-  
miration of the world."*

London, Nov. 9, 1820.

MY FRIENDS,

In obedience to your wishes I presented your Addresses to the Queen, on the 10th of October. You will see it asserted in some of the newspapers, that I have been a constant visitor at Brandenburg House; that I have been a sort of *adviser* there; and the New Times has even asserted, that I have placed myself in the neighbourhood of that house. Now, I have not, since the Queen came, lived within about *three miles* of that house; and, the only time that I ever was in it, or in any house occupied, whether occasionally

or otherwise, by her Majesty, was the time when I had the honour of presenting your Addresses, which came to me without any previous knowledge of mine, and without any desire, on my part, to have the office to perform, as is clearly evinced in the fact, that several other Addresses have been sent to me to present in company with other gentlemen, and that, being otherwise engaged, I have not availed myself of these opportunities of going. I have never been introduced to her Majesty; I have never given even the most distant hint of a wish to be introduced to her; not a single farthing of her money has ever, either directly or indirectly, found its way into my pocket, or the pocket of any one belonging to me; but, with what talent I possess, I have laboured, from the very day of her landing, and in every way that I have been able to exert myself, most disinterestedly, and most zealously to prevent her destruction. Therefore, while I take to myself not a

30



particle of the blame due to those who have caused *her defeat*, I may, I trust, put forward a fair claim to my full share of the praise due to those, who have made the struggle produce to the people such a complete triumph over their bitter and savage enemies, who have now received a blow that they will never recover.

I shall now endeavour to lay before you, a true account of the last week's proceedings relative to the Queen; and those proceedings do, as you will find, furnish a most excellent illustration of that famous THING, which is called, "the envy of surrounding nations and the admiration of the world."

You will perceive that, in my last Register I said that a Bill would pass. There were people, who would have betted ten to one against the affirmative of this proposition. I said as soon as I saw the evidence of *Flowman*, and especially when I saw the state in which that evidence had been left by the Queen's lawyers, that a bill would pass. When the subornation of *Rastelli* had been given in evidence; when *Powell* had been called up, and had been suffered to go off without even an attack from

the Queen's lawyers; then I was sure that it required some bold, some decisive, some immediate, some open step on the part of the Queen; some instant and resolute step on her part, to prevent the Bill from passing; and this I said, and this I put upon paper, with as much certainty, as I could now write down that the Bill has been read a second time.

When I saw that the Queen took no such step, I was sure the Bill would pass; and the notification of the two famous Vice Chamberlains prohibiting the personal approach of addressers in future, which notification came out in a few days after, appeared to me to be an invitation to the passing of the Bill. An actual invitation: it was as much as to say, "You may pass the Bill as soon as you please; for the Queen hereby voluntarily relieves you from even the shadow of apprehension of popular discontent arising out of any thing that you may do against her."

The Queen did not see this; she had no idea of the notification's producing such an effect. Nor do I believe that the two Vice Chamberlains, who are

merely poor things, apparently without a second idea, had any notion of the magnitude of the mischief which they were the humble instruments in producing; but, to every man of discernment that notification was decisive of the fate of the Queen. The mischief had, in great part, been done by the lawyers: they had driven the nail of destruction home to the head; but it might still have been drawn back; therefore, it required the instrumentality of the two Vice Chamberlains to *clench it*.

Every day gives us a clearer view of the intrigue than we had of it the day before; and it is of the utmost importance that we understand it well; and that we shew to our enemies, that they can no longer cajole and deceive us. You remember, Mr. Denman's flesh-in-the-pan declaration, that he *never would acknowledge any other woman as his Queen!* This was thought to be extremely "*bold*." There were fools to call it even *chivalrous*. But, this declaration, like the jesuits' creed, had a double face; as was perfectly consistent with a foreknowledge that the Queen would be finally degraded from her rank; for, Mr. Denman was in no dan-

ger of being called upon to *acknowledge another Queen*, unless the divorce clause should pass, which, from the very first, no one expected. I do not accuse Mr. Denman of any gift of foresight; and only mean to point out this as an instance of big words, though, at the same time, there is a sufficient reservation as to meaning. We are now upon our guard against these big words. Experience has taught us to depend more upon acts, and less upon words. Let us, therefore, now, with the advantages of this experience, take rather a scrutinising review of the occurrences of the last week; not attempting to draw any conclusion from rumours and hearsays; but solely from what has made its appearance in print. In order to do this, the more to our satisfaction, we must go back as far as the twenty-fifth of October, on which day, it appears to me, the fate of her Majesty (unless something very extraordinary should happen) was signed, sealed and delivered by those two renowned gentlemen, Mr. Kesteven Craven and Sir William Gell.

On Wednesday the 25th of October, all wore the outward

appearance of vigour and courage at Brandenburg House; and, certainly, there was no abatement of zeal and of energy on the part of the people. On that day not less, I believe, than thirty addresses were presented. There were numerous processions, consisting of most respectable persons in the middle ranks of life. On this day not less than seventy thousand persons were assembled round the mansion of the Queen. The zeal in her cause, the devotion to her person, might possibly find an adequate return in the gratitude of the heart; but, they admit of no adequate description from the pen or the tongue. Yet, it was on the evening of this very day; it was at the close of this exhilarating, this gratifying, inspiring, this heart-moving scene; it was at the close of this scene, and on the very spot where it had taken place, that Craven and Gell sat down to pen the cold, the forbidding, the rude notification, though they had still ringing in their ears, the promises, the voluntary promises of support to their mistress, coming from the lips of the disinterested, just, and generous people! I once saw, at Phila-

delphia, a French "*lady*," as she called herself, curse the Quakers, while she had actually in her mouth, bread purchased with a subscription raised by those very Quakers, she being one of the French emigrants who had fled from St. Domingo. God forbid that I should compare her Majesty to this shocking instance of human ingratitude; but I have no hesitation in saying that even this was surpassed by Craven and Gell, and by those who counselled and took advantage of her Majesty's want of information upon this occasion; for though the "*French Lady*" was at that moment eating the bread given her by the Quakers, she had some reason to ascribe her fallen state to them, seeing that it was *their principles* of hostility to negro slavery, which might have produced the revolt of the negroes, and the present poverty of the "*Lady*;" but, in this case, the supporters of the Queen had never had any share in producing her sufferings and oppressions.— Since her first arrival in England, they had, whether she were here, or in foreign countries, cheerfully laboured for her support, even in splendour, and

in profusion; and they had never, upon any occasion, given their sanction to any measure of any kind tending to make her unhappy or uneasy. Therefore, this act was less excusable; or, rather, more shockingly insulting and ungrateful than the act of the "*French Lady*" at Philadelphia, which I have a thousand times cited as an instance, which would remain without a parallel, as long as nature retained her power in the hearts of human beings.

The Queen was deceived. The whole course of her life proves that this shocking notification must have been got up, as the answer to the Nottingham Address was, without her knowledge. It must have been represented to her, that the people experienced inconvenience and suffering from coming and waiting in the wet and the cold. Her compassionate disposition would make her listen to this; and thus her assent must have been obtained, in the confusion and bustle of the moment, to the issuing of a notification, tending to remove the represented inconvenience and suffering. That this was actually the case becomes evident when we look at the

amended notification, of these two sapient Vice-Chamberlains. That I may not be accused of misrepresenting them, I will here insert the notifications, beginning with that of the 23<sup>th</sup> of October, which, as I observed before, was written, and at Brandenburg House, too, while the rooms of that house were yet echoing with the shouts of the people.

"Mr. K. Craven and Sir William Gell, Vice-Chamberlains to the Queen, are commanded to announce, that, in consequence of the lateness of the season, and the probable approach of wet weather, her Majesty wishes to decline receiving any future addresses in person after Monday next, the 30<sup>th</sup> instant. It is nevertheless to be understood that her Majesty by no means intends to exclude the presentation of such addresses as may be at this moment in preparation, and which, if not ready by Monday, her Majesty will receive and answer without the ceremony of a formal deputation.  
Brandenburgh-house, Wednesday, October 25."

This notification is every thing that I have before described it to be. The second or amended notification, comes out under date of Friday the 3<sup>rd</sup> of November, in the following words:

"Some misunderstanding having arisen respecting the presentation of Addresses, we are commanded to state, that it is not the intention of her Majesty to decline receiving Addresses for the future, nor her wish to check that ebullition of respect and attachment which has been so universally manifested by the people, and which is so highly gratifying to the feelings of Her Majesty. Her Majesty, aware of the great inconvenience such numerous bodies of people must experience in waiting upon her on account of the lateness of the season, and the distance of Brandenburg House from the Metropolis, will continue to receive Addresses by small deputations only. An early day will be named for her Majesty's receiving the numerous Addresses already voted, and not presented on Monday last.

"The Hon. KEPPEL CRAVEN, and  
 "Sir WILLIAM GELL,  
 "Vice-Chamberlains to the Queen.  
 "Brandenburg House, Nov. 3, 1830."

So! a week had taught the new councillors to approach somewhat nearer to good manners, or, at least, towards an absence of rudeness and insolence. The cause of this change we shall probably come at very correctly by-and-bye; but let us here look a little at this notification compared with the other. "Some misunderstanding had arisen." This is a

pretty way of beginning a retraction and contradiction.— From the whole composition of these notifications, it is very evident that a critical understanding of the meaning of words is, by no means, inseparable from the office of Vice-Chamberlain; or else we should not hear these gentlemen talk about an *ebullition of respect and attachment*, which are the result of sober thought, and are evinced by steady acts or demonstrations; and not the result of the bubbling or boiling up of a sudden and momentary feeling or passion. But even Vice-Chamberlains are to be supposed to understand the meaning of words which it is impossible for any human being to misunderstand; and, who could misunderstand the words of the former notification, which expressly says that the Queen wishes to decline receiving any future addresses *in person*? If this do not mean that her Majesty meant that no addressers should come and deliver addresses to herself after the next Monday; if these words have not this meaning, no words in our language have any meaning; and when a man swears to one thing, he may be

looked upon as swearing to another thing, or to nothing at all. Then, as to the second sentence of the notification: that she does not mean absolutely to exclude such addresses as may be *at this moment* (mark the words!) in preparation; she does not mean to *exclude* these altogether; but, *if not ready by the next Monday*, her Majesty will receive and answer them *"without the ceremony of a formal deputation."* So that this was saying, with as much rudeness as would stop short of absolute insult, that she would receive, after the Monday, *no Address by any deputation at all*, even though they may, at the time of writing the notification, be already in preparation!

Now, then, what says the second notification? Leaving out the uncouthness and bad grammar of the whole thing, leaving these out of the question, what does this second notification say? Why, though the aforementioned Monday is long-past; notwithstanding that day was on the 30th of October, her Majesty will *"continue to receive addresses by small deputations only."* What this word *"continue"* had to do

here, God only knows; but, this is, I suppose, a mode of writing peculiar to Vice-Chamberlains. The use of the word *"only,"* upon this occasion, must be attributed to the same cause. But, at any rate, we make out clearly that her Majesty will receive addresses *in person*; which is a flat contradiction of what was announced in the first notification; and a flat contradiction, too, of a thing *twice* expressed in that same paper:

What do these gentlemen mean, then, by *"some misunderstanding?"* What do they mean? To whom do they mean to attribute the misunderstanding? Faith, there is no *misunderstanding*. The thing is plain enough. Much too plain. The new councillors had cast off the people on the 25th of October; and on the third of November they threw out their bait to get them back again; their success in which is a thing much more to be hoped for than to be expected. But to this I shall return by and bye.

We are here, my friends, endeavouring to *develop a grand intrigue!* An intrigue is worse than an artificial maze or labyrinth. It is a labyrinth of the

most puzzling kind, assisted by the entanglements of brambles and briars, pit-falls, and jack-a-lanterns. We must, therefore, have patience, my friends. We must pick our way; lift our feet up to our knees; advance inch by inch, and look around us at every step.

You will observe, that I look upon the *basis* of the intrigue, and of all the little intrigues, to be, **THE GETTING OF THE QUEEN OUT OF THE COUNTRY.** This has, all along, been the object. We saw that Mr. Brougham was secretly negotiating with the Ministers, to effect this, in July, 1819, upon the prospect of the king's death. In April last, after the king's death, he settled with them, the terms of her continuance abroad. In June, at St. Omers, the bonus and the threat were offered for the same purpose. When, at last, the Queen came, the King sent his Message and Green Bags; and in the message he stated that he had sent it, and that he wished her conduct to be enquired into, *only because she had come to this country.* Even after this the ministers entered into a negotiation with her, offered to give her a yacht, or man of war,

to go abroad in; offered to introduce her as Queen at some foreign court, and to leave her rights untouched, if she would but go abroad. Nay, even when this had failed, the House of Commons, by the hands of a deputation (upon whom it is lamentable to remember that the people *spit* and at whom they threw old quids of tobacco); the House of Commons, by this ever memorable deputation, consisting of Wilberforce, Stuart Wortley, Sir Thomas Ackland, and Corfe Castle Bankes, again pressed her to leave the country; for that was the real object and meaning of their resolutions.

You cannot imagine, then, that the same object is not now as much in view as ever. You have seen in my last Register many circumstances stated, in order to shew that an opinion was entertained at Brandenburgh House, that, if the Queen would but cast off the people beforehand, the Bill would not be passed.

I also there explained very clearly the measures which the new councillors of Brandenburgh House had adopted upon the ground of this persuasion and hope. There was, however, one thing which I omit-

ted; and which I should not have omitted. On the 25th of October, the very day that Messrs. Craven and Gell issued their first notification, an Address was presented to the Queen by a most numerous and respectable body of persons from the parish of St. George, Hanover Square. The persons who prepared that Address appear to have had some misgivings in their mind as to the intentions of the Queen; or, at any rate, they appear to have wished to draw forth a specific pledge, that she would not leave the country. Before I go any further, I will insert this Address, begging you to pay attention to the parts marked by *italics*:

THE ADDRESS OF THE INHABITANTS OF ST. GEORGE'S, HANOVER-SQUARE.

" To her Most Excellent Majesty, Caroline, Queen of England, &c.

" We, the undersigned inhabitants of the parish of St. George, Hanover-square, feel ourselves impelled to approach your Majesty with the sincere expression of our most affectionate attachment to your person, of deep regret at your many domestic losses, of our most ardent admiration of your heroic magnanimity, and an unutterable abhor-

rence of that inhuman and dastardly persecution to which your Majesty has been exposed by those who, having forfeited every constitutional claim to the public support, vainly seek to preserve their ill-gotten power by the degradation of our Queen.

" We heartily join in that universal congratulation which has hailed your Majesty's return to the shores of Britain, and most cordially join in the conviction of your Majesty's innocence which now prevails through the British Empire.

" We trust your Majesty will retain a just recollection of the generous promptitude with which the people echoed back your appeal, when, with admirable greatness of soul, your Majesty declared that *you would use all the means that God had given you against the decrees of a too partial tribunal: this appeal, and this alone, has saved your Majesty from destruction.*

" Your splendid example has taught the people that their own safety lies in the adoption and the preservation of those principles which animated your Majesty; and your patriotic council confirms us in the opinion, that if those who are now unfortunately entrusted with authority, shall continue to misrule us, either an unhappy struggle must ensue, or a confirmed despotism, of which your Majesty will be the first, but not the last, victim.



" With the frankness of free-  
 " men, we remind your Majesty,  
 " that the unbought homage of  
 " millions, which now protects  
 " you on every side, and which  
 " is your only security against  
 " your enemies, will melt away,  
 " and leave you exposed to the  
 " redoubled malignity of your  
 " oppressors, unless you firmly  
 " adhere to those constitutional  
 " principles which your Majesty  
 " has so often and so ably urged  
 " in your admirable replies to the  
 " devoted and affectionate ad-  
 " dresses of our fellow country-  
 " men.

" We fervently hope that  
 " your Majesty, by continuing  
 " to dwell among us, may not  
 " only reign in our hearts, but  
 " be an eye witness and a per-  
 " sonal partaker of those joys  
 " which your Majesty's pre-  
 " sence cannot but diffuse around  
 " you, and that the remainder of  
 " your Majesty's valuable life  
 " may be passed in such an un-  
 " imbibed tranquillity as may  
 " in some degree compensate  
 " for the long and cruel injuries,  
 " afflictions, and persecutions,  
 " which your Majesty has been  
 " called upon to endure."

Now, pay attention to the an-  
 " swer to this address. You will  
 " see that this address required a  
 " specific answer. Look then at  
 " that answer.

#### THE QUEEN'S ANSWER TO THE ST. GEORGE'S ADDRESS.

" I have a peculiar satisfaction  
 " in receiving this frank, loyal,  
 " and affectionate Address from

" the inhabitants of the Parish  
 " of St. George, Hanover-square.  
 " While I have a heart in my  
 " breast, and that heart beats  
 " with the energies of life, or  
 " while memory retains any  
 " hold on my brain, I can never  
 " be unmindful of the singular  
 " magnanimity, disinterested-  
 " ness, and affection, with which  
 " the people have supported me  
 " against the whole power of  
 " my enemies. If the people  
 " had not been with me, what  
 " shield of defence should I  
 " have had against the malignity  
 " of my adversaries? If the  
 " press had not been so power-  
 " fully exerted in my favour,  
 " how could that public opinion  
 " have been excited, which has  
 " proved such a security to me  
 " and such a terror to my ene-  
 " mies? I am convinced that, if  
 " the spirit of the people, aided  
 " by its exertions, had not  
 " erected such a rampart of  
 " strength against the impend-  
 " ing aggressions of tyranny,  
 " my rights would, ere this,  
 " have been taken away along  
 " with those of the nation. If  
 " a despotism is established  
 " in this country, the basis  
 " will be laid in the de-  
 " struction of the Queen. If the  
 " Queen can be destroyed with  
 " impunity, what other in-  
 " dividual can be safe?  
 " My enemies are the friends  
 " of arbitrary power, but my  
 " friends are the friends of li-  
 " berty. No two interests were  
 " ever more completely identifi-  
 " ed than those of the people  
 " and the Queen: her rights are  
 " their rights; and their free-  
 " dom is her security."

Here you see the main points of the address are completely evaded. Here is some very elegant writing in this answer. A great deal of warmth and of grateful acknowledgment; but consummate dexterity in evading the two main points of the address. The first point was that of her Majesty's appeal to the people for protection against what the House of Lords might do. The other point was, her *continuing to reside in this country!* Both of these points are wholly overlooked in the answer; and it is impossible not to believe, that those who dictated that answer had not her quitting of the country then in view; and, when we consider that immediately after this answer was given, the notification of Keppel and Gell was penned and sent to the press, it is impossible for us to have a shadow of doubt in our minds that the quitting of the country by the Queen was a thing in the full contemplation of the new Councillors of her Majesty.

Let us now proceed on with our observations as to what has taken place since that time. On the 26th October came out the first notification of Keppel and Gell. On the day when

they wrote that notification the Queen's lawyers closed their defence. The new councillors were at that time what is vulgarly called cock-a-heop. They thought that Mr. Denman's talking about the charges being shaken away like  *dew drops from the lion's mane*; they thought that his exultation at the result of the glorious and well foughten combat, in which he and his brother hero had kept together in their chivalry; they thought that his asserting that Mr. Brougham's giant arm had destroyed the enemies of the Queen, leaving him to discharge only a few random arrows; they, wise gentlemen, thought that all this amounted to a great deal more than a certainty, that *the Bill would not pass!* I told them the contrary, indeed; but let that pass for nothing and let us keep dates in our mind.

On the 26th, 27th, and 28th the Attorney and Solicitor-General made their reply. Still the new Councillors of Brandenburg House seemed to have scouted the idea of the Bill's passing. On Saturday, the 25th; the very next day (mark it well!) *Saxe Cobourg visited the Queen.* On Sunday, the 26th, Lord and Lady Fitzwilliam and

the Duke of Sussex visited her Majesty; and on the next day, out comes a letter in the newspapers from Lord Fitzwilliam's son, Lord Milton, conveying a subscription to the Queen's Plate Committee, expressing his conviction of the Queen's innocence. Now, observe this mass of greatness begins to gather round the Queen simultaneously with the issuing of the repulsive notification of the two Vice Chamberlains.

There can be no doubt that at this time the full expectation at Brandenburgh House was, that the Bill would not pass. It was manifestly intended to receive the last batch of addresses on Monday, the 30th of October; and, after that time to *receive no more in person*. But, when the House of Lords had gone through the debate of the first day upon the Bill, a little light seems to have broken in upon the minds of the new Councillors. During the Tuesday and Wednesday, the 31st of October and 1st of November, they appear to have collected enough of information to convince them that there was some reason to fear that the Bill would pass. It was, therefore, positively stated in the Morning

Chronicle and other papers of the Thursday, that her Majesty was going to the House of Lords that day with a protest. Her Majesty did not go, however; but the Traveller newspaper, of the Thursday evening, published a second edition, to say that the Queen would go to the House with her protest at two o'clock the next day, Friday, the 3d of November. But, behold! when Friday morning came, the Times newspaper announced, that the Queen kept herself confined to her house *on account of the approaching anniversary of the death of her daughter*, which anniversary was the 6th of November. Shockingly disgusting as this pretence was upon the very face of it, it was rendered still more disgusting by her Majesty's actually going to the House on the very next day after the Times had inserted this pretence, and *two days before the arrival of the anniversary of the Princess's death!*

Thus, we bring down the progress of these manoeuvres to Saturday the 4th November. On which day appeared the second, or amended, or contradicting notification of Messrs. Craven and Gell. I should observe to

you that on the 3rd November, that is to say, on the second day of the debate on the Bill, the man who did not see that it would pass the second reading must have been nearly an idiot. Therefore, on the evening of that day the amended notification, inviting the people still to come with addresses, was written and sent to the press.

Sunday, the 5th November, was by no means an idle day amongst the politicians in London. Some still thought that the second reading would not pass; but to say the truth, no man could think this that looked at the matter with rational eyes. On Monday, the 6th, it was again notified that her Majesty would go to the House with her protest on the next day. On this Monday the House agreed to the second reading of the Bill. And on this same Monday came out another notification by authority, stating that the next Monday (13th inst.) was appointed for receiving of addresses at Brandenburg House.

Thus, then, the Bill did pass to a second reading, notwithstanding all the speculations of the new Councillors; notwithstanding their having repulsed the

people, and thrown open the folding doors to the tardy nobility. Those Councillors must have been quite disconcerted at finding the Bill to pass thus glibly through its most difficult stage. The Times newspaper of the 8th November, says, that the Queen received the news with a "*look of wild astonishment!*" It says that she was "*almost doubtful of her own senses!*" Whether this be stated on authority or not I cannot say; but, I should not be at all surprised if it were really true; for, who can imagine that she could have expected such a result after all the hopes that had been manifestly excited by her new councillors; or, rather, perhaps, I should say by her *legal advisers*; for these, it would clearly appear, have recently got the ascendancy; which is a thing, though very surprising, yet very common; and nothing is more common than to see persons who have been ruined by lawyers still enamoured of those lawyers.

On Tuesday, the 7th November, her Majesty went to the House of Lords, where she was met by her legal advisers, and from her private room there, sent in her protest in the following words:

## PROTEST.

"CAROLINE REGINA.

"TO THE LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL, IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

"The Queen has learnt the decision of the Lords upon the Bill now before them. In the face of Parliament, of her family, and of her country, she does so-  
lemnly protest against it.

"Those who avowed themselves her prosecutors have presumed to sit in judgment on the question between the Queen and themselves. Peers have given their voices against her who had heard the whole evidence for the charge, and absented themselves during her defence.

"Others have come to the discussion, from the Secret Committee, with minds biased by a mass of slander, which her enemies have not dared to bring forward in the light.

"The Queen does not avail herself of her right to appear before the Committee, for to her the details of the measure must be a matter of indifference; and unless the course of these unexampled proceedings should bring the Bill before the other branch of the Legislature, she will make no reference whatever to the treatment experienced by her during the last twenty-five years.

"She now most deliberately, and before God asserts, that she is wholly innocent of the crime laid to her charge, and she awaits with unabated confidence the final result of this unparalleled investigation.

"CAROLINE REGINA."

Thus ends this series of

measures, which her Majesty had been advised to adopt, and which present to our view an instance of vacillation almost without a parallel, and so unexpected in a person, whose character has been marked by such promptitude and decision upon all former occasions.

There is very little in this protest. Its object is very obscure, and unless we gather from that portion of it which I have pointed out by italics; unless we gather from this a sort of *threat*, the document really has no meaning at all; or, at least, no meaning which could by any possibility tend to render service to her Majesty's cause.

Her Majesty is here advised to say, that if the Bill be finally rejected in the House of Lords, *she will abstain from recrimination!* Who would have advised this! What wretched head did this advice proceed from! It really was telling the Lords in so many words: *if you pass the Bill, I will make an exposure that shall do infinite mischief to the kingly part of the government;* and, therefore, it was almost compelling them to pass the Bill. It was placing them in a similar situation to that in which she herself had

been placed at St. Omers by Lord Hutchinson. It was, in short, daring them to do that, which, if they did not do, it would make the injustice of what they had already done manifest to the whole world. What a wretched man must he have been who could advise the uttering of this threat!

Thus, then, it becomes clear as day light, first, that these Councillors had, for a considerable time, indulged the fond and foolish hope that the Bill might be prevented from passing by the Queen withdrawing herself from the people. Next, it is manifest that, to the very last, the great object was to prevent the passing of the Bill; and, I am firmly convinced that an intrigue had been going on to get the Queen out of the country, upon condition that the Bill should not pass. She has been led to believe, that if the people were repulsed by her beforehand, the Bill would not pass. Hence the notification of the Chamberlains, hence the evasive answer to the Saint George's Address; hence the seclusion from public view; hence all the measures tending to that fatal point, the sepa-

ration of the people from the Queen.

This point having been accomplished, the Bill went cheerly on; and without the smallest danger of popular commotion from the passing of it. And now let me draw your attention in the first place to the progress of the Bill through the House of Lords. When we have seen that progress, we shall be able to call back our ideas to the main point, namely, *whether it be likely that the Queen will or will not be got out of the country.*

The Lords came to a division upon the second reading of the Bill on Monday the 6th November. There were 95 against it, and 123 for it. The Lords who voted for it were the following. I insert the names upon this occasion, because this will be a memorable decision:

#### Lords Prudhoe

Harris  
 Ross (Glasgow)  
 Meldrum (Aboyne)  
 Hill.  
 Combermere  
 Hopetoun  
 Gambier  
 Manners  
 Ailsa (Cassilis)  
 Lauderdale  
 Sheffield  
 Redesdale  
 St. Helens  
 Northwick  
 Bolton  
 Bayning  
 Carrington  
 Dunstanville

**Lords Rous**

Saltersford (Courton)  
 Stewart of Garlies (Galloway)  
 Stuart (Moray)  
 Douglas (Morton)  
 Grenville  
 Suffield  
 Montagu  
 Gordon (Huntly)  
 Somers  
 Rodney  
 Middleton  
 Napier  
 Colville  
 Gray  
 Saltoun  
 Forbes

**Bishops Cork**

Landaff  
 Peterborough  
 Gloucester  
 Chester  
 Ely  
 St. Asaph  
 St. David's  
 Worcester  
 London

**Viscounts Exmouth**

Lake  
 Sidmouth  
 Melville  
 Curzon  
 Sydney  
 Falmouth  
 Hereford

**Earls Limeric**

Ross  
 Donoughmore  
 Belmore  
 Mayo  
 Longford  
 Mount Cashel  
 Kingston  
 St. Germain's  
 Brownlow  
 Whitworth  
 Verulam  
 Cathcart  
 Mulgrave  
 Lonsdale  
 Oxford  
 Manvers  
 Nelson  
 Powis  
 Liverpool  
 Digby  
 Mount Edgcumbe  
 Strange (Athol)  
 Abergavenny  
 Aylesbury  
 Bathurst

**Earls Harcourt**

Chatham  
 Warwick  
 Portsmouth  
 Graham (Montrose)  
 Pomfret  
 Macclesfield  
 Aylesford  
 Coventry  
 Rochford  
 Abingdon  
 Shaftesbury  
 Cardigan  
 Balcarras  
 Winchelsea  
 Stamford  
 Bridgewater  
 Home  
 Huntingdon

**Marquisses Conyngham**

Thomond  
 Headfort  
 Anglesea  
 Northampton  
 Camden  
 Exeter  
 Cornwallis  
 Buckingham  
 Lothian  
 Queensberry  
 Winchester.

**Dukes Wellington**

Northumberland  
 Newcastle  
 Rutland  
 Beaufort.

Lord Privy Seal.

Lord President.

Archbishop Tuam.

Chancellor.

Archbishop Canterbury.

H. R. H. Duke of Clarence.

H. R. H. Duke of York.

*The following voted against the Bill.*

**Lords Breadalbane**

Erskine  
 Arden  
 Ellenborough  
 Alvauley  
 Loftus (Ely)  
 Fitzgibbon (Clare)  
 Calthorpe  
 Dawney (Downe)  
 Yarborough  
 Dundas  
 Selous  
 Mendip (Oxford)  
 Auckland  
 Gage

**Lords Fisherwick (Donegal),**

Amherst  
Kenyon  
Sherborne  
Berwick  
Ashburton  
Bagot  
Walsingham  
Dynevor  
Foley  
Hawke  
Sandridge (Argyle)  
Ducie  
Holland  
Grantham  
King  
Clifton (Darnley)  
Howard of Effingham  
Say and Sele  
Dacre  
Zouche  
Clinton  
Audley  
De Clifford  
Belhaven.

**Viscounts Granville,**

Anson  
Duncan  
Hood  
Leinster (Duke of)  
Torrington  
Bollingbroke.

**Earls Blessington**

Caledon  
Enniskillen  
Farnham  
Gosford  
Carrick  
Morley  
Minto  
Harcwood  
Grey  
Romney  
Rosslyn  
Carnarvon  
Mansfield  
Fortescue  
Grosvenor  
Hillsborough (Downshire)  
Delawar  
Ichester  
Darlington  
Egremont  
Fitzwilliam  
Stanhope  
Cowper  
Dartmouth  
Oxford  
Roseberry  
Jersey  
Albany

**Earls Plymouth**

Essex  
Thanet  
Denbigh  
Suffolk  
Pembroke  
Derby.

**Marquises Bath**

Stafford  
Lansdown.

**Dukes Portland**

Brandon (Hamilton)  
Devonshire  
Bedford  
Grafton  
Richmond  
Somerset.

**Archbishop of York**

H. R. H. the Duke of Gloucester.

Some of the writers of the day have taken upon them to make *distinctions* upon this occasion. They have vaunted the high honour, the excessive purity, and even the great property, of the Lords on one side; and they have, in a style almost jacobinical or radical, talked of the Noble persons on the other side. I shall presume to take no such liberties; for, if I make at most about five exceptions, I do (so help me God!), think the whole lot to be perfectly equal, one to the other, in every quality with which we, the people, have any thing to do. I believe them to be all equally independent: equally honest; equally pure; equally just and equally humane. What right have I to dare to trumpet forth the praises of one



side any more than those of the other side, when I find plenty on both sides, who cordially united in passing the Acts of March 1817 and those of December 1819? Poh! Away with all this stuff! Away with all this impudent and senseless balderdash, about the motives of this Lord, the qualities of that Lord, the heart of this, and the head of that. I am as able to form an estimate of them as any man that I know; and I solemnly declare that, with the trifling exceptions before mentioned, I think their Lordships to be upon a perfect equality in point of goodness.

The Times Newspaper, which declares its determined enmity to every thing of a radical cast: This supporter of the Throne, and the Aristocracy, says, "That the earth never contained female purity, against which a greater majority of this House might not have been obtained by the same arts." It says, that "there are families of those who have voted against the Queen, that absorb immense quantities of the public money;" and it further says, that it knows not whether it ought to congratulate or to condole with the

Queen on this decision of the House of Lords! This is the language of the upholders of aristocracy; this is the language of a professed enemy of the Radicals. For my part, who am a Radical, I neither use nor adopt such language; and I do know whether I ought to congratulate or condole with the Queen upon this decision. I know that it would not have been a subject of condolence, but of congratulation, if the proper course had been pursued: if a proper answer had been given to the St. George's address, and if the notification of Craven and Gell had never been issued; but as things now stand, not to condole with her Majesty, is to discover complete folly, or a total want of feeling.

The Bill having gone to a second reading on the 6th of November, the House went into a committee upon it on the 7th. Some little alterations were made in the preamble; and on the 8th of November, the House decided upon what has been called the Divorce clause; that is to say, the clause dissolving the marriage between the Queen and the King. Here a very curious scene took place. The Ministers who had brought in

the Bill, found that they could not carry it with this divorce clause in it. They said that they had discovered that many good people objected to that clause on a *religious* score. Several Peers had said that they should vote for the second reading of the Bill, only upon an understanding, that the divorce clause should be got rid of in the committee. Upon this understanding they have voted for the second reading; and it is possible that this might have full as much weight with the Ministers as the opinions of those religious people to whom they had been listening with such obliging attention. Then, if the divorce clause passed, our gracious Sovereign might possibly *take a second wife*; and that second wife might have a child or children. This must necessarily operate to the exclusion of the Duke of York from the Throne. The Duke is now a widower, too. He may marry again; and the next marriage may possibly be more fruitful than the last. So that, this Bill, with the divorce clause in it, must be considered as a Bill injurious, by possibility, at least, to this illustrious Duke, who is scarcely less dear to the nation

than our most religious and gracious King himself.

Here was matter for deep cogitation with the Ministers. Then as to the *religion* of the thing, it appears to have been a very doubtful matter, the Bishops being equally divided upon the subject, and Scripture being quoted in support of the opinions on both sides. The Times newspaper has, indeed, asserted that there is not a *single man of learning* amongst the Bishops, and that they are *weaker than so many women*. But, though this paper be such a staunch enemy of the radicals and so stout and able a supporter of the hierarchy; and such a terrible champion against blasphemy; we must not believe implicitly all that it says about the ignorance and feebleness of the Bishops, who, whether learned or unlearned, whether feeble or strong minded, have *votes*; and those votes it was desirable, if possible, for the ministers to secure on their side.

The Ministers having resolved, in their minds, to throw out the divorce clause, it appeared evident, one would have thought, that they had the power to do it, seeing that they would, in this case, naturally be joined by all

those who had opposed the Bill altogether, on the question of the second reading; that is to say, by Lord Grey, and those who voted with him against the second reading. But (and now mark!) these Lords took another turn. Oh! no! said they! If you will have the Bill, you shall have it divorce clause and all! If you will have any of it, you shall have enough of it. Just as a wag, who once saw a Common Council-man pocket the half of a plumb pudding, at a city feast, took up the boat and poured the sauce in upon it. In this sort of mess was the thing left on Wednesday the 8th inst. when the House adjourned; and, as it has not met to day, this paper will go to the press before the result can possibly be known. It is possible that this Bill may be lost upon a third reading. But, there are various ways of going to work to effect the purpose which the Ministers have in view. Leaving these for the present, let us now consider how the intrigue is likely to work towards the grand point, the *getting of the Queen out of the country*.

The parliament has now the power in it's hands of doing pretty nearly what it pleases

with regard to the Queen. The Bill, if passed, may then go to the Lower House and be sent back amended without the divorce clause. No ground is lost by the Ministers. They stand on the vantage ground, and, they are all bastards to a man; they have not a single drop of the blood of the Jenkinsons and Ryders left in them, if they do not profit from what they have gained.

If they could now get the Queen out of the country by throwing out the Bill and putting a stop to all further proceedings against her, their object is gained. For, what did they ask at first? Why, merely the keeping of her out of the country; and this was all that the King asked; for he sent down the Green Bags *only because the Queen had come to England*. If she be got away, therefore, the prosecution will have answered its purpose; and that, too, without any blame being able to be stuck upon the Ministers by their opponents in parliament, seeing that the House of Lords have actually found her guilty. The Milan commission will also stand clear, and will, in fact, have effected it's object; and, the Whigs may now take

an everlasting leave of all hope of getting a share in the plunder.

Therefore, the Ministers are what the bankers call *used in*, and may carry on with great confidence their scheme for getting the Queen away. She, indeed, will suffer. She will go, even if the proceedings stop where they are, with a verdict of guilty upon her head; though I am convinced of her perfect innocence. She cannot now be introduced as Queen at any foreign court; nor can she have a yacht or a man of war to go in; while for shame's sake the sum of money allowed her must be very scanty.

Yet, I verily believe that the Ministers firmly expect that the Queen will leave the country; and I further believe that there are persons who have been negotiating for this purpose. There was a remarkable expression, which dropped from Lord de Clifford during the debate on the second reading. I took down his very words, which were as follow: "It is supposed, that "her Majesty's residence in this "country, would be attended "with evil consequences; but, "I do not believe that her Majesty will remain here. I do

not believe that it is her Majesty's wish to remain in England."

Now, I beg you to observe, my friends, this Lord is the son, I believe, of that Lady de Clifford who had the care of the Princess Charlotte several years ago; and who has, probably, some direct means of coming at what are her Majesty's real inclinations as to this matter. At any rate his words had an ominous sound. He spoke not like a man who merely stated a surmise; not like a man who expressed a belief founded on the reason of the case, but like a man who really *knew* something of the fact, with regard to which he expressed his belief.

However, this point must now soon be settled. Next Monday is the day for settling this point. On that day an address is going to be carried to her Majesty from the populous parishes of St. Giles's in the Fields and St. George's, Bloomsbury. That address, which now is lying for signatures, expressly calls upon the Queen, for a pledge not to quit the country; and if her Majesty do not, under all the present circumstances, give that pledge, we may rest satisfied that her worst enemies have at

last prevailed; and that she is ready to yield herself a sacrifice to her implacable, cruel, and dastardly foes.

It is useless here to anticipate the humiliation and disgrace that she may have to endure. It is useless to anticipate the manner and the circumstances of her going away, and the miserable end which will, in all human probability, attend her; deprived, as she will be, of her only support. Let us rather indulge the hope that it is not yet too late for her to reject the advice of these new and evil councillors. Her Majesty has great claims upon the gratitude of the Radicals, at any rate; for she has done us a service greater than any words can describe. Let what will take place, I shall always say that she is the only royal personage to promote whose welfare I have any desire at all beyond that which is imposed upon me by the laws. Towards her Majesty I feel, and we all ought to feel, a great deal of personal respect and attachment; and if we cannot do her all the good that we would wish to do, we are bound to do her every species of service that lies in our power. She has humbled our enemies;

she has exposed them to ten thousand times more scorn and detestation than before existed against them. They merited the united curses of the whole human race; but it remained for this gallant little woman to cause utterance to be given to those curses. Therefore, to the Queen is our gratitude due; and I, for one, shall always say, "blessed amongst women be Caroline Queen of England."

Oh! What a chevy; what a chace; what a hunting; what a baiting, what a worrying, and what a badgering, has she given the corrupt vagabonds! We, poor devils, had been barking at them; we had been snarling and snapping, and bow-wowling for years. We had made some ground; we had hauled them about a good deal, and partially tore their garments, exposed their nakedness, and covered them here and there with suitable dirt. But she, God Almighty bless her! has tumbled them down neck and heels, peeled them to the very skin, and dragged them through the kennel. Therefore, my friends, let us never forget her. Let us overlook every thing that shall ap-

pear to us as error in her conduct. Let us ascribe every error that she may commit to the designing and evil-minded men that get about her. Let us always resent her wrongs as if they were our own. Let us consider that, though she has so many great qualities, she is still but a human being; and that it is not given to mortals to be at all times upon their guard against the arts that may be put in practice against them. Let us always bear in mind that our children's children will reap the benefit of the immense good which she has done us. We all live in hopes of seeing the day when our enemies will be laid at our feet; and, when that day comes, I trust there is not a man of us that will forget the assistance which she has given us in overcoming and laying low those atrocious enemies,

I am, my Friends,

Your most obedient and  
most humble Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

P.S. You have seen, my friends, that the *Times* newspaper has been working like a Turk for these last four months, in close conjunction with the

Radicals, on the side of her Majesty, the Queen. It was its interest to do this; but, it begins to smell danger. It knows it has a number of sins upon its head; and Mr. Walter is aware that the placing of his sisters' names at the stamp office may possibly not save his bacon. He, therefore, in his paper of Monday last, begs pardon of the Ministry, in what he deems the manner most likely, to insure success: that is to say, by *abusing*, as he thinks, the Radicals generally, and particularly *me*, whom he calls *their* "*Corypheus*." What an unlucky name for Mr. Walter! How dangerous for an illiterate man to affect to be learned! "*The Corypheus*," says a French writer on the Grecian Theatre; "*The Corypheus*, that is to say, the principal person who conducted the Chorus, came forward at the head of the rest, in whose name he spoke, whether in giving useful advice or salutary instructions; whether to maintain the cause of innocence and virtue, to be the depository of secrets, or to punish a mockery of religion, or, in short, to perform in all these characters at one and the

"same time: indeed, properly speaking, the Chorus was the *Königst man* of the Drama, and the Corypheus was the leader of the Chorus." \*—Thank you, Mr. Walter! The Radicals certainly deserve this lofty eulogium; and, as your compliment far exceeds my deserts at present, I will, by double diligence in the Radical cause, endeavour to bring those deserts up to the standard of the compliment.

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\* "Le Coryphée, c'est à dire, la principale personne qui conduisoit le Chœur, entre dans l'action à la tête des autres, au nom desquelles elle prit la parole, soit pour donner d'utiles conseils ou de salutaires instructions; soit pour prendre le parti de l'honnêteté et de la vertu; soit pour être le dépositaire des secrets, et le vengeur de la religion méprisée, soit enfin pour soutenir tous ces caractères ensemble: en effet le Chœur étoit, à proprement parler, l'honnête homme de la pièce."—*Théâtre des Grecs par Le P. Brumoy*. Printed at Paris: in 18 volumes, 1785, Vol. I. page 102.

TO THE

# PEOPLE OF MIDDLETON, LANCASHIRE.

MY FRIENDS,

The letter which I addressed to you last week respecting Edward Harboard, has brought me a letter, containing an extract from the will of Lord Vernon, the father-in-law of this Harboard. The writer of the letter, which letter I do not insert at full length only because it is *too true*; and because *the greater the truth the greater the libel*. The writer of the letter tells me that he has seen this Lord's will and codicils, in the Prerogative Court; and that the codicil number seven, bearing date the 22d August, 1812, contains the following most "constitutional" and anti-radical bequest:

"I, George Venables, Lord Vernon, do give and bequeath unto my son-in-law, the Hon. Edward Harboard, a sum not exceeding 5,000*l.* towards the purchase of a seat in Parliament."

This is a specimen of the nature of that famous thing which is the "envy of surrounding nations and the admiration of the world!" This Lord Ver-

non was a *Whig*! This was one of the "constitutional" gentlemen. One of those that say that no reform is necessary; and that every thing is as well as it can be. Only observe to what a pass a man must have come before he could have put this in his *will*! These are pretty people to circulate bibles, and to rail against what they call blasphemy. He was possibly upon his death-bed when this was written. This bequest was made, you will perceive, in a document, which began with the words: "IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN!" So that here were the horrible words, expressing a bequest to be expended in accomplishing a corrupt purpose, and in effecting a gross and infamous violation of those laws, of which the testator was one of the guardians: here was this thing done under a most solemn invocation of the name of God!

But, again, I say blessed be the good little Queen, who has done so many good things for us, and who amongst her other good deeds, has been the cause of this thing coming to light.

Edward Harbord will probably begin to think by this time, that he would have done

well to keep his agency letter to himself; and, at any rate, you have gained, by your upright and manly conduct in this business, information sufficient to make you hesitate in future before you believe to be a "sincere reformer" every man that pretends to be such.

I am,  
Your faithful friend,  
WM. COBBETT.

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#### "THE GREAT CAPTAIN OF THE AGE."

Amongst great numbers of very pleasing incidents which have occurred since the arrival of her Majesty, the Queen, there have been some of a contrary character. Amongst these are the daily transactions at Bow-street, in consequence of hissing, hootings, groanings, and peltings of angust personages going to or coming from that angust assembly who have exhibited such exemplary attention to the evidence of Majocchi, Demont, and Barbara Krantz; and one of whom discovered such an amiableness of disposition, as even to claim the honour of an acquaintance with Mr. Powell. These hootings, hissings, and groanings, have been employed, it seems, by way



of salutation to divers Noble personages; and especially, according to the Bow-street account, to the Duke of York, the Marquis of Anglesea, and Duke of Wellington, commonly called the "*great Captain of the Age*." Some time ago, a man, or rather a radical, I suppose, was committed to jail for a month for *assaulting and insulting* this noble person. And now it appears that whole lots of men, or rather radicals, have been taken up and committed, or held to bail, some for saluting with hisses and groans, the Duke of York, the Marquis of Anglesea, and the great Captain; and some for pelting them with mud, as they were going from the House of Peers.

To talk of *law* with regard to what passes near a spot where footways are stopped up and barricades put across the streets and people forcibly prevented from passing along the high-ways. To talk of law, in such a case, would be nonsense; else I should beg leave to observe, to the Magistrates at Bow-street, that it is no breach of the law, to hiss or groan in the open street. To sling mud is indeed a different matter; and it is perfectly distressing to hear,

that one of the eyes of the great Captain of the Age was *actually closed up with mud* on Tuesday evening last. It appears that all one side of his face was bedaubed; but that one eye was actually closed with the uliginous matter, coming, probably, from the hand of a radical!

I know not what it is that has caused the radical resentment to move in this particular direction, but certain it is that the great Captain has been a favorite object of that resentment. However, if he have not the love of the radicals, he has his fair portion of the fruit of the sweat of their brows. Doubtless, he amply deserves all he gets; but a man that gets so much may easily console himself under circumstances like those above-mentioned. It has been said that prophets are not honoured in their own country; and surely great Captains, great as they may be, need not break their hearts, if they have to submit to a similar fate; especially when they consider how fat a trade their's is, compared to that of a prophet. If the great Captain can look with envy to the profound humility with which the poor creatures on the Con-

tinient bow to military chiefs, he should, at the same time, look at the other side of the picture, and see how scanty, compared with his, is the pay of those military commanders. The book of Peerage, in recording the feats of this great Captain, says, that a "*due measure*" of gratitude for his services "could not have been rendered him, but the nation did it's best." From the modesty of this observation, we can be at no loss to guess at the pen from which it dropt. Not it's best, for the nation might have given up all it's revenues to this consummate Captain!

When we look at these things and then turn to the face covered, and the eye closed up with mud, the contrast is not less singular than it is distressing. Vote upon vote of thanks by the Lords and by the Commons; vote upon vote of money and estates; title upon title till the bare enumeration of the titles fill up a long and broad entire page of a book; and after all this to see the mud come slap up against the face, and to close up the eye in spite of a guard of horse-soldiers, and in spite of another guard of mounted police: to behold this is enough,

if the exhortation of our Bishops and priests were not enough, to guard our hearts against "all the pomps and vanities of this wicked world."

### SIGNOR WAITHMAN.

This gentleman is coming out again with his wonder working arts. In 1817 he advertised his first exhibition at the Free-Masons' Tavern, after having once already "*retired from Public life*." The Signor is now come forth in what he calls his Ministerial capacity, having tried his legislative capacity, to the great disappointment of his foolish friends; and the greater amusement of those who always laughed at him. Those friends who, perhaps, are just as sincere as himself, have always insisted that he was a staunch friend to Reform. I always knew the contrary, and have always said it; and the truth of my saying the Signor has now proved.

A requisition for a County Meeting has been sent to him and his brother Sheriff. The object of the Meeting was stated by the requisitionists, to be to take into consideration the propriety of petitioning the

House of Commons, for a constitutional reform in the representation of the people in parliament. The requisition or requisitions, purported to be signed by freeholders of the County; and the following is the answer which the Signor and his associate sent to the gentleman who presented the requisition:

"Gentlemen,—Having considered the several papers presented to us on Monday the 6th instant, and also others, transmitted some days previously by Major Cartwright, requesting us to convene a County Meeting, for taking into consideration the propriety of Petitioning the House of Commons for a constitutional Reform of the Representation of the People in Parliament, we beg, in reply, to say, that fully appreciating the sacred right of petitioning, we shall feel it to be a duty to convene a Meeting of the County whenever we are called upon by a Requisition *regularly* and *respectably* signed for that purpose. But the papers delivered to us appear to have been circulated and signed in a manner so *unusual and irregular*, that we do not feel ourselves justified in convening the great body of the Freeholders of

"this extensive County thereon."

"ROBERT WAITHMAN,  
"JAMES WILLIAMS,

"Sheriff of the County of Middlesex.  
"Nov. 8, 1820."

This answer exhibits the Signor in his true light. Here is a shuffle; here is arrogance; here, is empty vanity; here is the true Jack-in-office. What does he mean by *regularly* and *respectably* signed? The paper was signed with a pen and ink to be sure. The words were upon paper to be sure; and without having seen them, I will pledge my life, that they were in better grammar than the Signor, without assistance, is able to put upon paper. What then does he mean by *regularly* signed? Did he want to have the requisition written upon law paper; or upon parchment; did he want it to be stamped, or to have the great seal dangling to it? Did he want a round robin instead of having the names placed one under the other; or did he want it to resemble his packets of goods, the names on the outside and the commodities within? Were these any requisites deficient as to dryness or humidity of the signature? Was it, in short, necessary for the names to be written over

night (that the ink might leak dry in the morning?)

But, regularity is not sufficient for the Signor. He and his associate, who is a member of the Bible Society, and carries on, luckily, the sister-trade of *selling paper fit to make Bibles of*: the Signor and this pious associate must have *respectability*, too, without laying down a rule or measure of that respectability. They do not say whether the respectability is to be measured by the rent-roll of the freeholder, or weighed against his purse. They do not say whether it is to consist of money or of character; whether the evidences of it be to be found in fair and plain dealing; or in *triffling in smuggled goods*, and in making a compromise for the offense by a bribe, so much political principle for so much remission of fine. They do not say whether the evidences of respectability be to consist of buying and selling up the usual fair and open market, or of carrying on a species of traffick little above that of common sharpers. They do not say whether the signs of respectability are to be sought for in men's coming forward and plainly stating their political

principles; or whether it be best evinced by letting out half a word at a time, keeping the rest in reserve, and thus carrying on a sort of "*cutting and ticketing trade*" in politics. In the absence of all rule, all fixed principle, all standard, how are men to know; how are the freeholders of Middlesex to know, what the Signor and his associate may mean by *respectability*?

It is said, and incredible as the thing would be of any other man, I can believe it of the Signor; it is said, though modestly, is checked and decency stops the nose at it; it is said that the Signor actually aims at a re-occupation of one of the seats in Parliament for the City of London! This refusal, then, to call a Meeting for Reform, is a declaration on his part that he is worthy of the friendship of the enemies of that measure. We shall see him play pretty tricks; but he will play them very awkwardly. It will be an exhibition like that of the Ass attempting to imitate the blandishments of the Spaniel; and I should not wonder if the fruit of the attempt were literally the same. Certain it is that the Signor's expectation

will be disappointed. The Aristocracy of the City will never trust him; he is now distrusted by the real friends of Reform and at the end of his efforts he will find nobody to support him, but the few low place-hunting things that now draggle along at his heels. The Signor, wrapped up in his own matchless vanity, does not perceive, that the public mind is upon the expansion in the City of London, as well as elsewhere. He does not see, that scores of young men are crowding forward to thrust him from his stool. His vanity keeps him always in the same swollen state, and he imagines that every thing around him is stationary. He does not perceive, that, though the dunghill still remains, he cannot remain to be the cock of that dunghill. He is, in short, like all other men of intolerable vanity, stultified by his own opinion of his superior talent and wisdom.

Though it is man's first duty to know himself, to few men is it given faithfully and cheerfully to perform that duty. But, when events; when experience; when the public voice; when undeniable facts, urged upon us by every one we

hear; when any, and especially when all of these combined, have taught us to know ourselves, we are surely inexcusable if we still wilfully and obstinately persist in this almost criminal ignorance. I could excuse the Signor, applauded as he used to be at Common Councils and Common Halls. There was, indeed, some little contrivance; some little tricking made use of to insure these plaudits: but, no matter; he got them; and I could excuse him for clapping his hands together, turning about him as he spoke, acting the orator, and thinking he was one. I could excuse him, though never did sense or grammar follow the traces of his pen; though never did capital letter, point, semicolon, or comma, make its appearance amidst the signs of his erudition: I could excuse him for daring to attempt to draw up resolutions, petitions and addresses; for the Solomon of the city thought him a miracle of learning. Nay, till he had actually *tried it*, I could excuse him for thinking himself qualified to render his country service in parliament, where God knows, a man, even a modest man, might expect to meet few

superiors either with the pen or the tongue. But, after having tried it; after having sitten in parliament for two or three sessions; after having been there while those most important subjects were discussed, the *cash payment* and the *new libel bills*; after having sitten there while these interesting subjects were agitated, and while one would have thought it was impossible for a tongue to have been still, if that tongue had connection with either brain or heart; after this, after having spent the time of a whole parliament without making any other use of the powers given him by the Livery than that of franking his bills for bandannas and shawls: after this admonition from experience, from feeling, if he had had any feeling; from the universal voice; from those coughings within doors and those groanings and shakes of the head without doors; after all this, is it not an instance of most shocking vanity, of obstinate and wilful ignorance of self, to entertain a wish again to become a member of parliament; again to run the gauntlet through coughings, groanings, and laughings, that ought to drive a man to the shores of the

island, and send him, like the herd of swine, headlong into the sea?

However, we have at present, to look at the Signor as a Sheriff. We have seen him begin his office in precisely the manner that I should have expected. Let us mark his progress. Should he do any thing praiseworthy I shall be very glad; and, as an earnest of my good-will towards him, I will now press upon him one piece of advice.

The Signor, I hear, expresses his determination not to let his politics interfere or intermix themselves with his duties as Sheriff. This is nonsense, to be sure, as apphed to the above case of the requisition; but the resolution of the Signor is very laudable. Politics are out of his beat. He knows nothing of the matter; and my advice is that he never attempt to have any thing to do with it again. His experience in Parliament ought to have taught him that the corruptions and malversations in the municipal body to which he belongs, and of which corruptions and malversations there is no lack: his experience in Parliament ought to have taught him that, at home, in the city,

if he would honestly undertake it, he would find plenty of employment for the rest of his life. I exhort him, therefore, now that he is in office, to begin heartily and resolutely to cleanse the filth away from around his own door; to endeavour to keep that spot clean, and never, on any account, to attempt to travel beyond it. The Signor has, I dare say, too tender a conscience to endeavour to make use of his office of Sheriff for the purpose of securing a seat in Parliament: if he had not, it might be necessary again to assure him, as I now most positively do, that the endeavour would be attended by defeat and mortification.

If the Signor should, amongst his other feelings, for he is a great man for feeling things; he never says that he *thinks* any thing: if the Signor should feel offended at any thing that I have said here, let him take the blame to himself. It was his duty, as Sheriff, to call a County Meet-

ing, upon a requisition of freeholders, without any comments on their degrees of respectability, as he chooses to call it. He has not performed this duty. He has insulted the freeholders who sent the requisition; and he must not be surprised if insolence draws forth chastisement.

The appellation of Signor, as applied to our famous City-Orator, took its rise from his memorable exhibition at the Freemasons' Tavern, in 1817, when he had the modesty to issue his summons to "the nobility and gentry" to meet at that place, *himself in the chair*, to form an union for Reform, upon "moderate triennial principles." He found only about a score, or two of citizens, and the waiters for an audience. Upon this occasion the following placard was issued. I republish it for the benefit of the public, who will thus acquire a sort of foretaste of the Signor's surprising powers.

"SIGNOR WAITHMAN.

"The wonder-working Signor Waithman has the honour to inform the Whig Nobility and Country Gentlemen of the United Kingdom, to whose gratification he exclusively devotes his surprising talents, that he has opened his exhibitions for the season:

"Signor Waithman, although not accustomed to sound his own praise; would yet merit their censure, did he not assure them that, by devoting more than twenty years of his life to the study of the sublime science of Egerdemain, he has eclipsed that profound scholar and almost inimitable master of the art, Von Katterfeldt.

"If, like Numa, who personified his wonders in legislation by the divine inspirings of the nymph Egeria; or, like Socrates, who, by conversing with an interpersonal familiar, became an oracle of wisdom; the great Katterfeldt established a superior reputation by

means of his nine-lived black cat; so the wonder-working Signor Waithman has attained to still higher excellence in Katterfeldt's own profession, by means of his immortal black Fox.

"Signor Waithman has already given a few specimens of his genius, by demonstrating that the best mode of displaying the beauty of the Constitution, is by keeping it out of sight; of manifesting its simplicity, is by representing it as complex; and of inspiring an ardour on its behalf, by suppressing a knowledge of what it is.

"But the master-piece of the Signor Waithman, whereon he desires to found a name, which, by the amateurs of wonder-working, shall never be forgotten, is this, that over the battle at a tavern, where a sumptuous dinner is served up at a guinea a-head, while a people taxed with paupers are without any dinner at all; he proves to the conviction of any



auditory who are already of the same mind, that UNION in pursuit of Parliamentary Reform, is best promoted by starting, in direct opposition to Five Hundred Thousand intelligent men who have already petitioned for ANNUAL Parliaments, which are the 'ancient constitution, and the birth-right of Englishmen,' a proposition in favour of TRIENNIAL Parliaments, which are not the Constitution, and, when first introduced, were an innovation, a treasonable stab to the Constitution, and a wicked violation of that 'birth-right.'

"And the *Signor Walthman* in a Common Council, to the infinite delight of his hearers, can, by his wonder-working art, and in a mode the most uncommon, lay down conclusions in direct contradiction to his premises, and recommend a *corrupt practice* in contempt and defiance of a *sacred, fundamental principle* of free government!

"*Signor Walthman* has a peculiar pleasure in acknowledging

the great benefit he has derived from the instructions of his immortal *black Fox*. A *Fox* endowed with miraculous powers of speech; and he is more particularly thankful for that instruction touching the important point of *parliamentary duration*; because, on the only occasion where the said *black fox* was ever known to have publicly given, in debate, his opinion on that question, it amounted to *no opinion at all*; for he declared that, having compared his country's condition, while respectively under *annual, triennial, or under septennial* parliaments, he was unable to decide which in his opinion was best; wherefore *Signor Walthman*, proud of such a guide, logically infers that triennial parliaments are to be preferred.

"*Signor Walthman*, having so exclusively professed by his intimate communion with the immortal *black fox*, whose almost forgotten name, like

the straw to the sinking man, is caught at by his almost forgotten party, flatters himself that, if the Whig Noblemen and Country Gentlemen of the United Kingdom will rally round this Triennial Banner, planted at his Linen Draper's shop in Fleet Street, being a silken *three-coloured* kerchief on a yard-wand; and if the said Whig Noblemen and Country Gentlemen will adopt his astonishing discovery for reviving the fraternal societies of United Englishmen, United Scotchmen, United Britons and United Irishmen, in one grand United Phalanx of Reformers, pulling two different ways and calling for two different objects, the said Whig Noblemen and Country Gentlemen will, in the opinion of the said *Signor Waithman* be soon called into power, by the united voice of those who are disgusted by their past, and offended by their present conduct!

“ Although *Signor Waithman*

does not pretend that his yard wand, like *Ithuriel's* spear, is endued with every inherent quality for proving by it's touch, whether goods are truly *English*, or of *Foreign* manufacture, yet he is bold to say, that it hath in it a certain mystical property, which in an eminent manner illustrates the doctrine he wishes to inculcate; for as *three feet* make that true English measure, *one yard*, so *three yearly sessions* make that most desirable, English measure of legislative duration *one triennial parliament*.

“ Glory be to the memory of the Legislators of 1694!”

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### VICTORY!

I have just a moment to say, and I can hardly write the words, I so tremble with joy: I have only a moment to say, that THE BILL IS THROWN OUT! Thus are the Queen's and People's enemies defeated! That innocence, which was before ac-

known by all honest men, is now proclaimed to the world by the *Mimes of Atride itself*! Whom are now the base conspirators? Shall they go unpunished?—This is a glorious day for the people, who have, at last, begun to lay the ax to the root of Corruption. This victory has been achieved by the people with the Queen at their head. God Almighty, I repeat it, sent her here, expressly for our good; and, I hope, that we shall profit from the blessing. *Illuminations* will begin on Monday, I hear.—

All cities, towns and villages ought to illuminate.—I wonder how Castletown, Wellington, Scott and Jenkinson now feel!—All congregations will, doubtless, pray for the Queen on Sunday!

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A new and complete edition of the PREP AT THE PRESS, with numerous additions, will be ready in a few days.

Also the LINKS OF THE LOWER HOUSE.

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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## TO THE PEOPLE OF DOVER.

*On the triumph of the Queen  
and the People over persecu-  
tion, carried on by the means  
of conspiracy, subornation  
and perjury.*

London, Nov. 16, 1830.

### MY FRIENDS,

The victory, which has just been gained by the Queen and the people over a combination, the parallel of which has not, I verily believe, ever before been witnessed upon the face of the earth, is a subject worthy of the attention of all mankind. It is a subject for the mind of the moralist and the philosopher, as well as for that of the politician. At any rate it ought to be recorded, and some of the leading circumstances appertaining to it ought to be preserved in such a manner as for them to reach the eyes and ears of future generations. Disgraces enough, proceeding from the wickedness and folly of our

Ministers, we have had to record. The black annals of the last three years and a half exhibit a sufficiency of failure on the part of the people to obtain justice and to avoid oppression. Let it not be said, therefore, that we were insensible of victory when obtained; and especially when that victory has been obtained by means the most fair and honourable.

To record this victory is the object of the present letter, which I address to you, the People of Dover, because, in the obtaining of this victory you have acted a most distinguished part. We have all done our best. We have all done well; but you have taken the lead amongst well doers; and it is probable that if people less zealous, less active, less prompt and less resolute than you had been placed on the frontier; had been placed as an advance guard to the nation, the result might have been very different from that which I have now to record, and of which our children's children will not only

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read with pride, but of which they will feel the beneficial effects; for, great and glorious as the victory is in itself considered, it is comparatively nothing when we compare it with all its mass of consequences.

We have before had seasons of rejoicing; or, at least, they were called by that name; but what were those compared to the present occasion! They have always been a mixture of constraint, affectation and hypocrisy. The present rejoicings come from the heart; and they have their foundation in sound reason as well as in generous feeling.

Before, however, I proceed to an account of the manner in which the public joy has shewn itself, I ought to go back a little, in order to trace the proceedings of the House of Lords down to the moment when the Bill of Pains and Penalties was finally cast out. You will bear in mind, that this was no trial in the usual meaning of the word trial. There was no indictment; no charges regularly made; no warrant or commitment; no jurors impannelled; but merely a Bill, brought into the House of Lords by the Ministers, stating certain things

against the Queen, and enacting her degradation and divorce. This monstrous Bill was brought in and read a first time. Then, before it was read a second time Counsel were to be heard and witnesses were to be examined in order to convince the members as to the propriety or impropriety of passing the Bill. After these Counsel and these witnesses had been heard, the Bill came to the second reading; and, as you have been before informed, there were for this second reading, a hundred and twenty-three Lords, and ninety-five Lords against it. But, there was still a third reading, and on Friday the tenth of November, the question was taken on this third reading, when the former majority of twenty-eight was reduced to nine! There was yet another stage after this; for, after a Bill has been read even a third time, the question is put upon it: "THAT THIS BILL DO NOW PASS." These were the words: "these were the six awful words," which after all the Ministers had not the courage to pronounce. All these stages in the passing of a Bill are so many periods, most wisely contrived to give time

for reflection, and to prevent the possibility of laws being passed unadvisedly. Very salutary indeed are these regulations; and never more salutary than upon the present occasion; for, I think it is very evident, that if the Bill had passed, this country would have been involved in universal uproar and confusion. Great, however, was the indiscretion in pushing the Bill on to a third reading. This clearly shewed, that, up to the very moment of the time when the words "*that this Bill do now pass*;" up to this very moment the Ministers were resolved to carry the Bill. But when that moment arrived they were afraid to pronounce those words. That they intended to carry the Bill; that they had this intention previous to the meeting of the House that day, is very certain; for, Castlereagh was in one of the galleries amongst the Lords, during the whole of that day's sitting; and you will easily believe that he would not have been there, if he had not been confident that the Bill would pass. His duty did not call him there; nor, indeed, was it very becoming for him to be sitting amongst the Lords. But there he was; and

it is very evident that he expected the Bill to pass, seeing that no man, who can avoid it, is ever the spectator of his own discomfiture and disgrace. The Ministers, therefore, when they went into the House on that day were manifestly resolved to pass the Bill. There were only the six words to pronounce: they had still their majority of nine; but their courage failed them; and instead of saying "*that this Bill do NOW pass*," Jenkinson, Lord Liverpool, the very man who had brought in the Bill, put the question, "*that this Bill do pass THIS DAY SIX MONTHS*;" which question was carried without a division, and which decision means that this Bill be put an end to for ever; for, you will observe, that when a proposition of the parliament takes place, every Bill, which has been brought in and not passed, is wholly put an end to, and has no more an existence than if the paper had never been blurred with it. Indeed, motions of this sort are very frequently made; and this is regarded as a mild and genteel manner of getting rid of a Bill, or of throwing it out, as it is more commonly called. The six months never come,

because, by the prorogation, which takes place before the arrival of the end of the six months, the Bill is totally annihilated. But, the singularity in this case is, that the motion for the six months was made *after the Bill had been read a third time*, a thing which has never happened before, I believe, *within the recollection of the oldest man living!* This fact is very material as showing the pertinacity of the Ministers; their deep reluctance to give way; and the magnitude of the fears by which they were finally actuated.

Perhaps the world never witnessed anxiety so great as that which prevailed in this immense metropolis at the hour of which I am speaking. It could scarcely have been greater if every one of this more than a million of individuals had had the life of some friend hanging upon the verdict of a jury who had retired to their room. The House of Peers, notwithstanding all its guards of Horse and Foot Soldiers and of *mounted Police*; notwithstanding the double barricades across the streets leading to it; notwithstanding all manner of precautions and all manner of means to keep the

People at a distance, had thousands upon thousands of men (and, it being the middle of the day, when the labouring classes were at work, the assembly consisted chiefly of the higher part of the middle classes), waiting for the result with a degree of eagerness, and in a solemnity of silence which it is impossible to describe.

At this time the Queen herself was in one of the private rooms adjoining the chamber where the Peers sit. Her carriage and that of Mr. Alderman Wood were waiting on the outside. Her Majesty, firm and resolved to the last, had sent in a declaration of her resolution to act in conformity to the determination expressed in the close of her letter to the King. This declaration had been committed to LORD DACRE; and his lordship, holding it up in his hand, announced the receipt of it to the House; but, he was instantly interrupted by Lord Liverpool; who rose and made his motion for the destruction of the Bill! This is a very material circumstance. Perhaps it was this very notification from Lord Dacre, which, after all, prevented the Bill from passing; and that, thus, the country has been pre-

served from confusion by the gallant conduct of her Majesty herself.

The words "THIS DAY" "SIX MONTHS" were no sooner pronounced by Lord Liverpool than the gentlemen connected with the press, and others below the bar, involuntarily uttered a shout, which soon reaching the outside of the house, drew forth, from the immense assemblage there, shouting, waiving of hats, and such demonstrations of gladness as can be much more easily imagined than described: a cry of "*the Queen! the Queen!*" was heard. In a few minutes, the soldiers flew to their arms. The drums beat a *royal salute*. The Soldiers presented their muskets with uncommon noise, and with joy beaming on their countenances. In the midst of this scene, her Majesty, accompanied by her zealous and ever-constant friend, LADY ANN HAMILTON, came out and entered her carriage amidst the enthusiastic congratulations and benedictions of the people, who accompanied her a considerable part of the way towards her house at Hammersmith. The soldiers, having piled their arms, *took off their hats and caps, and gave three*

*cheers*, the sound of which could not but reach the ears of those who had stationed them there for their protection.

It was observed, that her Majesty appeared deeply affected; and that her eyes were full of tears when she got into her carriage. This was perfectly natural. It was at once a mark of the goodness of her heart, and of the falsehood and cruelty of her enemies.

The news flew like lightning into every part of the metropolis. It was now growing late in the afternoon; but the firing of guns and of cannons soon spread the intelligence, and bid the victorious people prepare for a regular celebration of their triumph. The innumerable stage coaches which leave London every evening for all parts of the Kingdom, carried white flags on their tops with bunches of laurel; while the horses, and the whips of the coachmen, were decorated with bows and streamers of white ribband. Away went the tidings, carrying pleasure to every honest heart in the kingdom, and covering with mourning the servile wretches who thought that their own security, their own power to continue to fatten



on the people depended upon the destruction of one whom they knew to be innocent of the crimes laid to her charge, and whom they also knew to be the devoted victim of the foulest and most atrocious conspiracy that ever existed against human being.

Short as the time for preparation was, the whole of London and all its surrounding villages were in a blaze of illumination on that very night, Friday, the memorable tenth of November. On the Saturday night, on the next Monday night, and even on the Tuesday night, this immense space, containing, with the circumjacent villages, a hundred square miles, nearly the whole of it covered with buildings and very small gardens, exhibited such a scene of rejoicing as I believe never was before witnessed in this world. The scene did not at all resemble those that I have formerly witnessed. Upon those occasions it was the Government that gave the word to rejoice. The principal streets used to be grandly illuminated. The mass of the people felt very little interest in the thing. The order was issued. Three or four hundred people in the pay

of the *Post Office*, under the direction of FREELING the illuminator-general, used to sally forth. An illumination took place, a grand display by the public offices and by the Aristocracy; by Bankers, Army Clothiers and Contractors of all sorts; Collectors, Supervisors, and the whole herd that live upon the system, and especially upon the harvest of war. The people used to collect in groups, stare at the brilliant lamps, half grumble at the cause of the seeming joy, and go home, again in sulky silence to their own dark dwellings.

Very different indeed was the thing now. The streets were filled with people. It was dirt up to one's ankles on the horse road, and on the causeways it was uncommonly dirty. In spite of this women as well as men crowded every street. The whole population seemed to be on foot; and not a face could I see that had not a smile upon it. You could read in people's faces the gladness of their hearts. There was this characteristic, above all things worthy of attention, namely, the demonstrations of joy were confined to the labouring classes; or rather, the want of demon-

strations of joy was confined to the Aristocracy, the Bankers, the Contractors, and the tax-eaters of every description.— All the immense streets, occupied by tradesmen; for, instance, that seven miles in length from Whitechapel to the end of Edgeware-road, where the houses are wholly occupied by the industrious classes. Then again from the extremity of Bishopsgate-street down over London Bridge and through the Borough to Kennington; then again from Billingsgate to Kensington down Holborn-hill along Fleet-street and the Strand, up the Haymarket and along Piccadilly; in all these streets, consisting of the habitations of shop-keepers, artizans, and manufacturers, and which streets, together with the large cross streets going out of them, far exceed a hundred miles in length: in all these, it was one blaze of illumination, and one continued cry of triumph.— The narrow streets and alleys occupied by journeymen and labourers, scarcely yielded to those of their employers in point of brilliancy or in any demonstration expressive of satisfaction. The base and disappointed enemies of the Queen

and of the people do, in the agonies of their malignity, denominate the rejoicers a *rabble*. The very best answer that can be given to this is, that, perhaps, the greatest brilliancy and the strongest demonstrations of joy were displayed in the High-street of the Borough of Southwark, which is well known to all England as the place of abode of the most substantial and most independent tradesmen that this island, so abundant in substantial tradesmen, can boast of. Here, the stupid Ministers, in this very street those Ministers might, if they would, have learnt the opinions of the people and the resolution of the people, long ago.

There was another characteristic in this rejoicing, well worthy of notice, namely, that, upon this occasion, an infinite number of guns, pistols, blunderbusses and cannons kept firing during the whole of the night, from sun set nearly till day light. There could not be less than about fifty thousand pieces of fire arms, constantly at work. To the noise of these was added that of squibs, crackers, rockets, fire-balls and all sorts of fire-works, so that not only in the streets, but also up

in the air there was continual light blazing over this immense space.

The means were, in short, proportioned to the end. It was **THE PEOPLE'S TRIUMPH** over those who had so long triumphed over them. It was truly curious to observe how quick was the communication of the feeling, and of the sense of victory. On the very evening of the defeat of our enemies all the labourers in the gardens and on the roads were seen with laurel leaves in their hats, and with sprigs of laurel fastened on the bridles of their cart horses. The boys and children were all decorated with laurel, with white ribbands or with paper in imitation of white ribbands. Every creature seemed fully sensible, that a share of the victory belonged to him. The coaches and other fine carriages of the arrogant, haughty and insolent tribes, excited a sneer as they passed along undecorated with the marks of joy. The good humour of the people was excessive. They suffered the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Wellington, Castlereagh, the Duke of Northumberland, whom Can- ning, in one of his poems, calls

"Duke Smithson," they suffered their houses to remain unmolested. It was truly a curious contrast to come from the joyous scenes in Southwark, Bishopsgate-street, Cheapside, Fleet-street and the Strand, Holborn and Oxford-street; to come from these to the gloomy mansions just mentioned, and to see groups of big ugly men standing about them, apparently with bludgeons and dirks under their clothes, and at the same time to hear the noise of the feet of troopers' horses parading backwards and forwards before the doors; to see this; to view this contrast, was certainly not a thing to make a man in love with the office of Lord Chancellor, Secretary of State, or "*Great Captain of the age.*" The labourer who had gone without his dinner and supper, and who was to go dinnerless the next day, and to sit without a candle for a week in order to garnish his window with candles and with festoons of ribbands and laurels; such a labourer's situation ought to have been an object of envy with the inhabitant of any great and gloomy mansion on the tenth, eleventh, or thirteenth of November. The India-house, the Stock-

exchange, the BANK; all were in deep gloom. Also the far greater part of the *lawyers*; the Bishops here and there put in a saving candle. I saw but one Parson's house, and that had just *one* candle in it. Again I say it was the people's triumph. Never were there seen in this world greater zeal, greater prudence at the same time, and greater generosity than the people have displayed upon this occasion; and never was the display of these qualities more completely and abundantly rewarded. Yet, all these exertions on the part of the people might have failed, if they had had a fickle or timid person to struggle for. They had just the contrary. To me, who, of course, knew before but very little of the qualities of her Majesty; having never even heard of her astonishing travels and voyages: to me the prompt departure from St. Omers, the descending of the pier at Calais at midnight, and the dashing through the mud to get on board of an English packet-boat, in order to avoid the fangs of a Bourbon police; the putting to sea with a head wind, and beating through the surf to get on shore at Dover; and

those memorable words upon her landing, that she had come to place herself under the protection of Englishmen: to me these were a sufficient guarantee, that no fickleness, no timidity would ever come to render the efforts of the people useless. I was very sure that the woman who could do those things was never to be frightened by big wigs and big talk. Her Majesty has proved herself to be the bravest woman of whom we have ever heard. Her life, whenever it shall be well and truly written, will be one of the most interesting as well as the most useful works that ever were given to the world. She has all that is good, as well as all that is great in her character. It is singular enough that the pretended friends of Royalty should seek her destruction; when she has done more to sustain the character of Royalty than all the Kings and Queens, the records of whom fill the pages of our history.

Having given a sketch of the rejoicings in the Metropolis, I must now not omit to say something of the country. As far as the news of the second reading of the Bill had reached, an opinion had been conceived that the

Bill would finally pass the House of Lords; and, therefore, petitions were every where getting ready to be presented to the House of Commons against the Bill, when it should come to that House. Demonstrations of discontent and of resentment had been every where brought forth by the second reading of the Bill. When the news reached *Malton*, the bells were *muffled*, and tolled in that state as a sign of sorrow. In other places, some of the leading enemies of the Queen were burnt in effigy; and in every direction were heard the sounds of disappointment and indignation.

Happily for the tranquillity of the country, this odious intelligence was soon succeeded by the news of the throwing out of the Bill. The night coaches, as they went on from town to town, left the news behind them. The people every where were waked from their beds by the ringing of the bells in the churches. The watchmen in the several towns, where the coaches arrived in the night, cried the intelligence, along with the bear of the night. The churches were universally taken possession of by the ringers, who performed what is called the *ring*

*of bells*; that is to say, pulling the ropes of all the bells at once, and, thereby, making a tremendous noise. The people in many of the towns got up in the middle of the night, running about to their neighbours' houses, shaking hands with one another, as if by way of mutual congratulation, upon an escape from some dreadful calamity! Disgrace enough we have had to endure from the wickedness and folly of these Ministers; but here is something that wipes away every stain from England. Here is something that wipes away even the stain of the transaction relative to Marshal Ney. Here is something that will tell the world that a want of justice and generosity never did, and never will, belong to the people of this kingdom.

It is impossible to relate, within my compass, a thousandth part of the interesting facts brought back to the Metropolis from the different parts of the kingdom. No wonder that the town of Dover, which had given the Italian wretches so suitable a reception, should have been filled with joy and exultation at her Majesty's victory. Prompt like the royal object of their

protection, the people of Dover, judicious as prompt, instantly called a meeting to *consider of an address of congratulation to her Majesty*; an example that will be followed by the whole kingdom. Her Majesty has, it seems, named this as the *first* address to be presented to her; which is perfectly proper in itself, and is another mark of her Majesty's grateful disposition, as well as of the soundness of her judgment. Doubtless the inhabitants of any other English town, or Scotch town, would, under similar circumstances, have acted the same gallant part; but it so happened that you were placed in the front of the battle, and most nobly have you discharged your duty. The reception given to the *wretches*, when they arrived at Dover. The detestation of them and of their employers, so strongly evinced by you, was one of the causes of that series of spirited acts on the part of the people; which acts, and which alone, have preserved her Majesty from destruction. If the *wretches* had been suffered to set foot in England without molestation, whole bands of them would have followed, and might, probably, have been seen

walking the streets in London, insulting the Queen even under our very noses. But, you having given the alarm, having taught the nation how to deal with such wretches, the intelligence having reached the Metropolis, even London could not afford a hole to hide them in in safety. Their employers were compelled to take them in disguise to another sea-port; pack them off back to the continent; and, at last, to steal them into the country by night; bring them up the Thames under the cover of darkness, and in boats with muffled oars; and, to crown the whole, put them into a species of fortress, guarded by soldiers on the land side, and by a gun-boat on the side of the water! For this, the most disgraceful part of the whole of this disgraceful transaction; for this, which, of itself, has from the beginning, reflected such dishonour on the enemies of the Queen; for this we are indebted to the people of Dover, who are, therefore, entitled to the intended mark of her Majesty's favour. The Attorney-General, in his calumnious and sancy opening speech, said, *aneceringly*, that these "*good people*," whom the

"Dover rioters" had so maltreated, would in a very short time be able to walk the streets of London in perfect safety. This is not the first time that the devil has over-reached even a lawyer. They have not walked the streets yet; and the difficulty now is, I should imagine, how they are to be got off, either by water or by land.

The Attorney-General and Castlereagh may talk as long as they please about a "*Dover riot*." I always called it, and I still call it, a most meritorious act. It discovered great and just indignation at the thought of bringing a set of wretches here to be paid and fed by us as the wages of perjury to take away the life, or at least, the reputation and happiness of a long persecuted and most injured woman, and that woman a Queen, whom it was our duty to defend and protect against all enemies whatever. Castlereagh, sweet soul, even reproached you for a want of hospitality! Hospitality in his mouth! Hospitality in him, who seized on General Gourgaud, and sent him out of the country by force! Hospitality from him, "*English hospitality*," who drove back from our shores the

Countess de Montholon and her baby; though her landing was necessary to preserve the life of that baby, which actually died in consequence of her not being permitted to land! Hospitality from him who is the upholder of that *Alien Act*, which is the impoverisher of our sea-ports and which makes our once free country little better than a prison at large. When these gentlemen were talking about English hospitality, as violated by the people at Dover; they forgot the English hospitality, which they had shewn to *England's own Queen*! They forgot that they had refused her a vessel to come in, a house to reside in, and had sent a messenger to tell her that she should be *prosecuted if she dared to set her foot on English ground*! This was their way of shewing English hospitality. But, tender souls, they could cry out that there was a want of hospitality when you set your faces against a set of wretches brought to swear away the life or character of your Queen.

It will be long remembered as a signal proof of the discernment, as well as of the justice of the people of Dover, that they took the most ready, effectual and sensible means of prevent-

ing this flagrant scandal, now brought upon the government and aristocracy of the country. They went the right way to work. They and those who followed their example actually drove the vermin into the sea and out of the country. This was enough to convince any men of common sense and common honesty, that the nation would not endure the intended sacrifice of the Queen. But our pretty gentlemen must needs go on. They had succeeded so often before. They had had green bags and secret committees and dungeon bills and gagging bills; they had so long gone on with success, that they must needs bring their witnesses back again, though they actually saw that the country was literally too hot to hold them. *They will have their reward*, this time. Never will they again bring forth a green bag; and, indeed, never will they be able to carry on the affairs of this country. They would not listen to the warning voice of the people; they would bring in a Bill to protect their *morals*, in spite of the people themselves. They would compel the people to receive lessons of morality from Demont and Barbara Krantz.

The people said, we do not want to hear it. We have got our Queen and we like her. We know her to be a virtuous woman. We want no investigations: we have had enough of them already. But the pretty gentlemen said, you shall have an investigation, for the good of your morals; and we will have Barbara Krantz here and Powell's friend Demont, to teach you morality. I have always said that this was the foolishhest set of men that God ever suffered to let live; and who will *now* dispute the truth of the assertion?

But, I must return to the news from the country, which has most amply repaid the metropolis for the sounds of joy which it has sent forth. To mention particular places would, indeed, be endless; but here and there incidents have taken place which I cannot pass over. At *Hereford*, they burnt Restelli in effigy, accompanied with a large green bag, after both had hung a suitable time upon a gallows, and had been carried round the city gallows in a procession. The next night, Majocchi and Demont received the same honours.—At *Tunbridge Wells* they made a bonfire consisting



of four waggon loads of trunks of trees, two chaldrons of coals, a cord of wood, five hundred faggots and a barrel of pitch. Mr. Pittuck and Mr. Smith distributed three butts of porter amongst the country people, which they drank while the bonfire was burning.—At *Guildford*, in Surrey, they had a grand illumination on Monday, and during the time, a large green bag, filled with combustibles, and having written on it "MILAN PRITH," was suspended across the street, and when set on fire, the contents exploded in ten thousand fragments, amidst the acclamations of the spectators.—At *Farringdon*, in Berkshire, as soon as the news arrived on Saturday morning, several respectable inhabitants ran towards the church, set the bells a ringing, hoisted a white flag on the tower, while guns were fired and music was played in the streets. At night the inhabitants paraded the town with white favours in their hats. All business was at an end. The Reverend Mr. Cleobury ordered the flag to be taken down, but the Church-wardens refused to comply. Wednesday was fixed for an illumination, a public dinner, and a ball. At *Winchester* and

*Southampton*, the people were waked on Saturday morning by the ringing of bells. At *Portsmouth* and *Portsea* all was joy and illumination. At the village of *Betley*, which consists almost wholly of poor labourers, there was an illumination on Monday night; but Baker, the Parson, whom I have rendered so famous, under the name of the "*Betley Parson*," had got the key of the church in his possession, and would not give it up to let the people ring the bells, and the church-wardens had not the spirit to force it from him. At *Stratford* the illuminations were singularly beautiful. At *Bath*, at *Bristol*, in all that part of England, villages as well as towns, the illuminations and rejoicings were universal.—At *York* the stage coach that brought the news, had the horses taken from it, and, though very heavily laden, was drawn through the streets of the city by the people, preceded by banners and music, amidst crowds singing "God save the Queen!"—At *Sudbury*, the bells continued ringing during the whole day; at night there were bonfires, into one of which were thrown the filthy green bag and the *Courier* newspaper.—At

*Exeter* the rejoicing was such as must have charmed the Bishop of that see.—At *Bury St. Edmunds* the bells rang throughout the day. A green bag, hung with black, was carried about the streets accompanied with flags and music.—At *Merthyr Tydfyl*, in Glamorganshire, the greatest iron-foundry, or perhaps manufactory, of any description in the United Kingdom, the news of the defeat of the Bill arrived on Sunday. The greatest joy was expressed by the inhabitants; but the more open demonstrations of joy were suspended till next day, when the worthy iron-master *Mr. Crawshaw*, set his cannons rearing, and the greatest exultations were displayed by all the inhabitants of that populous place. Preparations were immediately commenced for a splendid illumination for "Wednesday."—At *Coventry* there was an illumination more general and brilliant than ever was before known in that city, in spite of a grand effort of the Mayor and Magistrates to prevent it. These wise men issued, on the 14th, a hand-bill, of which the following is a copy: "The Mayor and Magistrates

"having been informed that  
 "there is an intention, by  
 "some of the inhabitants, to  
 "illuminate this evening; but  
 "as, on the present occasion,  
 "difference of opinion prevails,  
 "which may induce several persons to refrain from illuminating: the Mayor and Magistrates, at the same time they  
 "are desirous that the public  
 "may demonstrate their feelings in a way that shall not  
 "have the effect of violating  
 "the public peace, recommend that the intention of  
 "illuminating may be relinquished; which recommendation, if acted upon, will, they  
 "trust, insure the general harmony of the inhabitants.—  
 "Signed W. PERKINS, Mayor."

—I wonder whether this Mayor and Magistrates thought that this was a good opportunity of giving the nation a specimen of their *literary talents*; or whether they were afraid that the Queen, being left so destitute by the Government, would want a share of their *public charities*! This curious production, however, completely failed of its intended effect; for, with the exception of the houses of the Church Parsons, the Receiver-general of Taxes, the Barrack-

master, and a late shoemaker, now Adjutant of Local Militia, there was not a house in the city unilluminated. In this city there were roasted between thirty and forty sheep and an ox, the meat of all which was given to the poor. This was done at the expence of the more opulent inhabitants, and not, as has been represented, by *Lord Hood's generosity!* The bells of all the churches had been ringing at intervals during three days. The malice of the Queen's enemies, who are also the people's enemies, did every thing they could to provoke the people to some breach of the peace, but in this they did not succeed.—I shall conclude this account; which is a mere partial sketch, with noticing what has taken place at *Cambridge*, where a parcel of people, calling themselves Magistrates, met on Saturday, and issued a sort of proclamation, forbidding bonfires, discharging of guns, and so forth. This is signed by WORDSWORTH, Vice-Chancellor; JOHN C. MORTLOCK, Mayor; and six others. Of this Mortlock, I shall, I think, be able to give some account another time. Wordsworth is, of course, a Parson. At dark, however, on

Monday, some people came out with shouts of "*Queen! Queen! light up.*" They were attacked by between six and eight hundred students, with the cry of "*King! King! for ever.*" The students arranged themselves into close column, and after five hours of attack and defence drove their assailants from the ground. This, you will observe, is *their own account* of the matter. "*Lions are not painters,*" said the lion to the man in the fable, or else men would not be drawn in the attitude of defeating lions. That the people beat these blackguards who begin to suck in public property from their infancy; that the people beat these place-hunting vagabonds, is clear enough; for they themselves confess that there was an illumination; and all that they brag of is, that "*not a dozen windows were broken in the town, though so many of the houses were not lighted.*" It is very clear that virtue, a love of justice and humanity triumphed at Cambridge over these "*gnomsmen,*" as they call themselves. But, pray pay attention to this.—This is a seminary for fellows called "*gentlemen.*" It is a

breeding place of *Parsons*.— Mark this well. Here are those fellows only that oppose themselves to those natural and laudable expressions of loyalty which are bursting forth from all the rest of the nation. This is very well worthy of attention. The *Parsons* have, from the very beginning, been extremely active against her Majesty. I have given two instances in the foregoing pages of the conduct of *Parsons* upon the present occasion; and I shall be very much obliged to friends in the country, who will send me an account (postage paid) of *Parsons*, or others, who make themselves busy in still endeavouring to calumniate and degrade the Consort of his Majesty.

I have now to record, with a degree of pain which the reader will more easily conceive than I describe, some occurrences of a nature extremely distressing. The houses in which the *Courier*, the *Morning Post*, and the *New Times* are printed, had all their windows completely demolished on Friday night, the 10th instant; it would be useless for me to shed tears upon the occasion; because the reader could not see the tears, nor can I

with a pen make a blubber or a cry. Some consolation, however, may arise to the proprietors of those newspapers, when they reflect that their glass will probably be extremely well paid for; and that, as to her Majesty, they have already taken vengeance on her, if they can be satisfied with having uttered against her with impunity the foulest and most atrocious slanders ever put in print against any human being. I have no hesitation in saying, that every man of them has been guilty of high treason against her; and if they were indicted instead of the placard man, *Fletcher*, the prosecution would be far more just and would answer a much better purpose. It is astonishing to me, that her Majesty's *Law Officers* have never thought of indicting these men. This is a system which cannot be suffered to continue. Law that operates only on one side, is a very inadequate sort of law. For my part I never like to meddle with law; but, if her Majesty's *Law Officers* neglect much longer, to do their duty with regard to these publications, I mean myself to try whether there be any law in this country which warrants

them in issuing continual calumnies against the Queen, when the slightest of those calumnies, if issued against the King or against Castlereagh, would cause a man's family to be ruined and himself possibly to be banished and certainly to be half killed by imprisonment. It never ought to be forgotten that the *Morning Post* explicitly declared, that, if the Queen could not be got rid of as a *criminal*, she ought to be sacrificed as a *martyr*. It is not the place of the King's Attorney and Solicitor General to prosecute these things; but of the Queen's own Law Officers. Give us a free press, and we want no law to interfere; but, that part of the press which is in favour of the Queen, is liable to prosecution; and I can see no reason, why that part of it which is against her, should not be prosecuted.

The *Courier* relates two very unpleasant occurrences; one with regard to the *Marquis of Buckingham*, and the other with regard to the *Bishop of Landaff*. Both of them being of a very melancholy cast, and my talent not lying in the way of the pathetic, I shall give them in the words of the Cou-

rier himself, who is a gentleman that addresses himself, particularly of latter days, to the *hearts* of his readers:

"On Saturday last the Marquis of Buckingham passed through Aylesbury, on his road to Stowe. *Though not in his own carriage the people discovered him.* An immense concourse collected round the carriage, whilst he was changing horses, and addressed to his Lordship the loudest reproaches on the conspicuous part he has thought it his duty to take against her Majesty during the late inquiry. The post-boys, when mounted, were dragged from their horses; and at last, with the greatest difficulty his Lordship was rescued from his perilous situation, and was permitted to proceed to Stowe amidst the most deafening groans."

I must stop here to condole a little with the noble Marquis, who seems to have fallen in with a set of true-born radicals! Not to travel in his own carriage, and yet to be discovered by the people, must have been truly mortifying! And in Buckinghamshire, too! To be placed in a state of peril; and to be rescued, probably by vile me-

chanic hands! The rabble-rout rascals surely could not know, that it was the descendant of "ROLLO, first Duke of Normandy," that they were thus handling! They could not know, that it was a *Plantagenet* whose person they were placing in a state of peril! Alas! All respect for antiquity is disappearing! all veneration for noble blood, in spite of Sidmouth's circular and the Six Acts. Even these, and Sidmouth's letter to the Manchester Magistrates and Yeomanry into the bargain, and a hundred other efforts made within the last three years and a half, not forgetting the examples made in the Old Bailey in May last: in spite of all these endeavours to keep alive in the bosoms of the people their reverence for noble families; in spite of all these, we see even in Buckinghamshire this noble Marquis actually mobbed and put in peril. Perhaps these people did not know any thing about the numerous favours which we Englishmen have received at the hands of the noble Marquis and his family, during the last five and thirty years. I have not room here, nor a fiftieth part of the room, which would be necessary for a bare enumera-

tion of those favours. One day or other I may give it. In the mean time, I beg the noble Marquis to be graciously pleased to accept of my hearty condolence; and in a spirit of condolence equally ardent I now turn to the Right Rev. Father in God, the Bishop of Landaff, of whose misadventure the Courier speaks in the following most appropriate and most feeling terms:

"On Monday evening last, a most disgraceful outrage was committed at *Ewelme* (in the county of Oxford), by a furious rabble collected together for the purpose of compelling the inhabitants to illuminate their houses. Finding the Rectory-House not lighted up, they proceeded with the utmost fury to demolish almost every window, besides very much damaging other parts of the premises. The BISHOP OF LLANDAFF was then occupying the house, and had but just come off his journey considerably indisposed in consequence of his long and unremitting attention to his late painful duties in the House of Lords. He ventured out, however, to expostulate with the rioters, and in endeavouring to apprehend one of the most

" active of the party, his Lord-  
 " ship was most grossly ill-  
 " treated, *pelted with stones*,  
 " and exposed to great *personal*  
 " *danger*. Such is the *return*  
 " which the misguided and in-  
 " fatuated populace of a *seques-*  
 " *tered village* have made to  
 " their faithful pastor, who, for  
 " seven years, has lived as much  
 " among them as his other du-  
 " ties would admit, in the exer-  
 " cise of *continued benevolence*  
 " to them and to their families,  
 " and earnestly endeavouring to  
 " befriend them in every way.  
 " A more striking instance can  
 " hardly be given of *political*  
 " *delusion* and popular phrenzy,  
 " overpowering in the minds of  
 " men every feeling of grati-  
 " tude, veneration and affection  
 " towards their best friends and  
 " benefactors."

This narrative is distressing  
 enough, to be sure. That the  
 people of a little obscure vil-  
 lage should pitch upon a  
 Bishop, and actually pelt him  
 with stones, and this in Eng-  
 land, too, is really something so  
 outrageous, as to become al-  
 most ridiculous. I am sure I  
 was more than twenty years  
 old before I looked upon a Bi-  
 shop as any thing short of a  
 being of a superior order. When

the old Bishop of Winchester  
 laid his hands upon my head,  
 though I was a sturdy boy, I  
 am sure I looked upon him as  
 something more than a man.  
 Every man of my age will say  
 that, in the country places in  
 England, this was the sort of  
 feeling generally entertained  
 towards Bishops; and yet we find  
 this transaction take place in a  
 sequestered village in England.  
 Now, what can have been the  
 cause of this wonderful change?  
 Wonderful it really is. If I  
 were disposed to philosophise  
 upon the subject, I could, I  
 think, account for this change;  
 and, sincerely and from the  
 bottom of my heart, *I lament*  
*the change*; though I dare say  
 the *Courier* will do me the  
 honour not to believe me. For  
 people to be happy in society,  
 there must be authority lodged  
 somewhere; but the obedience  
 to that authority must be yielded  
 cheerfully and not from fear: it  
 must be given, not taken by  
 force. Our government has  
 been going gradually on, taking  
 away the *natural Magistracy*  
 of the country; that which ob-  
 tained obedience through love  
 rather than through terror.  
 Parsons have become Magis-  
 trates; Nobles have become

Magistrates; Tax gatherers, Bankers, Loan-jobbers, Stock-jobbers have become Magistrates. The sword has been seen gleaming every where. The people see that the reliance, which was formerly placed on their affections, is now placed only on their fears. The knowledge of this is a challenge to every drop of blood in their hearts; and thus it is that they come, by degrees, to have a dislike to every thing bearing the name of authority.

That man must understand very little indeed of human nature, who does not perceive, that there can be no real harm in a community where the superior is feared and loved by the inferior. I have not the smallest doubt that the Bishop has, as is here related, been in the constant exercise of benevolence towards these villages and their families; but, alas! he has not perceived, perhaps, that he might give them the whole of the income of his Bishoprick, without gaining a thousandth part of the love, which, under another state of things, he would have possessed without giving them a single farthing. The Courier ascribes this violence towards his lord-

ship to the vices of the *lower classes*, as he impudently still continues to denominate the mass of the people. What, then, has vice gone on increasing with the increase of schools and the increase of bibles? It is time then for Mr. Vansittart and Lord Gambier to cease to trumpet forth the effects of their bible societies. The Courier ascribes this vice to such publications as the *Old Times*, the *Republican*, the *Deist*, and similar productions. I could almost pledge my life that not one of the villages of *Essex* ever heard of the two latter (I never heard of the third till within this month), and scarcely a man of them can have the means of reading the former. I should think it miraculous if there were to be found a Republican in the whole county of Oxford, and, if you exclude the Colleges of the University, I should think that half a score of Deists are more than the county contains. In the Colleges there may be plenty, and they in general are fools who delight in being singular, having neither learning nor genius whereby to obtain distinction.

What silly stuff, then, is it to ascribe this assault upon the



Bishop to a cause like this! The immediate cause, was, doubtless, the Bishop's well known conduct, as to the case of her Majesty, the Queen; but, still, this cause was too feeble to have produced such an effect had there not been a more powerful and longer existing cause before. The truth is, the people have been greatly changed, in respect of their opinions as to their superiors in rank. The change has been going on from the beginning of the French revolutionary war to this day. In 1793, the nation stood in need of gentle treatment. Conciliation ought always to have been the object of the government. It never was, and it never has been, up to the present hour. We have been under a government of lawyers; and lawyers know of no principle to govern by but that of fear; know of no remedy but that of punishment.

Not to dwell longer upon this subject at present, suffice it to say, that if the whole of the acts of parliament, passed for the purpose of imposing new restraints upon the people, for that of inflicting new punishments upon them, and for that of diminishing their liberties; if the

whole of these acts which have been passed, since the year 1793, were collected together, they would form a volume in bulk nearly equal to the bible. And, alas! What is the fruit of them all? Why the Courier tells us, to pass more acts, of a similar description, only of greater severity! Happily, however, things are now come to that pass, that a different system *must* be adopted. It is impossible for the present system to continue for any length of time. We are, at last, brought by this system into a state of incessant heart-burning; and it is something worse than nonsense to pretend that this arises from the writings of this man, or the writings of that man. The press does something; and, in cases where a momentary impulse is the object, it does a great deal; but there must be something more than the press to produce such a great change in the habits of thinking of a whole people. However, even as far as the press goes, is it good policy to endeavour to rule by the principle of fear? Was ever man yet converted from his errors in religion by shutting him up in a dungeon for the half of his probable life time, and by

the treating of him like a felon; was ever the asperity of the politician's pen weakened by making him survey the inside of a prison during some of the most precious years of his life? Who shall say that a man has not even a right to seek to destroy that, which has unfeelingly sought to destroy him? Again I say, it is worse than nonsense to talk of bringing back the people to their former habits of cheerful obedience by further assaults upon the press. A censorship; and we can go no further without one; a censorship would only add to the evil. It would only render the people more callous and the government more hated. The cause of her Majesty, for instance, though well calculated deeply to interest the feelings of us all, and to rouse us into action in her defence, would have wanted its best ally, if it had found us in a state of cheerful and willing obedience. But, it found us ready to compare our own case with that of her Majesty. We had not forgotten green bags, secret committees, bills to imprison men without bringing them to trial; and bills to banish men for what was called Sedition. Great pains were taken

to make the mass of the nation believe, that these measures affected those only who put their thoughts upon paper, and who were prominent in calling for a reform of the parliament. But, these efforts, though apparently successful, were very far from being successful in reality. The mass of the nation could not believe, that it was either sedition or blasphemy to endeavour to put an end to bribery and corruption. To practise cruelty by the aid of delusion may answer the purpose for a while; but in the end, delusion must fail: there must be a government by the means of willing obedience, which is freedom; or, there must be a government simply on the principle of fear, which is despotism. We are now vibrating between the two: we must soon fall into one or the other; and I am pretty certain, that it will not be into the latter.

This misadventure of the Bishop, who, by the bye, would have done better to light up his windows than to endeavour to apprehend one of the pelters; this misadventure has drawn me into a sort of digression, which, however, would have served as no very unsuitable

preface to the remaining part of my letter, in which I intended to offer you some observations on the consequences to which the glorious victory of the Queen may probably lead, and especially on the subject of rumoured *changes in the ministry*. This last, however, is a subject of such great importance, that it would require much more time than I have at present, to do any thing like justice to it. I shall, therefore, reserve it for my next Register, to be discussed in the form of a letter addressed to *Lord Grey*, who has acted so truly noble a part upon this occasion, and without whom there can be no new ministry that would not be too contemptible to be worthy of notice.

In the mean while the Queen's law advisers are, I dare say, as busy as the Devil in a high wind. The object of Mr. Brougham will be, and is, to turn the present triumph to his own account; and there is no doubt that it might be made to turn greatly to his advantage. But, what is to be expected is, that he will want to make too much of it. He has got, as he imagines, the cake in his hands; and he is running up into a corner with

it, looking at the rest over his shoulder, and crying, "*Keep off, greedy guls!*" He may have a fairish slice of the cake if he will; but he wants it all to himself. He would fain begin to bite; he is licking his lips, and his mouth waters; but he wants to have it, as well as to eat it. It was this cormorant-like ambition that foiled him at St. Omers, and again in Portman-street.

It is supposed, and I think it is very likely, that he is the agent of those persons called Whigs, for bringing them into power by means of her Majesty. Nothing would be more practicable than this, provided due consideration were had with regard to the people. But, in the first place, Mr. Brougham is an unfortunate agent. His extreme eagerness to get on himself weighs heavily against him; the public have no confidence in him, and it is impossible that the Queen can have much. However, there is one obstacle, which must be removed before any new Ministry can be formed, that would have a chance of duration; and that is, the *refusal of the Whig Lords to give us Reform of Parliament of any kind*. A man so eager for place and domination as Mr.

Brougham is, in his full gallop towards the end of his journey, overlooks things which less eager persons clearly perceive. Lord Grey, who merited; upon this occasion, the largest portion of popular applause, and who is really the only man, who has any pretensions to be placed at the head of a new Ministry, left London with as much haste as did those Noble Peers, who have had sheeps' heads and bullocks' entrails thrown into their carriages. The newspapers of this morning (*Friday*) say that the people at Aylesbury flung sheeps' heads into the Marquis of Buckingham's coach, and that the people of Watford flung entrails into that of the Earl of Bridgwater. Lord Grey had nothing to do but to shew himself to call forth the most enthusiastic applauses. He might have almost ordered the Ministers to quit their places in twenty-four hours. But of what use would this have been? he knew very well that no Ministry could carry on the government of the country upon the present system; and he saw no hope of bringing any considerable number of the borough-holders to consent to a change of system. A Ministry, formed

without a change of system, would become heir to all the means of destruction prepared by the present set of men. Heir to all Canning's impudent declarations against reform of any kind; heir to all the sentences passed upon the Reformers who are now in dungeons, and the executors of those sentences; heirs to *Peel's Bill*, and to all the troubles and turmoils which will arise out of the miseries created by that Bill. Such a man as Mr. Brougham, who sees a remedy for all dangers by a mere glance at the Criminal Code; who sees a cure for every evil in the spy system, the dungeon, the rope, and the axe: such a man is ready to dash into place and power, little caring, and, indeed, never thinking, about difficulties such as those above mentioned; but Lord Grey does think about them, and must think about them. He is at present safe in character at any rate; and he does not wish to arrive at the end of his life by being dragged through the kennel of odious, disgraceful and discomfited political power.

All the workings of Mr. Brougham will be of no avail. There can be no patching up

of this horrible system. If the Law Advisers were to attempt to make a league with the present set, the set would only be thereby rendered the more odious, and the Law Advisers would participate in the odium. I should not be at all surprised, if those who wrote the answers to the people of Nottingham and Preston, which answers had well nigh ruined the Queen: I should not be at all surprised if they were to attempt, by obtaining a compromise with her Majesty, to get themselves into power with the present people, having made the discovery, that Castlereagh, Canning, Liverpool and the Chancellor, are very good sort of men, as they have already discovered. I am told, that Powell, Demont, Majocchi, Cuchi, and Rastelli *are not indictable for perjury*. I should not be at all surprised at this; but I am very certain that, by such an accession of colleagues the overthrow of the present set would only be rendered more speedy and more signal. I have so bad an opinion of lawyers as politicians that I should scarcely be sorry to see the thing take place; for, after that, even fools, stark fools, could

never again place confidence in men of this description.

However, while we keep our eye upon these Law Advisers we may rest perfectly tranquil as to the result of their efforts. What they want is, to keep up the system in all it's parts, funding, taxing, gagging, spying, hanging and quartering. They would no more voluntarily give their consent to a Reform of the Parliament, to any Reform of the Parliament, than they would give their consent to pleading without a fee; or than Mr. Denman would give his consent to the putting of a stop to that everlasting cause; that perennial spring of briefs, the wonderful case of Sir Francis Burdett; which always comes on at a time when the Court is so *extremely busy as to be compelled to postpone it at the end of a six hours hearing*, and with regard to which case the complaisance of the Attorney General is such as passeth all understanding.

Again, I say, we, my friends, need entertain no apprehensions for the *result*. They may intrigue and cajole and wriggle as long as they please. They never can accomplish any thing, that shall have any duration, without some material change

in this intolerable system. Lord Grey, who did more, in his one speech, to save the Queen than all her Lawyers and all her witnesses put together, fled at once from this scene of useless intrigue. He saw clearly what power he had ; but he also saw that that power, great as it was, was not sufficient to enable him to encounter this hydra of difficulties, without such a change in the system, as he probably saw no hope of bringing others to agree to. This is a large and most interesting subject. The question is simply this : whether the present system shall be taken to pieces quietly ; or whether it shall be knocked to pieces in the midst of confusion. I must confess that the patience, the industry, the talent, the experience, and even the courage, necessary to accomplish the former, are such as to make a man, almost any man, turn from the task and resign himself up and take his chance in the storm. Nevertheless, I am of opinion, that the thing might be accomplished, and that, too, without the smallest risk to any of the Lawful establishments of the country. I have long ago, over and over again, stated my opinions as to the measures that

ought to be adopted for this purpose ; but, in my next Register, I will offer such additional reasons as recent events and present circumstances suggest. If we can have a change of the Ministry, founded on a change of system, it will be our duty to petition his Majesty for such a change ; but to get one set of bawling lawyers instead of another set of bawling lawyers ; one set of stock-brokers instead of another set of stock-brokers ; one set of place and pension-hunters instead of another set of place and pension-hunters : to endeavour to obtain such a change as this, would not only take from the people of England all the reputation that they have now gained, but would mark them out for a race of the most complete idiots that ever drivelled out life upon the face of the earth.

Why is it that the present men retain their places for a single day ? Why is it that they retain their places so tranquilly, while sheeps' heads and bullocks' entrails are hurled at their supporters ? It is because nobody sees any hope of better things, from any set of probable successors. This is the cause and the only cause of the si-

lence of the people as to this matter, with regard to which they would otherwise naturally be as active and zealous as they have been in the cause of her Majesty the Queen. If similar zeal were displayed for the removal of the Ministers, does any man believe that they would dare to attempt to retain their offices? Their security in office depends entirely upon the general conviction that their successors would be no better than themselves; and this conviction is founded on the fact, that, amongst those who must naturally be looked to as their successors, the people have found nobody even to *talk* of a change of system. Let successors appear with an offer to give us something like justice, and the Ministers would soon see that their power was gone. Whether this will happen or not; whether, with all the experience which they now have before them, any of those persons who may be thought to

aim at the Ministry, will, at last, make an appeal to the people, is more than I can say; but I positively assert, that without such an appeal all their intrigues and all their tricks will prove to be vanity and vexation of the spirit; and, for my own part, I solemnly declare that I should think a change of Ministry, without a material change of the system, an evil, of which every man ought to endeavour to rid the country as speedily as possible.

In conclusion I will just observe, that efforts are making to produce an opinion that the son of *Mrs. Hunt* (who they say is about to return) is a *friend of the Queen!* What may be the precise object of this I cannot say. I should not be much surprised if it were Mr. Brougham who is putting off this sprig of the old actress. The Lawyer may imagine that he can, somehow or other, edge himself in with this gentleman who so candidly uttered praises

on her Majesty, after having assisted in keeping her name out of the Liturgy, and *while he positively asserted that he never would consent to the placing of her name in that Liturgy!*

However, be in no apprehension from any intrigue of this sort. The sixth of June last can never be recalled. The sheeps' heads and bullocks' entrails have been served out; and *Peel's Bill*, whether it stand or whether it be repealed, will give us a Reform in spite of the lawyers, the Hanoverian Legation, the Holy Alliance, the Pope and the Devil! Be, therefore, in no apprehension. Let us carry addresses of congratulation to her Majesty; let us place her name in the kalendar as well as in the Liturgy; let the incomparable good she has done us never be absent from our minds; let us love, cherish, honour and obey her; let us be to her a tower of strength; let her security and happiness be as dear to us as our own; and let us

patiently wait for the operations of Peel's Bill, which will enable us to laugh to scorn all the puns and jests of Canning, and all the impudent and "rabid" botheration of Brougham!

I am,

Your faithful friend,

WM. COBBETT.

#### SIGNOR WAITHMAN.

This famous personage is figuring away in grand style. There is a correspondence between him and Major Cartwright, which I have this moment seen, but which I have not time now to insert. I will do this in my next, and in the meantime, I strongly recommend to the Signor, to make some *school-master* a part of his household establishment. The Signor appears to be getting out of humour; but he should consider,



that to keep himself cool is particularly necessary to every operator, and especially to one who has to come forward as a writer in defence of his conduct. It is very easy for a man to find excuses for not doing that which he has the power as well as the inclination to refuse to do; but if those excuses be mere evasions they only serve to do mischief to the inventor.

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### THE QUEEN.

It is stated from authority, that her Majesty intends to go to *St. Paul's* on Sunday the 26th inst. to return thanks to God for her deliverance from the machinations of her foes; and,

certainly thanks to God never were more loudly demanded. If I were to write a prayer for the occasion it should contain an enumeration of all the most conspicuous of the *fends* that have been at work against her. On that day every man and woman in England ought to join her Majesty in her thanksgiving; and ought to pray most fervently for blessings upon her head. Her Majesty, like the people of England, has been beset by spies; and we ought always to recollect, that her cause is our cause, and that she can experience no sorrow for which we ought not to feel.

## HER MAJESTY'S ANSWERS TO ADDRESSES.

FROM THE INHABITANTS OF WOTTON-UNDER-EDGE, IN THE COUNTY OF GLOUCESTER.

I cordially thank the inhabitants of Wotton-under-Edge and its vicinity, in the county of Gloucester, for this loyal and affectionate address.

Every day, during which the recent parade of a judicial proceeding against the Queen has been exhibited in the House of Lords, has contributed to elevate me more and more in the good opinion of the people, and to make me more and more an object of popular regard. Every day, during which the evidence was adduced, either to support or to refute the accusations of my enemies, the people had clearer views of the injustice and the inhumanity which I had experienced, and of that malicious conspiracy, of which I had for so many years been the meditated victim. The increased conviction which the people felt of the accumulated wrongs that I had experienced, continually added not only tenderness to their generous sympathies, but fire to their honest indignation. Hence I have derived the most powerful support even from the malignity of my persecutors. My enemies have multiplied my friends, and the attempt to effect my degradation has raised me to a height of power, as far as power depends upon the affections of the people, such as no sovereign ever possessed before. If the high excitement of the public senti-

ment is honourable to the Queen, it must, from the pure sources from which it originates, reflect no less honour upon the people. In the people it springs from those principles which must ennoble the nature of man—the principles of truth, of justice, and humanity.

FROM THE INHABITANTS OF THE BOROUGH AND PARISH OF DINGWALL, IN THE COUNTY OF ROSS.

I cordially thank the inhabitants of the ancient royal borough of Dingwall, in the county of Ross, for this loyal and affectionate address.

I feel a pride in reflecting that the sympathy, which vibrates on almost every nerve in the inhabitants of South, has become so general in North Britain, that it has penetrated into the remote Highlands. The inhabitants of the parish of Dingwall, in the midst of their high mountains, or their deep valleys, have reverberated the same sentiments that have been so generally expressed in the streets and squares of the metropolis.

This generalised sentiment, this burst of public sympathy in all parts of the island, has by some been termed delusion. But, if it be delusion, then may truth and justice, then may constitutional rights, equal laws, and general liberty, be termed delusions. And if these are delusions, then are the best realities of civilised man a mere phantom of the brain, or a vain mockery of the imagination. But equal laws are not shadowy illusions, but the most substantial realities, without the protection of which

all social enjoyments are insecure. Those laws which ought to protect every subject in the realm, whether high or low, have received a daring stab in the aggression on my honour and my rights.

The Scottish Highlanders, who have been exemplary for their devotional habits, distinguished by their piety, and above all, remarkable for their fidelity, must have been shocked by the late outrage upon all decency, which has been exhibited in the investigation before the House of Lords. The recent conduct of that House has incurred the condemnation of the good and wise of all parties, and in all nations.

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FROM THE WEAVERS OF EASTER AND WESTER PORTSBOURGH, EDINBURGH.

I have much satisfaction in receiving this loyal and affectionate address from the Incorporation of Weavers of Easter and Wester Portsbourgh, Edinburgh.

The unconstitutional proceeding by which my enemies expected to accomplish my degradation, has had no other effect than that of humiliating themselves in the opinion of the people. They have sunk almost beneath contempt, while their injustice and oppression have contributed to raise me to a height of popular regard, where, if I were ambitious, I might be giddy with the view.

The perfidy which I have experienced in some of my domestics and attendants has been, in a great measure, defeated by the sincere attachment and inflexible integrity of others. The

experience of treachery in a few has not made me distrust the fidelity of the many; and certainly among those on whose steady attachment my experience teaches me that I ought to place a firm reliance, I shall ever reckon several of the natives of Caledonia.

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FROM THE MEMBERS BELONGING TO THE DIFFERENT BENEFIT SOCIETIES WITHIN THE TOWN OF SWANSEA, IN THE COUNTY OF GLAMORGAN.

I cordially thank the members belonging to the different Benefit Societies within the town of Swansea, for this loyal and affectionate address. The principle of benevolence on which these societies are founded has my unfeigned approbation. That principle is more than any other calculated to promote the happiness of mankind; and I rejoice to see it not only so generally diffused, but united with such a love of liberty as augurs the most glorious results. Mankind cannot be under the direction of two better principles than the spirit of benevolence and the genius of liberty.

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FROM THE BRASS-FOUNDERS AND BRAZILERS, OF LONDON, AND ITS VICINITY.

I gratefully accept this loyal and affectionate address from the brass-founders and braziers.

If my adversaries had been studiously desirous of promoting their own downfall, they could not have taken more efficacious methods to effect that purpose than by the inveterate hostility which they have shown to the honour and dignity of the Queen. Men may differ about

liberty, or may attach different ideas to the name, but all men condemn oppression and hate the oppressor.

I have now been greeted, and that not formally or ceremoniously, but warmly and affectionately, by industry in almost all its modes of existence and diversities of operation. There is hardly a branch of trade of which the members have not united to animate my spirits by their tender sympathy, and to cheer me by their promises of support in every peril and adversity. If praise be most acceptable from the praiseworthy, no sovereign can be more highly extolled than by the affectionate approbation and the heartfelt homage of the most industrious part of the community. The strong marks of popular regard which I have experienced will, I hope, teach sovereigns that the best way to secure the affections of their subjects is to be, not only in profession, but in principle, a friend to the liberties of the people. If sovereigns would study to promote those liberties, they would receive that genuine unsophisticated homage, in the consciousness of which they would find more unfeigned satisfaction and more certain security than in accumulated fortresses or in bristling bayonets. The members of the Holy Alliance might have spared themselves the pain of uniting for the preservation of their power, if they had been sufficiently good or wise to consider the liberty of the people as their safeguard, and their affection as

the most certain means of preserving every existing dynasty.

FROM THE COOPERS OF LONDON AND ITS ENVIRONS.

I gratefully receive this loyal and affectionate address from the Coopers of London and its vicinity.

The industrious classes of the metropolis contain few courtiers: they comprehend what is better, a mass of honest men. To receive the spontaneous, unbought homage of honest men, is more honourable to any sovereign than all the incense of flattery, and all the protestations of servility from myriads of false hearts and venal lips. It is sincerity alone that impresses a value upon the professions of friendship, and the encomiums of loyalty.

A free government will not last long without virtue in the people. Where liberty does not find virtue, it will either make it or degenerate into servitude. There is usually a reciprocating agency between virtue and liberty, and liberty and virtue. Virtue favours the growth and secures the permanence of liberty, while liberty is genial to the production of virtue and to the diffusion of all its fair progeny, in the persons of truth, of justice, and humanity over the land. To make people slaves to vice in any of its forms, is to incapacitate them for liberty. The slave of sensuality will sell his birth-right, even though that birth-right be liberty, rather than forego the gratification of a present appetite. When liberty is in danger, let not its

defence be entrusted to the inebriate or the voluptuary; for they will often be under the dominion of a passion stronger than that of liberty; and where any domineering vice can enter, tyranny will always sooner or later make its way.

FROM THE INHABITANTS OF THE CITY  
OF ABERDEEN AND ITS VICINITY.

I gratefully accept this loyal and affectionate tribute of regard from the householders and inhabitants of the City of Aberdeen and its vicinity.

Innocence is open, ingenuous, unreserved. It dreads no disclosure, and it practices no concealments. It speaks what it thinks. It has no occasion to have recourse to equivocations and double meanings. These are the refuge of falsehood and the artifices of fraud. My conduct has, I trust, through my whole life, displayed the characteristics of that innocence, which is fearless because it has no detection to dread. Innocence, when it is accompanied with great natural frankness, or habitual artlessness, may at times, be so open as to appear indiscreet to those whom malevolence has taught to be wary, and perfidy to be circumspect. But it is only guile that seeks the obstructions of artifice, as the serpent lurks beneath the leaves.

FROM THE INHABITANTS OF MAIDSTONE, AND ITS VICINITY.

I return my unfeigned thanks to the male and female inhabitants of Maidstone and its vicinity for this loyal and affectionate address.

I am happy to find my conduct so warmly approved, and my right so strenuously maintained by such an enlightened part of the nation.

In vindicating my rights, I am defending those of the people: the sanctity of a free constitution is invaded if a single individual is oppressed. A free constitution protects individual right as a part of the general liberty; but were the true principles of the constitution ever so glaringly outraged as in that measure which is now pending in the House of Lords?

FROM THE INHABITANTS OF BRECON,  
IN THE PRINCIPALITY OF WALES.

I am unfeignedly obliged to the inhabitants of Brecon, in the principality of Wales, for this loyal and affectionate address.

A vivid sympathy with the sufferings of a woman, and that woman a Queen, must be ever congenial with the feelings of those who are descended from the ancient Britons. If my accumulated persecutions did not strongly interest their sensibility, every spark of chivalrous ardour must be extinguished in their breasts.

As the same power which menaces the degradation of the Queen, threatens slavery to the nation, it is an additional argument with all who value liberty, strenuously to assert the rights, and to vindicate the innocence of the Queen. The liberties of the nation are, at this moment, blended into a strict union with the rights of the Queen. One must perish with the other. If

the Queen is degraded, the people will cease to be free.

FROM THE INHABITANTS OF ST. MARY-  
LE-BOW, IN THE COUNTY OF MID-  
DLESEX

The inhabitants of the parish of St. Mary-le-Bow, in the county of Middlesex, are entitled to my cordial thanks for this loyal and affectionate address.

The present conspiracy against my honour and my life, though not yet stripped of all its disguise, and laid open to the broad day, has been sufficiently developed to show that in the malice by which it was primarily instigated, in the turpitude of the different agents by whom it has been conducted, in the gigantic magnitude of the whole, and the intricate ramification of the details, it was never equalled in the annals of barbarity, or moral infamy.

The conduct of my enemies has justly excited the indignation of the country. They see the whole force of the administration arrayed for the destruction of a single female. They behold tyranny making use of the proceeding, to rear its head above the law and the constitution, and to threaten the security of every individual.

The way to peace is often through a path of thorns. The numerous persecutions which I have experienced, and which have infested so large a portion of my life, may perhaps, under the direction of a kind Providence, be preparatory to an interval of more undisturbed tranquillity than I have hitherto enjoyed.

FROM THE MASTER AND WARDENS OF  
THE CORPORATION OF CORDWAINERS  
OF THE TOWN OF HAVERFORDWEST.

The Master and Wardens of the ancient Corporation of Cordwainers, with the other artisans of the town and county of Haverfordwest, are entitled to my grateful acknowledgments for this loyal and affectionate Address.

The public press in this country tends to give unity to public sentiment to a degree that never existed before in any country in the world. The facilities of communication between all parts of the kingdom are now so great, that the sentiment which the public prints diffuse through the metropolis to-day, is in the course of the morrow or the next day transmitted to almost every part of England, and in less than a week to the most remote parts of Britain. The metropolis is the centre which soon vibrates the sentiment with something like the rapidity of electricity to the extremities: and the sentiment at the extremities, or in any of the less remote parts is, in the same manner, vibrated back upon the metropolis. The state, though composed of so many remote and disjointed parts, is thus, in a high degree, individuated; and means are thus afforded for ascertaining, with great certainty, on any subject of general interest or importance, the genuine sentiments and the real feelings of the people.

If the sentiments and feelings of the people, on any one subject, were ever more clearly manifested than on another, it

has been on the treatment of the Queen. That treatment has, from one end of the kingdom to the other, and with fewer individual exceptions than were ever found upon any topic of controversy, been unreservedly and universally reprobated. When the public feeling on this subject has been to general and so strong, so much one and indivisible, as to be incapable to be mistaken, to what cause are we to ascribe the fact, that the Government did not yield to such an indubitable expression of the national wish, and relinquish the tyrannical proceeding? To what other cause can we ascribe the signal opposition between the general will and the will of the Government—but that the Government itself is in the hands of a faction, and that the interest of that faction is diametrically opposite to the public interest?

FROM THE INHABITANTS OF BURY ST. EDMONDS AND ITS VICINITY.

I am much gratified by this loyal and affectionate Address from the inhabitants of Bury St. Edmunds and its vicinity.

My enemies have always been unbounded in their professions of loyalty and religion.

They have usually monopolized so large a portion of these good qualities among themselves, that they have left none to their neighbours. They have hence made no scruples of venting accusations of treason or of scepticism against all who presume to think differently from themselves. They have forgotten that the best test of loyalty is obedience to the laws: and that the better part of religion is charity. If my enemies will apply this true test, either of loyalty or religion, to their own conduct, they will, perhaps, find that they have formed an erroneous estimate of themselves; and that even the Queen and her friends may not be totally wanting in those virtues with which they are so plentifully furnished.

No one who has taken a large and comprehensive view of the happiness or the misery that prevails in the different conditions of life, would desire power except as the means of enlarging his sphere of usefulness. Happiness by no means keeps pace with the successive aspirings of ambition, but still it may be increased by the additions which we are able to make to the stock of private or of public felicity.

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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TO  
EARL GREY,

*On the talked-of change of  
Ministry.*

London, Nov. 22, 1820.

MY LORD,

This is the *fourth time*, within my political life, that an opportunity has been offered your Lordship for totally destroying the power of the Pitt-faction and system; that accursed system, under which the country has, at last, arrived at a state of misery, such as no country on earth ever before was placed in. Petitions are now again preparing, in some parts of the kingdom, praying the king to *dismiss his present ministers*. My opinion is, that those petitions will be unavailing. Nay, my opinion is, that, *as things now stand*, it is the duty of the people to *abstain from presenting*, or encouraging such petitions; the reasons for which opinion it is my intention now to lay before the public, under the form of

a Letter, addressed to your Lordship, whom, I am convinced, the public voice places at the head of those who could possibly be thought of as fit to manage the nation's affairs, and to save the country from a turbulent revolution.

It is a curious spectacle to behold a ministry, defeated, despised, abhorred, by the great body of the people, sitting as quietly and as securely in their places, as if they were completely triumphant and were universally respected and beloved. Yet, this spectacle is not more curious, than the thing is natural, when we come to consider the *causes* that have been, and are, at work, to produce it. Those who wish to supplant the ministers, and, at the same time, wish to walk in their steps, allege the *enormous power of the Crown* as the *cause*. That these persons are foolish or insincere, must be evident now at any rate, when that power has been *stretched to its utmost*, and yet has been insufficient to accomplish an ob-

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ject, as dear, if not dearer, to the *Crown*, than any one ever aimed at since the kingly office was known in England. With such striking proof of the contrary before their eyes, such persons must be *insincere*, when they ascribe the present security of the ministers to the *power of the Crown*. Indeed, they know better: they know the real causes; but, they try to disguise them from themselves, thinking that they thereby disguise them from others.

In order to come at a fair view of those causes, we must go back to the state of things at the time of the Queen's arrival in June last. The case of her Majesty has been, and is, a matter of great importance. It must be considered as a great incident; but, still, it is no more than an incident, in the grand drama, the close of which will infallibly be the total destruction of the Pitt-system, either by gentle or violent means.

The Queen's arrival, while it did indeed create an embarrassment to the ministers, relieved them from sundry other embarrassments. It drowned the howlings of the farmers, merchants and manufacturers; and, it put a stop, for a while, to the schem-

ing of those loan-jobbers and stock-holders, whose projects aimed directly at a *division of the lands*. That blister, Mr. PEEL'S BILL, which, by the by, seems to have condemned its author to *eternal silence*; that blister upon the back of the country, had produced the commencement of its natural effects. The *Six Acts* had only tended to make the bitterness of the people more bitter; and, though the scaffold was yet streaming with blood, and the open and impudent avowal of the Spy-system yet sounded in our ears, the people of this whole kingdom beheld that system with abhorrence. Never was there a greater error than to suppose, that those feelings were confined to a *few*, and those few nothing but *rabble*. They were the feelings of *the people* in general.

But, the great circumstance of all, was, that state of the *currency* which was produced by Mr. Peel's Bill. This measure was, and is, proceeding, with regular and unrelenting step, to produce the total ruin of all farmers and traders, and to reduce their workmen to starvation. "*Loyalty*" has been a very current coin. No-

thing has had a more glib circulation. It has been a passport to an immense mass of knavery and cruelty. But, the effects of this measure were too much even for "loyalty" to endure. Accordingly we have now heard crying out for "*a change of system*," the very ruffians who exulted at the slaughtering of the people at Manchester!

When I received, on the other side of the Atlantic, the newspapers, containing an account of the passing of that Bill, I hastily ran my eye over the columns to discover what you had said upon the subject; and, I was happy to perceive, that, if the vote was unanimous, there was, at least, *your opinion* standing on record against it. I have not the debates now before me; but, I well remember the doubts you expressed, and the opinion you gave.—Whether Lord King spoke upon the subject I do not recollect; but, I am sure he must have joined you in sentiment. From that moment I was satisfied, that, if it were yet possible to save the country from confusion by a change in the ministry, your Lordship must be at the head of the new cabinet.

Great, therefore, as are the recently-acquired claims of your Lordship on our confidence; grateful as the nation feels for your exertions in the cause of the Queen, to which exertions next after those of the whole of the people, her Majesty certainly owes her triumph; still, in the minds of all those, who reflect on the real causes of the nation's miseries, your conduct with regard to Mr. Peel's Bill, constitutes a stronger claim.

It is in the matters connected with this Bill that we see the great difficulties of the country. How vain have proved all the hopes and expectations of the two Houses, who *unanimously* voted for that Bill! Could it be any thing short of ideocy, which anticipated nothing more than *temporary* distress from that measure? From a measure which must *necessarily* go on producing more and more misery for four years, and must then fix the misery for ever! This necessity was so obvious, that the dullest eyes of the most illiterate and inexperienced could perceive it; and yet, at the instance of the *saucy son of froth*; at the instance, and almost at the command, of an upstart punster, the aristo-

cracy of England unanimously voted their estates into the hands of loan-jobbers, stockholders, and the other vermin of 'Change-Alley; while, by the same vote, they awarded ruin and starvation to the farmer, the tradesman, the journeyman and the labourer!

Your Lordship will not have forgotten the hopes held out by *Lords Liverpool and Castlereagh* at the commencement of the *Banking-Act Session*. The evil was to be but *temporary*, and one reason was, that there was *distress in America*, and that our distress arose partly out of that, and, as that would be *only temporary*, ours would be *only temporary*! I took occasion instantly to show how fallacious this was; and now we find, or, at least, I know, that this American *distress*, as they called it, has been regularly increasing, and must become *permanent*. The fact is, and who, except those wise ministers, did not foresee it, the paper-money in America was *reduced in quantity by Mr. Peel's Bill*! *Lords Liverpool and Castlereagh*, and their profound colleague, Mr. Canning, will not be able to perceive *how*, perhaps; but this was the fact.

Prices fell, of course; and, of course, there was less money to lay out on English goods.—Whether the Americans will resort to a *reduction of expenses*, to *loans in time of peace*, to *internal direct taxes*, or to a *reduction of the interest of their debt*, I cannot say. To one of these they must resort; and, as I love the people of America, God preserve them from the *third*; for, that it would, in a few years, *break up the Union*, I am as certain as that I am in existence. The *first* is hardly practicable; the *second* would only put off the evil day, and tend to enslave the people; and the *fourth*, while it is perfectly *just* in itself, is the only remedy free from danger. In 1816, when the "National Bank" was established with a view of giving what was called *solidity* to the paper-system, I, in an essay addressed to them, warned the Americans of their danger. I never met with a well-informed man in that country, who did not lament that my advice had been rejected; and who did not anticipate the consequences that have now arrived.

This is no digression, my Lord. These matters, though

they exist on the other side of the ocean, are closely connected with our most important concerns. They show how visionary were all those hopes which our Ministers built upon what they called "the returning prosperity of America;" and they form an admirable illustration of the futility of all the notions that produced the measure, which is now grinding the landholder and all the industrious classes in this kingdom to dust.

Here, then, my Lord, is the first obstacle to the turning out of the Ministers! What successor, who is worthy of public confidence, will undertake to carry Mr. Peel's Bill into effect? That is to say, will undertake to cause the total ruin of all farmers and people in trade, and to reduce the labouring part of the people to banditti, prowling about for food? And yet, who is bold enough to propose to reduce the interest of the Debt? That this must be done, at last, I know; but, the shuffling, the evasion, the false pretences, the feigned candour, the miserable cowardice that would prevail, even amongst those who wished the measure to be adopted, are quite enough to make the

boldest man living shrink from making the proposition with no other than such support!

Therefore, before any one blame you, my Lord, for not doing what some have called your "duty;" that is, standing forward to oust these Ministers; let that man declare explicitly, that he, at any rate, is ready to support you in reducing the interest of the Debt; and not, that he is ready to support you in carrying on the Pitt-System, which is, in fact, only promising to assist in dragging you through every species of mortification and disgrace. It would be pretty support, indeed, that your Lordship would receive from Alexander Baring, John Maberly, Pascoe Grenfell, and David Ricardo! Some author asks: "what must the priest be, where a monkey is the God?" And I ask: what must the minister be, where a stock-jobber is "the Oracle?" Pretty support, indeed, would that be which would be given by a set of Lords and country gentlemen, who could call in Baring and Gladstones and Rothschild and Ricardo and Goldsmidt to instruct them as to the conditions, upon which they were, in future, to hold their estates,

and who, upon the recommendation of such men, could actually pass a law, which, if it were carried into full effect, would completely disinherit their children! The bare thought of having to encounter *support* like this, is enough to make a statesman, who has character left, flee from Whitehall, not only to Northumberland, but, if necessary, to the ends of the earth.

Here, then, in this one circumstance, there is sufficient to deter any man, who has a character to lose, from becoming either the head, or a member, of a new ministry. It is not now, as it was forty years ago, a change of men and of some particular measures, that are wanted, leaving the *main principles* of governing the same. It is a change of *system* that is wanted; and, for such a change those who call themselves *opposition* people are by no means prepared. On the contrary, they have hitherto appeared as anxious to uphold the present system as the Ministers themselves; and the point they labour at, is, to convince us, that *they* (wise gentlemen) would carry the system on in a *better manner*.—

They labour in vain. They will never produce this conviction. They will never make us believe, that a *spy-system* under another man would be anything better than a spy-system under Sidmouth; or that starvation under Mr. Maberly would be any better than starvation under Mr. Vansittart; two gentlemen who appear to have been formed by nature to be rivals in every thing. Your lordship would make a very pretty figure with Mr. Maberly for your Chancellor of the Exchequer. And yet, without a change of system, he would do for the office as well as any one else.

It is a great deal worse than useless to attempt any change of Ministry without a resolution to encounter and overcome this monster of paper-money, which is devouring the nation piece by piece, and which must, if not encountered and overcome, plunge it into utter confusion. There is besides, and of much about equal magnitude, the great question of *Parliamentary Reform*. There are numerous minor matters which must be attended to, and with regard to which the system must be totally reversed; but there

is this great question of Parliamentary Reform, without a decision of which, and, indeed, without the making of Reform in some shape or other, any new Ministry would be a thousand times more odious than the present.

And here let me beg your lordship not to take upon trust those who represent the Reformers to be a mere disaffected *few*; a low and deluded crew. It may very well suit the purposes of such men as Lord Liverpool, Lord Sidmouth, Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning thus to represent them; and, without any extraordinary degree of penetration, one may discover reasons for Mr. Scarlett, Sir James Mackintosh, Mr. Baring, Mr. Ricardo, Mr. Pascoe Grenfell and others who are ranged on what is called the opposition side, representing us in the same light. One can easily discover very good reasons for this; but it would now be wilful blindness to affect to believe such representations; seeing that the question relating to her Majesty the Queen, has in its progress so clearly demonstrated the contrary.

The Reformers have so long been called a despicable rabble,

or, at best, a deluded herd, that some men really seem to have believed the representation to be true. His Majesty, for instance, does, I dare say, look upon them in this light; and the borough-holders have, from their desire not to believe the truth, entertained with regard to them the same opinion. It has been imagined that the nick-name of *Radical* has represented nothing more than a pitiful faction, partly knaves, and partly visionary fools. To be sure the lie direct was given to this idea by the assertion of the absolute necessity of augmenting the military force in the amount of ten thousand men; by the erection of new barracks; by the passing of the dungeon law in 1817; by the issuing of Sidmouth's circular; by the passing of the *Six Acts*; and by all the prosecutions and sentences against persons denominated Radicals. It was no trifling matter to adopt measures like these; and their adoption clearly proved the stupid folly of every one that could be made to believe that the Reformers were a *contemptible* faction.

It is very true, indeed, that, as to outward appearances, the

cause of Reform was heartily espoused by few persons, comparatively speaking, other than those of the labouring classes. But, when was it otherwise? When were not those, who had least to lose, the foremost in *openly* espousing a public cause? How strikingly was this exemplified on the arrival of her Majesty! But of this I will speak hereafter. There is a reason, my lord, in the nature of things, why the labouring classes should stand *foremost* in every such struggle. There is a beautiful passage, applicable to this subject, in Rousseau's *Social Compact*, the precise words of which I do not recollect, but I dare say your lordship does; and they are really worth turning to at this time. He is speaking of the degrees of *dependence* in society. He shews that there is no class so independent as that, which relies for its well-being on the sweat of it's brow; and even as to this class he prefers the artizan before the labourer in the fields. His reasons are so solid, so incontrovertible, and so true, that they have always been present in my mind, whenever it has been drawn to subjects of this nature. The ob-

servation of my whole life, which has afforded, by the bye, no small scope for observation of this kind, has fully confirmed this doctrine of that celebrated writer. It is with the common, the labouring artizan that all great revolutions have begun, and that all great and salutary reforms have originated; that is to say, that the *overt acts* have originated, by which those reforms have been finally accomplished.

Therefore, it is to deceive one's-self to suppose that a cause is bad or weak, merely because it be not *openly* espoused by the great and the rich, and even not by the middling classes of the community. Until a country arrives at actual military despotism these latter are the classes which finally decide all great questions; but we are not to conclude, that, because we do not see these classes in *open activity*, they are unconcerned spectators; and much less are we to conclude that they are *hostile* to a cause openly espoused by none but the labouring classes. The farmer is generally a *tenant*; the tradesman has his opulent *customers*, and he is known to those customers. He is also a *tenant*

ninety-nine times out of a hundred. The waggon master and coach-master are known to those who have money to hire waggons and to ride in coaches. The inn-keeper is known to those who have money to ride in chaises and to eat and sleep at his house. Every ale-house keeper is dependent on the absolute will of the Magistrates for his *licence*. In our miserable state of things there are the *discounts* by the Bank and by Bankers. While every man who has a farm in his possession; or who rents a house of any thing of value, is in some degree under the beck of the tax-gatherer. Think, my lord, of the dependence created by the raising and the expending of fifty millions of taxes every year; and of more than four millions more of taxes actually divided amongst the tax-gatherers themselves! Think of the workings of this immense mass of influence; and you will find that it is next to impossible that any man in the middle classes of society can think himself wholly safe in openly espousing any cause to which the government is hostile.

Therefore it is that the Reformers have, to *outward appearance*, consisted of few per-

sons not of the labouring classes. But, foolish indeed, are those who suppose that the middle classes do not wish for a Reform of the Parliament.—These are millions, indeed, who have been afraid to *act* with the Radicals; but these millions have not acted against them. Their fears have made them stand aloof, and content themselves with *wishing* us success. They have not acted as Radicals; but they will not act to turn out the Ministers *for any thing short of Reform!* They have been made afraid openly to join us; but nothing will induce them openly to join any body of men who persist in refusing us Reform altogether. Lord Liverpool said (at the beginning of the present session, I think it was), that there was a great mass of disaffection existing in the country; but that the middle classes were perfectly *sound*. Does he think them *sound now*? Perhaps he may have changed his opinion, but, then, what becomes of that security which he acknowledged rested solely upon that soundness?

It is truly curious, my lord, to observe the progress of the development of public opinion with



regard to the case of her Majesty the Queen ; and the gradual and regular increase of that popular countenance and support, which (though I never leave out of sight the able speech of your lordship) was the rock of her Majesty's salvation. I witnessed her arrival in London in a miserable half broken down carriage covered with dust, followed by a post chaise and a calash ; the whole exhibiting all the marks of poverty, out-cast misery and wretchedness. I saw the members of the House of Commons and the House of Lords, who were walking up Parliament-street and Whitehall, as she scrambled along amidst the mud carts and drays, over that very bed of gravel, which had that morning been laid to render the motion of her husband's state carriage to the House of Lords, soft and easy ; I saw the faces of those noblemen and gentlemen at that moment ; and I endeavoured in vain to read in their features inward feelings such as I thought ought to have existed in their bosoms. I was close behind her, too, when she passed the house in St. James's-street, the rendezvous of those who are called the opposition. Many of them were

assembled on the balcony. They did, indeed, slowly take off their hats ; but they hung down their heads at the same time, and seemed ashamed that they yielded this ordinary mark of respect at the command of those who are denominated the rabble, and whom Castlereagh has called the basest populace. At Shooter's Hill one, and only one private carriage, and that a tradesman's, attended to meet her Majesty. Before she reached London, there were many post chaises and hackney coaches, and a considerable body of tradesmen on horseback ; but the far greater part of the carriages consisted of carts, of one description and another ; while the persons assembled at various places to greet her, consisted almost entirely of labourers and artizans and their wives and children. This was the description of the body that surrounded her when she alighted in South Audley-street ; and this was the description of that immense multitude that surrounded her in Portman-street, while the deputation from the House of Commons were presenting to her a paper intending to get her out of the country ; this was the description of that multi-

tade, who, while the deputation was in the house, made the air ring with the cry of, "*turn them out! turn them out!*" This was the description of that multitude, from whose indignation the deputation escaped by leaping all four into the same carriage, into the doors of which the *spittle* actually flew like the balls of an extensive battery all directed to one single point.

From that moment, when "*Castlereagh's basest populace*" gave the wisest advice that ever was given to human being, her Majesty has been rising in the love and admiration of the whole nation; and every day has added to the opulence as well as to the number of her friends. At the moment of her arriving in London, she had no open and active friends except the mere labouring classes. In time the friendship towards her went on gaining upwards, till, at last, it brought every thing under its power, except the base, the servile, and the notoriously wicked.

This is the true history of the progress of her Majesty's cause; and can your lordship discover no reason here for supposing, that the cause of Parliamentary Reform must not finally triumph

at the termination of a similar progress. The cause of her Majesty was of a nature to produce a more instantaneous effect than the cause of Reform. It appealed more immediately to the heart; and, what was of infinite importance, every *woman* and especially every married woman, clearly understood the merits of the case, while every really virtuous woman made the cause her own. These were great advantages, which her Majesty's cause possessed over that of Reform; but, still, the progress of the two have a great similarity between them; and that man must be blind indeed, who does not perceive that the latter has derived very great assistance from the former.

The causes of this are evident enough. There was, in the first place, a striking similarity in many respects between the mode of persecution in the two cases, besides the very powerful circumstance that the persecutors were the same identical persons. It was impossible to hear of the *Milan Commission*; it was impossible to hear of the works of *Cooke, Powell, Browne, Baron d'Ompèdax* and the rest of that tribe, without looking back to *Oliver,*

Castles and Edwards. It was impossible to hear of Italian witnesses coming, without shuddering at the thought of the exhibitions in Derbyshire and more recently in London. It was impossible to hear of Green Bags and Secret Committees without sending the memory back to 1817 to re-visit the dungeons of numerous men, shut up in prison upon the warrant of a Secretary of State, without being confronted with their accusers and without ever being brought to trial from the first to the last. The Bill of Pains and Penalties, slanderous, odious and detestable as it was, and evident as were its intentions, could not fail to carry our recollection back to the time when the dungeon bill was passed, while evidence was tendered, and refused to be received, in proof of the falsehood of the facts upon which it was professed that that Bill was founded.

All these circumstances of similarity tended to identify the cause of her Majesty with the cause of Reform; and, now the identification seems to be sought to be established by our enemies themselves, by their pertinacious hostility to the whole body of

the people. They have now actually compelled hundreds of thousands of those, who are either neutral, or who are in a state of hostility with regard to us, to join themselves to us, as the only means of obtaining protection. Thousands upon thousands of men, who were altogether hostile to Reform, have now been so ill-treated, so persecuted, and are now under such a state of persecution on account of their activity in the cause of her Majesty, that they are driven to seek for a Reform, as the only means of delivering them from the hands of their enemies.

But, that which has most contributed to the strengthening of our cause upon this occasion, is, that there has been, during this struggle for her Majesty, gradually sinking into the public mind a conviction, that there is *something radically wrong* in the conducting of the government. In all cases where great evils arise, and command a great portion of public attention and interest, the people are set to the work of *reflection*. They do not content themselves with a mere contemplation of the evil. They enquire into its causes; and, in the end, they trace

it back to those causes. The people saw, indeed, that Cooke, Foswell and Browne were sent out by the Ministers. They saw that it was the Ministers who brought in the Green Baga. They were angry with the Ministers; and they wished the Ministers to be punished; or, at least, to be stopped from proceeding against the Queen. But how were the people to stop the Ministers? When they came to reflect they found that they had no power to stop the Ministers. They then looked about them for the way to go to work to check the Ministers in a proceeding, which the Queen as well as themselves regarded as the most unjust, insulting, cruel and cowardly that ever was heard of in the world. But, in thus looking about them for assistance against the Ministers, they could find none. In their haste they first looked to the Parliament. But, they found the House of Lords prosecutors, judges and jurors in the case. They then turned short round to the other house, containing the "*representatives of the people*;" but, alas! they there found that the Ministers had an enormous majority on their side!

There needed nothing further! The mind of the people; the mind of those who were not Reformers before, rushed to the proper conclusion at once. And thus, while the cause of Reform has scarcely been mentioned, during the last four months, it has gained more proselytes than it ever gained before in ten years; and, at this moment, if the middle classes of the people were polled, there would be found a hundred to one in favour of a Parliamentary Reform.

The mind, when it takes a turn, travels at a great rate. Every one can now see that if there had been a Reformed Parliament, the Queen never would have been persecuted or oppressed; and every one can now see that all the miseries of the nation would have been prevented by such Reform. When the passions are deeply engaged, when strong feeling exists, when men are looking about them for the cause of what gives them offence, their eyes and ears are open to statements relating to that cause. Infinite are the number and uncommonly great is the interest of the facts, which have been brought to light by this transaction. The people have

caught at these facts, and they have all tended to the same great and useful conclusion: namely, that nothing but a Reformed Parliament can give security to her Majesty, or a chance of prosperity and happiness to the nation.

Therefore, it is now something little short of madness to talk of a change of Ministry without a change of system that would include a Reform of the House of Commons. It was always, within these twenty years, *folly* to talk of it; but it is now something a great deal worse than folly. It is impossible, my Lord, for any man to form an idea of any possible benefit to be derived by the people from any such change; that is to say, a new Ministry, without a pledge to Reform the Parliament. This measure takes precedence even of the reduction of the debt; for without this the debt cannot be reduced. The people dislike the Ministers; but, *for what?* Not because they bear certain names and titles, but because they do certain things which we wish not to be done; and leave undone certain things which we wish to be done. *Sidmouth and Grey* (pray forgive me for coup-

ling the words together!) sound equally well to the ear; abstracted from all cognizance of the acts of the man, I have no quarrel with the letters that compose the name of Sidmouth. It is the acts of the man that I dislike; and, of course, I should dislike the same acts in the same degree if they proceeded from yourself.

Why, therefore, should any body wish for a change of Ministry, unless the new Ministry were to act upon a new system. If my throat be to be cut, or my pocket picked, what is it to me, whether the operator be a wise man, or a fool? And what is it to the people, whom they suffer under, so that they suffer? If we are to have no tax taken off; no Six Acts repealed; no men let out of dungeons; no diminution of Sinecures and Pensions; if we are to have none of these things under a new Ministry; why, in God's name, should we call upon the King to change his Ministers? If nothing is to be done to those who have persecuted the Queen; if there is to be no redress, no indemnification for any body, what fools must those be that would waste one single aspira-

tion in order to remove these Ministers from their places!

I know that some pretend that the government might be carried on in a milder manner *without a Reform of the Parliament*. These persons pretend that the Spy System, the Manchester System, and all the other things that we most loudly complain of, are unnecessary. These persons are deluded themselves, or they would delude others. The government, with an unreformed parliament, cannot be maintained without all the means that these Ministers make use of. The employment of Spies is openly avowed. The expenditure of eighty thousand pounds a-year in Secret Service money, we have, boldly stated in the accounts. New Barracks are continually rising up, and we know that the Army has recently been augmented by ten thousand men. And, after all, it is but *touch and go*. After all, it is necessary to have guards and barricades, and a species of *gens d'armes*, to defend the House of Lords. How then could the thing be carried on without Spies, Secret Service Money, and a large Army? Reform the Parliament, and these

are all unnecessary; but, until it be reformed, not a farthing of reduction can take place in the annual expence, not a spy, not a soldier can be disbanded.

I have always regarded it as a mark of the grossest folly, or the grossest hypocrisy to talk of what is called an *economical Reform*. It is more delusion to talk of such reform. And, it is something worse than hypocrisy to affect to complain of the Dungeon Bill, the Banishment Act, or any other of the measures of that description, while the complainant in the same breath calls the Reformers a set of wretches guilty of sedition and blasphemy. This is being baser than the hypocrite himself; for it is assisting him in his views by pretending to disapprove of them. There has been a sort of circular paragraph running through the papers, saying that Viscount Falkstone is *just come to town*, and brings word that the people in the country are "*indignant*" at the intention of the Ministers to prorogue the parliament! The writer of this paragraph does not tell us who those people in the country are; whether they be the free and independent electors of *Bowdoin*, who

sent his Lordship to Parliament last spring, and whom he surrendered to the care of Sir Thomas Pechell; or whether those *people in the country* be the corporation of New Sarum, who also sent his Lordship to Parliament at the same time, and who have just sent an address to the King; most loyally pledging themselves in support of his Majesty and his Ministers!

Now, my Lord, is it not a farce: is it not a despicable sham, for men to pretend to disapprove of the conduct of these Ministers when the very means they make use of to get their own seats in parliament, are the cause, and the only cause of the Ministers pursuing that conduct. There may be men; there may be such devils in human shape, as to delight in persecution and cruelty, for the mere pleasure of executing them. It is barely possible, too, that there may be men so depraved as to take pleasure in being detested; while the cause of the detestation produces them no other advantage whatever. Though this be next to impossible; though it be against reason and experience; though it be in defiance of a love of self

preservation, which is the first law of nature; we must not only believe the thing possible, but we must recognise the notoriety of the fact, before we can believe that the present Ministers have pursued that conduct which we detest in them, from mere *choice*; from a mere love of being detested. No such a thing. They have a certain system of government to carry on. They would, if they could, carry it on without being hated; but, they must carry it on or quit their places; and those places they do not like to quit.

The conclusion, therefore, is, that a change of men merely can be of no use whatever; and that, as to make any other change, of any benefit to the nation, without a Reform of the Parliament, is utterly impossible, so it would be folly for any one to petition for a dismissal of the Ministers, unless upon the express condition of obtaining such reform.

This, therefore, is the great obstacle to a change of the Ministry, which obstacle will in all probability exist, until these men have brought the nation into a state, little calculated for discussing this or any other subject. As to the sort of Reform that is

wanted, I do not know that I am justified in wasting an inch of my paper in describing it. Our wishes have long been before the nation and before the Parliament. The state of the representation is upon the records of the House of Commons with your name attached to it; and the alterations which we now want are upon the records of the same House, in a petition amongst the many signatures to which mine is one, that petition being presented in February, 1817. We, as well as our adversaries, understand the matter well. But, there is one point, one on which, though it has been often dwelt on, I will here say a few words.

The nick name of *Radical* has been invented and used for the base purpose of exciting a prejudice against *all Reform*, at the same time that it is intended to convey an idea that the Radicals want something *more* than a Reform of the Commons House of Parliament. Those who have been guilty of this miserable attempt at misrepresentation, know very well, that, what we contend for is, a House of Commons annually chosen, and in the choosing of which, a vote might be given by every

man liable to bear arms in defence of the country, including those who are actually soldiers and sailors. This is what we have prayed for. This is what many of us have been ruined, many of us imprisoned and many of us killed for seeking. This is what we say we have a right to. We have produced authorities and arguments to prove our right, as well as to prove the expediency and safety of the thing itself; and we have been answered by abuse, by reproach, by calumnies, by the dungeon and by stripes. No answer of any other kind have we received; except by some stupid attempts at ridicule, by saucy fellows fatted and decked out by the fruit of our labour, and by the impudent observation that we ask too much, and shall therefore have nothing. Those who make this observation do, however, pretend sometimes, that they are for a *moderate* reform. But these gentlemen take care never to tell us *what they mean*. And they take still more effectual care never to propose to exercise even this moderation. The people have never said that they would *refuse* any thing. I.e. these moderate Reformers



then make us a distinct proposition. I, for my part, should be for a change of the Ministry, if the new Ministers would pledge themselves to a reform in almost any shape; and especially if they would break up fifty rotten boroughs, and give the representatives amongst fifteen, twenty, or thirty of the great northern towns and villages; but I cannot insult my own understanding by calling it a Reform in Parliament to disfranchise one villainously rotten borough in seven years, and by calling those *Reformers*, who, while so many worthy public spirited men are pining in dungeons for their laudable endeavours to put an end to bribery and corruption, can find not one single prisoner, whose prison doors they will exert themselves to open, except Sir Menassah Lopez, who was justly suffering the punishment due to bribery and corruption the most notorious and most flagrant! In answer to this, Lord John Russell may say: "Well, then! let Castlereagh and Sidmouth " and Canning still continue to "rule you!" With all my heart, Lord John! I would rather they than you: unless you will first pledge yourself to

change that system by which they rule. And besides, Lord John, it is yourself you spite, and not us. Our lot they cannot make worse than it is: yours they not only may, but certainly will. Rescued all together we may be; but they cannot continue to grind us, without reducing you to very dust. The people they can never wholly destroy; but there are those whom their measures may finally totally annihilate.

It appears to me, my lord, that, independent of the cause of the Queen, there are ample materials in play to produce a Reform of the Parliament. The distresses of the nation will of themselves produce this Reform. Whether they will produce it without convulsion is more than I can say. I think it likely that the Reform will take place in the midst of confusion, if it be now put off for any length of time. This fatal catastrophe might be prevented at this time; but if this occasion be suffered to pass, no other will probably be offered. At any rate, it is very certain that the people will not stir for a change of the Ministry without a distinct pledge upon this subject. Let that pledge be given,

and the Ministers will not be in power many days from the time of giving it.

To expect that the people will effect the change of Ministry *first*, in expectation of receiving the *pledge afterwards*, is out of the question. If there be an intention to perform, to give the pledge costs nothing. But, the obstacle is, that there is no ground for any man's giving the pledge. He who gives it must, I am afraid, expect to be disavowed by those borough-holders who belong to his own party; and I frankly acknowledge, that I believe, that, before your Lordship gave such a pledge you must make up your mind to be deserted and disowned by every borough-holder in the kingdom. I acknowledge that this is too much for us to expect your Lordship to encounter. The people, the people *alone*, would carry you through; would bear you triumphant through every difficulty to the salvation of the country. They would enable you to compel the borough-holders to yield; but, as this must cost you the loss of all friendship and connexion with those amongst whom you have lived all your life, it is, I freely

confess, too much to be expected. All would be easy; hideous as are the perils of the country, every thing would be speedily put to rights, all dangers would be quickly removed; but, as the borough-mongers have been the great cause of these perils, so I am afraid, they will be the cause of preventing their removal. On their own heads be the consequences. The labouring classes of people in particular cannot experience much addition to their sufferings. The opulent and the great now begin to taste of the danger; and if destruction come upon them, let them acknowledge that it is the work of their own hands.

As to any *intrigues* that may be carried on for getting the Queen out of the country; and for patching up a Ministry upon that or any such basis, they are too contemptible to be worthy of notice. The difficulties of the government are so great, and are increasing so fast upon its hands, that, as an object of ambition, a man must be little short of mad to aim at the Ministry. As to the emoluments of office, or the patronage of office, they could be but of very short duration. So that there

appears to be no rational object offered in the post of Minister to any man who takes a just view of our present situation. The commission of First Lord of the Treasury would scarcely be worth the cost of the parchment and the wax; but it is very well worth while for the borough-holders to consider the wide difference that there may be, in the consequences, between a voluntary and a compulsory surrender. There is *yet* time for the former; but time flies swiftly; and, they should recollect that *yesterday* never returns. It is yet in their power to conciliate the people; but a time may come when it will be too late for conciliation; and when transactions, which might now be buried for ever in oblivion, may be revived and made the ground of proceedings that would otherwise never have been thought of. However, it is really their affair much more than the affair of *the people*, who will have a *Reform*, at no distant day, let the borough-holders do whatever they may.

The Borough of Southwark has, I perceived, *petitioned* the King to *dismiss his Ministers*; and the petition is worded in a way, which is worthy of parti-

cular notice. The petition does, indeed, express an opinion, that a Reform in the House of Commons *ought* to take place; but, it has this *saving*, or, rather, *damning*, observation, subjoined: "That, *sooner* or *later*, "such Reform is inevitable, but "whether such Reform be im- "mediately effected, or *not*, it "is *indispensable*, to the wel- "fare, the security and the ho- "nour c.<sup>d</sup> the country, that the "government should *no longer* "remain in the hands of the "present Ministers." This is the view, which Sir Robert Wilson takes of the matter. This is, I suppose, the view of it taken at BROOKES's. But, Sir Robert is a very *keen* man; that is to say, he is keen upon the scent. Sir Robert is *active* as well as ambitious. He is not a lazy fellow, who lies snorting out his commands to others, and who thinks all the world made to administer to his pomposity. Sir Robert is willing to *bestir himself*, and I like him for that. He does not want to cut across, and thus, without toil, come in at the death, and participate unworthily in the spoil. But, the worst of it is, that Sir Robert, in his keenness, over-runs his game. A little less *haste* would

have enabled Sir Robert to perceive, that the *converse* of this passage of the Borough Petition would have been much nearer the truth: that is to say: "Whether the Ministers *retain their places*, or not, a reform *is indispensable* to the welfare, the security and honour of the country." If we, the people of the *Borough* were asked: "Will you have a change of Ministry and no reform; or, a reform and no change of Ministry?" would they hesitate a single moment? Would they not instantly say, *give us the latter?*

There is something very ugly in this *saving* observation of this petition. The petition must be considered as the work of Sir R. Wilson; or, at least, as having his entire approbation; and I should not wonder if this particular part was rather a *favourite* with him. It is, on this account, importantly suspicious. It seems to indicate, that there are men, who think of coming into power without a pledge to give us a Reform; who think of leaving that matter for *future consideration*. And, if this be the case, it only shows, that there still are in the world men too blind

to be enlightened even though one rose from the dead to teach them.

Petitions of this stamp may be drawn up, put neatly upon paper or parchment, and sent to the King; but, while the Ministers will pay no attention to them, they will be almost immediately forgotten even by those who live in the places from which they have been sent. To talk of a change of ministry without a Reform is, in short, nonsense. Events will bring the Reform, if it be not assented to before the arrival of those events. At *this time*, the aristocracy might make it: at a *future time* it will be made without them. If men always pursued their real, permanent interests, we should be certain which of these the aristocracy will now prefer; but, as this is far from being always the case, we must patiently await their decision, and, in the meanwhile we shall, I trust, take care to give not the smallest countenance to any change of ministry, not including a Reform in the Commons' House of Parliament, to the want of which Reform, and to that alone, are to be ascribed all the calamities that afflict, and

all the dangers that menace, the country.

I am,

Your Lordship's most obedient  
And most humble servant,  
WM. COBBETT.

## THE QUEEN

AND

## HONOURABLE HOUSE.

The following account of the transactions in this famous and *unreformed* Assembly will need no comment. I take it from the *Courier*. It is a *complete* thing, exhibiting in a single view, "the envy of surrounding nations and admiration of the world." Mind, this Assembly is not composed of *Radicals* and "*Lower Orders*." Pray mind that!

"At a quarter before two o'clock the Speaker entered the House. Many members were present, particularly on the Opposition Benches. Prayers having been read, and the Speaker having ascertained that 40 Members were present, he took the Chair.

"A new writ was moved in the room of Mr. St. Paul for Berwick-upon-Tweed.

"Two Members then appeared at the table to be sworn, and such ceremony takes precedence of other business. When the oaths had been administered to them,

"Mr. Denman then rose, and was hailed with loud cheering by the Opposition. He was proceeding to address the Chair, holding in his hand a paper, when the Deputy Usher of the Black Rod appeared to summon the House to the House of Peers. Immense uproar and confusion then ensued. The Opposition exclaimed, "Withdraw, withdraw! Shame, shame!" and the noise was such, that what he said could not be heard. As soon as the Deputy Usher withdrew—

"The Speaker prepared to leave the Chair, when

"Mr. Tierney rose and observed, that not one word of what had fallen from the Deputy Usher had been heard; and how then did the Speaker know what was the message, or whether he was wanted at all in the other House. (Loud cheering.)

"The Speaker left the House amidst great uproar, loud calls of "shame, shame!" and several of the Opposition Members hissed very loudly as the Speaker was quitting the House. But few Members accompanied the Speaker.

"Many Members remained in the House, but the Speaker did not re-enter it. On his return, he went along the side gallery to his own dwelling; and the Sergeant at Arms took the message to his room up stairs.

"The Members then gradually separated."

Mr. Denman had, it seems, a Message to deliver from the Queen, in which her Majesty

remonstrated against the prerogative of Parliament without any provision having been made for her; and expressed her confidence in "*the Representatives of the People*." If I had been her Majesty's adviser, she would have left out the *three first* of these words; for, it is *the People* that her Majesty has to rely on; and that Mr. Brougham knows as well as I do. There was no necessity for talking of *reliance* at all; and certainly there was no necessity of expressing a reliance on an assembly, in which it is quite notorious, that the Ministers have a majority of *three to one*; and where a majority of three to one was actually found to send a Deputation to the Queen, the object of which was to *get her out of the country*! "*The Representatives of the People*" is, indeed, a sort of *equivocal* phrase; but we want nothing *equivocal* now; and, it would be much better for the Queen to deal in *plain language*.

However, here are *pretty scenes* before us! The *Six Acts*, namely, the Act to *disarm* the people; the Act to prevent them from *drilling* themselves, the Act to put new

*clogs* on the press, the Act to prevent them from *meeting*, the Act to *banish* writers and publishers, and the Act to *shorten* the process to conviction and punishment; these *Six Acts*, and not *five*, as they are sometimes called; these *Six Acts* had particularly in view, the preventing of every thing *tending* to excite CONTEMPT of *either House of Parliament*! For doing any thing having this tendency, it was enacted, that a man might be *banished*! And, just after the passing of this Banishment Act, we behold the pretty scenes lately exhibited in the two Houses! That worthy lawyer, the late Recorder of Bombay, Sir James Mackintosh, who is brother-in-law of Daniel Stewart, proprietor of the *Courier*, proposed a clause, which would have exposed to *banishment* any one, writing or publishing any thing, *tending* to induce people to *commit* felony! This was, I suppose, one of this humane worthy's methods of *softening* the criminal code! But, Sir James's humanity does not, it appears, apply to *political* offenders; but is confined to thieves, house-breakers, highwaymen, and the like. No, no! I, for my part, do not

want to see a change of Ministry for the mere pleasure of seeing Sir James become Attorney-General; or for that of seeing the same, or some similar office, filled by Mr. Scarlett, who now acts as a sort of Attorney-General to the *Manchester Magistrates*. No, no! We are far better as we are, than we should be under a change, which would produce only effects like these. No, no! Let us have no *Shoy-hoy* ministry, for God's sake, Let us have no *Mr. Bennetts* nor *Theodore Hooks*. It is quite bad enough to have individual *Shoy-hoys*. To have a whole ministry of them would be intolerable.

However, again I say, here are *pretty scenes*! It is for the *people* to look at them, to reason on them, to calculate the consequences, and *calmly* to await them. We are fools if we *now* are not cautious. Why should we run our heads against stone walls, or cram our legs into irons? Let the thing *work*. All that we have to do is, TO SUPPORT THE QUEEN, in all manner of ways, to the utmost of our power. I do not know what plans may be resolved on for *raising money* for her Majesty's use; but, this I

know, that I can wear an old coat, instead of getting a new one, and that I can and will do this, if necessary, in order to give my proportion. At any rate, we can subtract from *Coffee, Tea, Sugar, Beer, and Spirits*, quite enough for every purpose; and, this is the proper way to do the thing; because it cuts *two ways at once*. I hope the plan will be well formed, easy of execution, *well explained*; and that it will be *general* as to its operation. It will hardly be deemed *disloyal* to give our money to support our Queen. We have given our money to "*German Sufferers*;" that is to say, to the German Governments: we have had our money *voted* to French Emigrants, for whom we are working even yet; a large sum is voted every year to the "*Poor Clergy*" of the fat Church of England; and, surely, it will not be *disloyal* in us to save a little out of *taxed articles*, wherewith to maintain a Queen, to whom we owe more than to all the other public personages that we have ever known, or heard of.

The Queen's procession to St. Paul's takes place on *Wednesday*. There is, or ought to be,

church service in *every parish* every Wednesday. I hope that the people in the country will go to church on *that* day at any rate. It is said, that, in many parts, the people are *quitting the church*, on account of her Majesty's name being still kept out of the *Liturgy*. This is the *effectual* way of going to work; and, it may easily be managed so as to make it perfectly consistent with our duties in a *religious* point of view. Bishop *Van Mildert* (Llandaff) whom the villagers of *Ewelme* have, it is stated in the newspapers, lately hooted, and *pelleted with stones*, took, in the Six-Acts Parliament, a very decided part in support of the *Banishment Bill*, which he said was necessary for the protection of "religion." I wonder whether the Right Reverend Father in God thinks that "religion" has not suffered more *since* the act was passed than it *ever* suffered before, in this kingdom!

#### PEEPS and LINKS.

A new and complete edition of the PEEP AT THE PEERS will be published on Monday, the

*fourth of December*. This edition will contain more than a *hundred corrections*, and will be printed in a *new form*, the form and size of the Political Register, and will be sold at the same price.

On the *same day*, and in the *same form*, and at the same price, will be published the LINKS OF THE LOWER HOUSE.

In about six weeks will be published a PEEP AT THE PARSONS! Pull off your hats, you *ragged radicals*! you "*basest populace*," pull off your rusty hats, before you dare to take this Peep!

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#### COBBETT'S GRAMMAR.

*Next Thursday*, the 30th of November, will be published the *fourth edition*, carefully corrected, and dedicated to her Majesty, the Queen, of this work, which, as its title expresses, is intended for the use of schools and of young persons in general, and more especially for the use of *Soldiers, Sailors, Apprentices* and *Plough-Boys*.



## MR. HUNT.

The following article will speak for itself. It is useless to waste words. But, base is the man, who will forget what is here recorded.—What I have so often recommended, "*a Peep into the Dungeon*," must be published.

## COURT OF KING'S BENCH,

NOVEMBER 21.

**THE KING v. HENRY HUNT, Esq.**—Mr. Chitty called the attention of the Court to a complaint of this gentleman, as to the mode of his treatment in the gaol of Ilchester, where he now remains confined under the sentence of the Court. The affidavit on which the application was founded, was couched in these terms :—

"Henry Hunt, of Middleton Cottage, in the County of Hants, but now a prisoner in his Majesty's gaol of Ilchester, in the County of Somerset, maketh oath and saith, that on the 16th of May last, he was sentenced, by this Honourable Court, to be imprisoned in Ilchester gaol, for two years and six months; when upon this deponent inquiring of Mr. Justice Bayley, what was to be the nature of his imprisonment, and whether it was to be solitary, the Learned Judge, in reply, intimated, that the Court made no such order, neither had the Court any intention of inflicting any further punishment than that of safe custody; and the Learned Judge emphatically

added, if the deponent should have any reason to complain of his treatment, that an application to the Court would be attended to. This deponent further saith, that on his arrival at the gaol, on the 17th day of May, at ten o'clock at night, he was placed by the gaoler in a cold, damp ward, or cell, with two prisoners habited in the jail dress, where there were three straw bags placed upon three gaol trucks, one of which was pointed out by the gaoler as the place of rest for this deponent. That for the first fortnight this deponent was allowed neither fire-irons nor sander; that for seven weeks he was confined within the pestilential walls of a small yard, about ten yards square, which materially affected the health of this deponent, the effect of which he still feels. That during this time his friends were excluded, except at three separate hours of the day, and not allowed to see him at all after four o'clock in the afternoon. That in consequence of this prohibition, this deponent suffered great pecuniary losses, his affairs being left in a very deranged state, this deponent not having expected that any sentence of imprisonment would have been passed upon him. That on the 6th of July a body of Magistrates attended what is called the Gaol Sessions, held in the prison, and they made an order, after consulting the keeper of the gaol, that the friends of this deponent should be admitted to see him in his ward from nine o'clock in the morning till sunset, with which order this

deponent expressed himself perfectly satisfied. This regulation continued to be put in force to the mutual satisfaction of this deponent, the visiting Magistrates, Aaron Moody, Esq. and the Rev. Dr. Colston, as well as the keeper of the gaol and all his officers, till the 14th of August, when, as this deponent is informed, and verily believes, upon the suggestion of Francis Drake, Esq. of Wells, who is a Magistrate of the county, and one of the Grand Jury at the Assizes, an order was made (without any reason being assigned, and without there being any sufficient cause) to exclude all female visitors from the ward of the said deponent, and that they should only be permitted to see him at the double grating, at the same time and place where felons, convicts, and prisoners charged with and convicted of, unnatural crimes, bestiality, and murder, see and met their associates. In consequence of this harsh and unnecessarily cruel treatment, this deponent's family, consisting of two females, one of them this deponent's ward, who had come to Ilchester from London to see him, were locked out of the gaol without any notice being given to them or this deponent, or any cause assigned for the same, and in the most brutal and savage manner they were refused access to this deponent, who was never even permitted to see them to take leave of them; that since that time this deponent has been treated in the most cruel manner, and amongst other things he has been fre-

quently locked up for hours together in his dungeon in solitary confinement in the day time. In consequence of this treatment, this deponent has not only suffered great mental torture and bodily injury, but he has sustained great pecuniary losses, by being thus deprived of all communication in person with his family, who have the sole care and management of the little remaining part of his property that he has saved from the ravages and wreck of his fortune, occasioned by the persecutions he has endured; thus inflicting on this deponent a punishment much more ruinous than any fine the Court could have imposed. This deponent further saith, that his ward, who is solely dependant upon him for protection and support, became at this time, by the death of her grandmother, entitled to certain estates in Ireland, of the yearly value of 800*l.* and upwards, which was bequeathed her by the will of her grandfather, and she having received a letter from her late relation's agent, stating that the said estates were seized and usurped by a person in no way entitled to them, she came to Ilchester with her deeds and papers, and the wills of her late mother and grandfather, in order to consult and advise with this deponent how to proceed so as to counteract such illegal proceedings; yet, although this deponent informed the said visiting Magistrates of this fact, she was not permitted to have access to him; in consequence of which cruel treatment, this

deponent's ward has already suffered, and will ultimately suffer great pecuniary loss, as the trouble, difficulty, and expence in recovering the said estates will be greatly increased for want of timely proceedings, which were wholly prevented by the unjust, cruel, and unnecessary prohibition of the said female minor from seeing and consulting with this deponent, her sole guardian and protector. This deponent further saith, that by an order made at the late Session at Taunton, purporting to be an order of Sessions with the consent and approbation of the Sheriff of the county, all female visitors are still excluded from visiting this deponent; but it is left by the said order to the discretion of the visiting Magistrates or the Sheriff to admit females if they think proper, upon an application being made to them for that purpose; whereupon this deponent applied to the visiting Magistrates, Mr. Goodford, of Yeovil, and the Rev. Mr. Whalley, of ———, to permit his family to visit him at the same hours that this deponent's male friends are admitted to see him in case they should come to Ilchester for a week or a fortnight, which is between the hours of nine o'clock in the morning and four in the afternoon, but which reasonable request was peremptorily refused by the said Mr. Goodford and the Rev. Mr. Whalley, although the keeper of the prison, Mr. William Bridle, unequivocally declared to the said visiting Magistrates that he had not the slightest cause of complaint to make against this deponent. And this deponent saith, that he hath never violated any of the rules and regulations laid down for him by the said Magistrates, nor has there ever been any complaint made against this deponent, and that when this deponent's family and friends visited him, they never violated any rules or regulations of the gaol, but conducted themselves with the strictest propriety, and never caused the slightest trouble or inconvenience either to the said keeper or his officers, as he declared to the said Magistrates; and the said Mr. Bridle further declared to the said Magistrates, that by this deponent's family and female friends visiting this deponent, the safe custody of his person would not in the remotest degree be endangered. This deponent, unwilling to trouble this honourable Court, while there was any possibility of otherwise gaining redress for this cruel, wanton, and unnecessary torture, wrote a letter to Sir Charles Bampfylde, the Sheriff, a copy of which is hereunto annexed, requesting the Sheriff's permission to see his family, in whose custody this deponent conceives he legally is; but the said Sheriff, in his answer, a copy of which is hereunto annexed, has refused to interfere with the custody of this deponent, in violation of the statutes 11 and 12 William III. chap. 10, and 44 Edw. III. chap. 10, notwithstanding which statutes, no Sheriff or Under Sheriff has ever been to the

said gaol since this deponent has been imprisoned therein; and this deponent further saith, that he is informed, and verily believes, that neither the Sheriff nor his Deputy, the Under Sheriff, had any thing to do with the making or sanctioning the said order of Sessions made at Taunton, as neither the Sheriff nor Under Sheriff were present upon that occasion. But this deponent is informed, and verily believes, that a person by the name of Edmond Broderip, of Wells, an agent of the above-named Francis Drake, Esq. did interfere and prejudice this deponent at the said Sessions; and this deponent further saith, that the said Edmond Broderip has interfered with the custody of the deponent, and that he has had personal interviews with the keeper of the said gaol, and that he has written to the said gaoler, directing him to treat this deponent in the most cruel manner, and for which cruelties inflicted upon this deponent, the said keeper has produced a letter of the said Edmond Broderip, as his justification to the visiting Magistrates, Aaron Moody, Esq. the Rev. Dr. Colston, although the said Edmond Broderip is neither Under Sheriff nor a Magistrate. This deponent therefore saith, that this invidious distinction of excluding females from visiting him, a distinction which was never before made for any other prisoner in the said gaol, and as this deponent verily believes, in no gaol, appears to be an illegal punishment inflicted upon this deponent, and a new

sentence imposed by the aforesaid Magistrates, ten times more severe than this honourable Court intended, or the law will admit, and by this conduct of the Magistrates and the said Edmond Broderip, who appears to have gained an influence over the keeper of the said gaol, in consequence of his being alternately the Under Sheriff of this county with his partners, in violation of the statutes 42 Edw. III. chap. 9. confirmed by 26 Henry IV. chap. 7 and 8, and Henry V. chap. 4: this deponent hath been, and is, by such conduct made to suffer more punishment in this gaol in one month, than his co-defendants suffer in one year in Lincoln gaol, where no such cruel and unnecessary hardships and maltreatment has, as this deponent is informed, and very believes, been adopted or permitted. And this deponent further saith, that in consequence of these cruel acts and some other suspicious circumstances, and especially the recent removal of two bolts, the interior fastenings of the cell or ward of this deponent, whereby he is exposed to attack in the night-time, he is really and truly apprehensive of serious bodily harm. And this deponent therefore prays that he may be brought before this Honourable Court by a Writ of Habeas Corpus, to shew cause why he should not be removed out of the custody of the said Francis Drake, Esq. and the said Edmond Broderip, or to obtain an order of the Court to relieve him from any other punishment but that awarded by the Court,

namely, safe custody; and particularly that he, this deponent, may be allowed to have his family and female friends to visit him at reasonable hours the same as his male friends, so long as they conduct themselves with propriety, violate none of the rules of the gaol, and cause no inconvenience to the officers thereof."

Upon this affidavit, the Learned Counsel submitted the case to the consideration of the Court.

The Chief Justice.—What application do you propose to found upon this affidavit?

Mr. Chitty suggested that a Habeas Corpus might be granted; in that case the Court would perhaps change the place of imprisonment to London.

The Chief Justice.—The Court does not possess the power to alter its judgment.

Mr. Justice Bayley could not see how a Habeas Corpus could benefit Mr. Hunt; if it issued, he must come to London, and the Court must then remand him.

After some conversation, Mr. Chitty was allowed to take the following rule to shew cause "why Henry Hunt, a prisoner in Ilchester gaol, should not enjoy the same privileges as other persons confined for misdemeanours."

The Chief Justice said, the Court must be satisfied as to the truth of the affidavit before they could make the rule absolute, and directed Mr. Chitty to make the proper inquiries.

MR. CHAPMAN,

AND

MANCHESTER MAGISTRATES.

*Court of King's Bench, Nov. 22.*

I have only to observe, that this SCARLETT is one of the *Whig-Opposition!*

Mr. SCARLETT spoke in aggravation of the punishment. The libel was, he said, of a most dangerous character, as it *interfered with the administration of justice*; and especially at Manchester, where the population were second only in amount to those of the metropolis, while they were *so much inferior in information*, as to become more *easily the dupes of artful and inflammatory writers*. In the libel of which the prisoner stood convicted, it was stated, that the Chairman of the Sessions at Manchester received 50*l.* a week, while the salary of that officer was only 400*l.* a year. It was observed too, in this curious document, that the judges of the land were looking for an increase of salary, although each had already some thousands a year, while an honest industrious weaver had only 12*s.* a week. The Learned Gentleman submitted, that *if such comparisons were tolerated, it could hardly be known where they would stop*.—As to the Magistrates of Manchester, on whose part he appeared, he wished it to be understood, that they were actuated solely by a sense of the duty which they owed to their character, as well as to the cause of public justice, and *by no feeling whatever of*

*personal resentment.* With respect to the allegations in Mr. Chapman's affidavit, he should only say, that he did not find that any such allegations were made, as they might have been, when the criminal information was granted by that Court. But as to the object of that of the other affidavits, the Court would no doubt feel, that a publication was not to be allowed to send forth libels with impunity, merely because that publication was edited by any pewterer or shoemaker.

Mr. CHAPMAN here addressed the Court with great feeling and energy. If it were not, he said, that he did his duty at Manchester, as became a free Englishman, a fair tradesman, and a parishioner, as he should always endeavour to do, the Magistrates of that town, whose character he need not describe, would, he was persuaded, have never instituted the present prosecution against him. But if the imprisonment which the Court might inflict should not put an end to his life, *he should not fail to struggle for revenge against those persecutors who had commenced this prosecution against him, because he would not subscribe to their insolent domini-*

*on, who had pursued him with unrelenting virulence for years, as he could prove by the affidavits of some of the most respectable inhabitants of Manchester.* Through those persecutors, he and his family had been reduced from comparative affluence to absolute distress; and he called upon their Lordships, as Christians, as honest men, as free Englishmen, not to consign a fellow subject to complete destruction, *whose only offence was to feel for his countrymen, and to reprobate those through whose tyranny and injustice they were rendered miserable.* He appealed to their Lordships for protection against his persecutors. Those persecutors had already done him quite enough of injury to satisfy the most vindictive spirit. Through the order of the Manchester Magistrates alone, he had reason to believe, he was so grossly ill-treated in Lancaster gaol; but he could have shown much more of ill-treatment in his affidavits, if he had not been called upon to curtail those affidavits according to the rule of that Court.

He was sentenced to *two months* imprisonment in Cold Bath Fields Prison.

## HER MAJESTY'S ANSWERS TO ADDRESSES.

FROM THE CARPENTERS OF THE METROPOLIS.

I have a peculiar satisfaction in receiving this impressive, loyal, and affectionate address from the members of the trade of Carpenters and Joiners of the cities of London and Westminster, the borough of Southwark, and their vicinities.

My accumulated sufferings have been principally occasioned by the perfidy of that faction which has so long exercised the functions of government, with no other effect than that of adding to the sum of the public burthens, and deducting from the stock of national liberty. If that faction had, as they were morally bound as my former advocates, brought the perjured agents of the conspiracy against me in 1806 to condign punishment, the present conspiracy would never have reared its head. But the present conspiracy has been fostered by the very men who were professedly my defenders against that in 1806. They sacrificed my interest to their love of place, and they have exhibited a memorable example of the corruptibility of public men.

The present system is indeed so vitiated, not only at the extremities, but at the very core; that, like the leprosy of old, it infects whatever it touches, and leaves nothing uncontaminated within the proximity of its influence.

There are said to be certain

trees which pollute the atmosphere around, and suffer no vegetation within their reach. The extent of their influence is marked by an area of sterility. The corruption of the present system is of this kind. It will not suffer integrity within its confines. If it does enter it must soon depart, or it languishes and dies.

All human institutions have a natural tendency to degenerate from their first purpose, to be perverted in their agency or corrupted in their principles. Hence the necessity of perpetual vigilance, and of timely reform. The word *reform* has nothing alarming in itself. In itself it only means to remove from a bad state to a better; to get rid of what is morbid and gangrened; and to introduce what is vigorous and salutary. All timely reforms are safe, because they have not to contend with inveterate abuses, or long-established interests.

FROM THE INHABITANTS OF WICK.

I have been much gratified by this loyal and affectionate address from the burgesses and other inhabitants of the royal burgh of Wick.

It delights me to find that the vivid sympathy which the injustice of my enemies has excited in my favour, has extended from the land's-end, in Cornwall, to the neighbourhood of John O'Groat's house at the extremity of North Britain. The same feeling which has vibrated in the enterprising bosoms of the fishermen of Mount's-bay, has manifested its force in the

honest hearts of the burgesses and other inhabitants of the burgh of Wick. The present state of the public mind in Britain clearly shows that the widespread corruption of the government has still left the mass of the middle and subordinate ranks untainted by its influence; corruption has spared no pains to alienate the affections of the people from the Queen, but corruption itself has, in this instance, been vanquished by the force of public opinion, assisted by the liberty of the press.

FROM THE BAILIFF, JURORS, AND INHABITANTS OF BRADING, ISLE OF WIGHT.

I request the Bailiff, Jurors, and inhabitants of the town and parish of Brading, in the Isle of Wight, to accept my cordial acknowledgments for this loyal and affectionate address.

There is a large mass of morbid matter in the Constitution which has long been operating against the rights of the people and the prosperity of the country. This corrupting influence is, and has, for many years, been in a state of progressive increase, till it has left hardly any sound part in the body politic. The system could not have existed with such an incorporated mass of corruption, unless the original materials of the Constitution had been of the most solid and durable kind. The trial by Jury, and the Liberty of the Press, are two parts of the fabric that have most powerfully contributed to preserve the rest. If these were taken away, the liberty we

should have left would be so small as to be an almost invisible quantity: tyranny would be predominant: it is now of sufficiently alarming dimensions, but it would then rise into a gigantic magnitude, beneath which the people must crouch as humble menials or obsequious slaves.

FROM THE WARD OF BRIDGE, IN THE CITY OF LONDON.

I have peculiar satisfaction in receiving this loyal and affectionate Address from the deputy, common-council, and other inhabitants of the Ward of Bridge, in the city of London.

If any honest individual in his sober senses ever imagined that the present attack upon my honour and my dignity was not, from the beginning to the end, the work of a foul conspiracy, the doubts of such a person must be completely removed, not only by the actual proof which has appeared in the House of Lords, but by that which has not been permitted to be adduced, or which has been clandestinely withdrawn. When my adversaries wished to mar my defence, they fettered it with all the technicalities of law; a scrupulous observance of which they represented as too sacred to be violated: but when they wished to make way for the accusation in favour of my adversary, they superseded the observance of every existing law, both civil and ecclesiastical. They not only set aside all former laws that would have been applicable to the case, but they set about making a law for the purpose of constituting



that to be an offence which was not designated as such by any existing law. Great scrupulosity about unimportant minutia is often found to be compatible with a callous disregard of the most sacred principles and the most hallowed obligations.

My adversaries employed such latitude in their accusation, that they extended it over a period of six years in time, and more than half a continent in space. But they showed themselves very anxious to confine my defence within the narrowest possible limitations. Public opinion, however, which in the present intellectual improvement of the people and enlightened state of the country is the highest judicature, will not suffer its suffrage in my favour to lose the benefit of that proof which my adversaries would not permit me to produce.

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FROM THE INHABITANTS OF CRICKLAD.

I gratefully accept this loyal and affectionate address from the inhabitants of Cricklade.

My rights are a part of the rights of the nation. To invade the rights of the Queen Consort is to make a lawless inroad into the domain of national liberty. My enemies, certainly, thought me incapable of vindicating either my personal honour or my legitimate dignities. They have found both superior to their violent and malicious aggressions. The hearts of the people are my security against every foe.

No sovereign can reign in se-

curity, except his dominion is established in the affections of his subjects. That throne which is maintained by force must be associated with the insecurity of fear. To recline on a chair of state, round which innumerable jealousies are entwined, and numberless suspicions swarm, is to enjoy the parade of royalty, not only at the expense of repose, but of all that can make life sweet. Care is no less care though it is decorated with gold; nor are the ordinary inquietudes of life soothed into repose by the mantle of imperial magnificence.

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FROM THE INCORPORATED TRADES OF THE BURGH OF BANFF.

I am greatly obliged by the loyal and affectionate address, from the convener, deacons, and members of the six incorporated trades of the royal burgh of Banff, in common hall assembled.

I have long been environed by dangers of every species that art or malice could contrive; but I feel that I possess a rampart of security in the affections of the people. The people very justly consider their rights to be endangered by the unconstitutional attack upon mine. The rights of the Queen are those of the nation; and, if an unconstitutional power can be exerted to destroy the one, it may, hereafter, be employed for the destruction of the other. The chivalrous spirit that has been inspired by the menaced oppression of the Queen, is highly honourable to the moral and the patriotic feelings of the people. I am truly happy to find this spirit so generally prevalent

in the north; and I trust that it augurs the most favourable result, not only for the permanence, but the enlargement of those constitutional liberties, to procure which, so much of the best blood of Britain has been formerly shed.

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FROM THE JOURNEMEN COACH-MAKERS.

I return my sincere thanks to the united Journeymen in the various branches of the Coach-making Trade, for this loyal and affectionate address.

It is the almost infinite division of labour that renders all the products of human ingenuity so excellent in their kind, so exquisite in their ornaments, and so admirable in their general execution. The subdivision of labour, united for the production of some common object, as that upon a watch, or any other piece of ingenious mechanism, perfects the operations of art while it multiplies its products.

The same subdivision of labour which so greatly improves any one particular art or manufacture, tends, when practised on a larger scale, and in all the different operations of intellectual contrivance of manufacturing industry or mechanical skill, to perfect the whole social scheme.

The detached parts of society, like the detached parts of any particular manufacture, can do little by themselves in a state of isolated existence. It is their union that constitutes their strength; and without which, no great effect can be produced. The concentrated interest of so-

ciety, which may be called the public welfare, is composed of many detached interests. If these interests are kept in a state of dissension or disunion, or if, owing to a corrupt, vitiating, and vitiated government, one or two of these detached interests are supported at the expense of all the rest, the general prosperity must be impeded in proportion, and the whole body politic will be in disorder.

This is the present state of society in this country. Some particular interests are supported at the expense of all the rest. Hence the general interest is sacrificed to particular, or the public good to private emoluments. To what is this owing? — To the government of a faction. The government of a faction always implies the benefit of the few, but the detriment of the many.

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FROM THE JOURNEMEN BAKERS OF LONDON AND ITS VICINITY.

I am much obliged to the Journeymen Bakers of London and its vicinity, for this loyal and affectionate address.

The present moral and political aspect of the public mind is highly gratifying not only to every lover of his country but of his species. An individual instance of injustice and oppression has produced in all classes of the community the most determined resolution to protect the injured and persecuted individual. The sentiment of justice and humanity was never so strongly manifested. While power, in its most gigantic form, and its most terrible aspect, is

threatening my security, I have felt not the smallest alarm. With the support of conscious integrity within, and with the affections of the people without, I am not in the least appalled by what malignity may contrive, or enmity may attempt.

The persecuting spirit of my adversaries has produced a spirit of a more amiable kind among the people. It has, at the same time, generalized a tone of liberty among the middle and the subordinate ranks of the community.

The present excitement in the public mind, to which no former period can furnish any thing like a parallel, is a complex feeling arising out of the hatred of oppression on one side, and the tone of liberty on the other. Both are kindred sentiments. One adds to the strength of the other. The one will not endure tyranny: and the other tends to establish that political freedom; without which there is nothing elevating in the sentiments or cheering in the social state of man.

FROM THE INHABITANTS OF THE BOROUGH OF COCKERMOUTH.

The inhabitants of the Borough of Cocker-mouth, in the county of Cumberland, are entitled to my cordial thanks for this tribute of loyalty and attachment.

The safety of the Queen is intimately connected with the liberties of the nation. If the Queen is degraded by that SELFISH FACTION which have so long had the ascendant in the councils of Great Britain, the constitution may exist in exterior form, but that inherent spirit of liberty which alone rendered it an object of homage, because a source of happiness to the nation, would be extinct. The present is a crisis in which, if the people are united and true to themselves, they have a more favourable opportunity than they ever had before of establishing the permanence of our venerable constitution, and of rescuing not only the rights of the Queen, but the liberties of the people, from the grasp of tyranny.

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Errors in last Register.—Page 1241, line 10 from bottom, for *harm*, read *harmony*.—l. 17, after *and* insert *not*.—Page 1251, after *discovered* put a comma.—Page 256, line 5 from bottom, for *putting* read *putting*.

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# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 37.---No. 20.] LONDON, SATURDAY, DEC. 2, 1820. [Price, 6d.

## PEEPS.

THIS has been "*a Queen's Week*," as the people call it; and, therefore, the printer has been unable to get on as he expected to get on. The PEEPS, as described in my last, will not be published till *the Monday after next*.

TO  
LORD VISCOUNT FOLKE-  
STONE.

*On his Public Letter, calling upon the People of Berkshire to meet, in order to Petition the King to re-assemble the Parliament without loss of time.*

London, Nov. 30, 1820.

MY LORD,

Believing your lordship to be an honest man, a man of good sense, a man not likely to act from momentary impulse, and being pretty sure, that you have never acted from mere party-motives; believing also, that you understand pretty well what is the real state of the affairs of this distracted country; and knowing, that you are neither *lawyer* nor *stock-jobber*; with

this belief and this knowledge, it was with no small surprise and regret that I saw, in the public papers, your Letter of the 23d instant, addressed to the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, Freeholders, and Inhabitants, of the County of Berks, on which Letter (after having inserted it) I shall proceed to offer you, with great respect, such remarks as appear to me likely to be useful in the present crisis of our very ticklish affairs.

"GENTLEMEN,"

"Though I have not the honour of any political connexion with you, and though I am known to you only as a resident and acting Magistrate of the county of Berks, yet having occasionally met many of you at County Meetings, and having on those occasions always found a great concurrence of opinion amongst the majority of you on political subjects, I take the liberty of now addressing you.

" It is not many days since I  
 " took upon myself to send to  
 " several Gentlemen, resident in  
 " different parts of the county,  
 " copies of a proposed Requisition  
 " to the Sheriff to call a  
 " County Meeting, for the purpose  
 " of addressing the King  
 " on the treatment which the  
 " Queen was experiencing at  
 " the hands of his Ministers,  
 " and of passing such Resolutions  
 " as the state of the country  
 " might seem to require;  
 " but the event of this day,  
 " and the scene I have just witnessed  
 " in Parliament, do, in  
 " my opinion, imperatively demand  
 " that some further steps  
 " should immediately be taken  
 " by all who value the stability  
 " of the Throne and the tranquillity  
 " of the country.

" It having been stated by  
 " the Minister in the early part  
 " of the proceedings against  
 " the Queen, that no provision  
 " could be made for her Majesty  
 " while those proceedings were  
 " pending, and it having been  
 " lately intimated to her by  
 " the same authority, that neither  
 " could provision be made,  
 " nor a residence supplied, till  
 " Parliament met for the dispatch  
 " of business, it does seem  
 " a little extraordinary that the  
 " Parliament being at that time  
 " actually sitting, and the two  
 " Houses being to meet, and a  
 " call of the House of Commons  
 " having been ordered for to-day,  
 " that under these circumstances  
 " a prorogation should take place.  
 " But the case is infinitely aggravated  
 " by this fact, that the Queen had prepared  
 " a Communication to the

" House of Commons, and had directed  
 " her Law Officers to deliver it;  
 " that the Minister was apprized  
 " of this intention, and that the  
 " sitting of the Commission for  
 " proroguing the Parliament was  
 " so timed as to preclude Mr.  
 " Denman from presenting it,  
 " though he rose at the very first  
 " opportunity for that purpose.

" This, however, is not all.  
 " The Prorogation took place;  
 " but, quite contrary to the  
 " usual (I believe the invariable)  
 " practice, no communication,  
 " of any sort, was made to the  
 " two Houses on the state of  
 " affairs, and the political relations  
 " of the country, internal or  
 " external; though, most indubitably,  
 " the events that have occurred,  
 " both at home and abroad, since  
 " the commencement of the Session,  
 " have been of sufficient importance  
 " to require that the King's  
 " Ministers should have advised  
 " his Majesty to state to his  
 " Parliament his opinion thereon.

" Under these circumstances,  
 " and considering the present  
 " agitated state of the public  
 " mind, I cannot but contemplate  
 " the prorogation of the Parliament  
 " till the 23d of January as a  
 " measure pregnant with the  
 " greatest danger to the state,  
 " to the tranquillity of the  
 " people, and thence to their  
 " liberties; and to the permanency  
 " of the civil and religious  
 " establishments of the country.  
 " I am, therefore, disposed  
 " to propose, that a requisition  
 " should be presented to the  
 " High Sheriff to call

" a public meeting of the county  
 " as soon as possible, for the  
 " purpose of praying the King  
 " to re-assemble the Parliament  
 " without loss of time; and I  
 " take this the most expeditious  
 " mode of making known to  
 " you my opinion, that in case  
 " any of you should agree with  
 " me, requisitions may be im-  
 " mediately prepared, and sig-  
 " natures procured to them,  
 " which requisitions may be  
 " either forwarded to the Sheriff  
 " direct, or if sent to me, shall,  
 " when collected, be transmitted  
 " without delay.—I have the  
 " honour to be, Gentlemen,  
 " Your faithful humble servant,

" FOLKESTONE.

" Lower Grosvenor-street,  
 " Nov. 28, 1820."

Now, my lord, I entirely differ with you in opinion as to the *means* you here propose to be adopted. Your objects are, to obtain justice for the Queen; to cause her to be placed in possession of her rights; and to restore the people to a state of tranquillity. These are great objects. The accomplishment of them ought to be desired by us all. We all ought to labour with a view to that accomplishment; and, as being more deeply interested than other men, having more at stake than other men, the nobility ought to be uncommonly sedulous in the performance of that labour.

Agreeing with you, then, as

to the objects of your proposed meeting; seeing that these objects are all proper, and of great importance; most anxiously wishing the objects to be accomplished; ready to applaud every effort to effect the accomplishment, I can hardly express the mortification I experience at perceiving, that the *means* you propose are not only not calculated to answer the end you have in view, but that, in whatever degree they may be efficacious, they must, if employed, tend to prolong that delusion of persons in your lordship's situation, which has hitherto been such a scourge to the people, and which, if it do not very soon cease, will, in my opinion, bury such persons under the ruins of a fabric of their own pulling down.

The means proposed consist merely of *calling the Parliament together*. And, now, my lord, what ground is there for supposing, that they, if re-assembled, would do any good of any kind? My taste may be bad; my mind may have got an unhappy twist; but I can truly say, that there is no part of the King's prerogative, the exercise of which has given me so much pleasure, as that of *proroguing*

the parliament, if I except that of *dissolving* it, which has always given me still more pleasure. I like even an *adjournment* of it; and the degree of this my liking is in direct proportion to its length. Saturdays and Sundays are my most comfortable days, during a session of parliament; and I look for Easter and Whitsuntide as I used to look for the fair-days of the town in which I was born. A new knife was not more charming to me then, than a day of silence at St. Stephen's is now. This taste has increased with my age and experience. I always feel gratitude to the King when he releases "my Lords and Gentlemen" from their labours; and the less the ceremony he uses in doing it, the greater is my gratitude. On my passage home, last November, I had fondly indulged the hope of having to enjoy *two whole months*; but, alas! I learned, even before I landed, that *parliament was to meet the very next day but one!* "*Heave anchor, and let us go back,*" was upon the tip of my tongue! God bless his Majesty, I say, for proroguing this parliament; and, if he have, on the subject, any petition from

me, it will be, that he will be graciously pleased never to call it together again.

What good, I again ask, would be accomplished by re-assembling this parliament? What good of *any kind*; and especially what good as to the objects which your lordship has in view?

In the first place, I really do not see what the parliament has to do with this matter; or, at least, what it has to do with the matter until regular application be made to it by message from the Queen, or, which is much better, by petition from the people. The parliament, in settling the *Civil List* at the beginning of the session, made provision for the Queen, just as much as, and, indeed, more than a man makes provision for his son's wife, when he settles an income upon his son. It was not a bachelor King, or a widower King, that the nation was providing for. It did not contemplate the maintenance of a Court, the Drawing Rooms of which should be held by a man. The nation knew that it had a Queen as well as a King; and, in its munificence; in its boundless munificence, it made provision for both in the settlement

of the Civil List. The Grant is enormous, if we take into consideration the present low price of provisions and labour; perfectly enormous; and, therefore, who was to imagine that her present Majesty was not, in the same manner as her late Majesty, to have her maintenance out of that Civil List. Upon the late Queen, indeed, the parliament settled, at once, certain *manors* for her life; made a provision for her in case of her husband's death taking place before her's, and did every thing, in short, indicative of the nation's generosity. To make comparisons might be thought odious; but I am very certain that her late Majesty was not, by the people of this nation, held in greater estimation than her present Majesty; and I well know that she was not more worthy of every mark of our respect and affection.

To make these additional and voluntary settlements upon her Majesty, may require, and, indeed, do require, the intervention of parliament; but, as to the placing of her Majesty in a palace; as to the providing the pecuniary means for the maintenance of her state and dignity; surely the parliament

has nothing to do with these; at least, until prayed to interfere by the people in the way of Petition, or till regularly called upon by her Majesty after fruitless applications to her husband. It never can be that this oppressed and ruined people will approve of a separate maintenance; of separate place of residence; of these things supplied from any other source than that of the Civil List; which has been granted to the King, in quantities so abundant, for the use of her Majesty, as well as for the use of himself. There are palaces in abundance; and are these to be occupied by junior branches of the Royal Family, while her Majesty is placed in *hired lodgings*, at a new and heavy expence to the nation? But, there are several palaces wholly unoccupied. Why are these to stand empty, while the nation is called upon to furnish a place of abode for their Queen?

Supposing, however, that the intervention of Parliament were necessary with regard to her Majesty's affairs, where is the likelihood that the present Parliament, re-assembled, under the present circumstances and under the present Ministers, would do



any thing towards the accomplishment of the objects, which your lordship professes to have in view? You well know that, in this same Parliament, the Ministers have found a majority in each House, disposed to refuse to do that which you profess to have a desire to see done. Can justice be done to the Queen in your lordship's view of the matter, without placing her Royal name in the Liturgy, and was there not in the House to which your lordship belongs a majority of more than three to one against a proposition for adopting that measure? A measure, the adoption of which is absolutely necessary to the last great and praise-worthy object of your lordship, namely, that of restoring *tranquillity to the country*. It is true that many other measures are necessary to the restoration of public tranquillity; but this is one measure; and have not the present Ministers declared, in terms the most explicit, that *they will not adopt that measure*; and, in approval of that declaration, have they not, in the House of Commons, found a willing majority of more than three to one?

I must diverge here a little, in order to state my opinion as to

the importance of this measure. The *jester*, who amused his humane hearers, and drew from them a horse-laugh, in describing the *revered and ruptured* OGDEN; that *jester* who thus delighted the just and humane assembly of 1818; this *jester* also jested about the Liturgy; and ridiculed the idea of the benefit which her Majesty would have received upon having her name borne aloft 'in the voices of millions. Her Majesty's lawyers, with more gravity, but with little more justice to the subject, argued the matter as a question of religion. And Mr. Wilberforce ("pious to the last!") observed, that, though her Majesty's name were not heard from the mouths of the people, she would always be remembered in their private devotions.

Now, my lord, with the leave of the *jester*, the lawyers, and the saint, I shall view this matter as a mere affair of state and of politics. The whole of the Liturgy is, as you well know, the work of man, and that it came into being, and is kept in life, by divers *acts of Parliament*. We are to suppose that there is nothing in these acts, and in this Liturgy,

contrary to the Scriptures; but we also know that the Liturgy itself is a human institution. It is a part of the law of the country; and it would be monstrous hypocrisy to suppose that the obtaining of the efficacy of the people's prayers was the sole object of the insertion of the names of King and Queen in this Liturgy. This may, indeed, be in part the object of the law; but to suppose that the prayers of the people would be more efficacious in behalf of their Majesties, on account of the repetition of their particular names, would be a species of blasphemy, seeing that God has expressly declared, that he is no respecter of persons.

No: the main object of the insertion of the Royal names in the Liturgy was, and ever must be, to accustom us, from our infancy, to look up with respect and reverence to the human beings who are thus distinguished. There certainly is nothing irreligious, nothing insulting or degrading to religion, in the prayers for the several persons of the Royal Family. As a matter of policy, it is wise to make so marked a distinction with regard to these persons. That

man must have been a very inattentive observer, who does not know how powerful habit is in forming the minds of men. The style of proclamations; the title of Kings' speeches; the style of petitions; all these, though abstract reasoning deems them arrogant or false; all these are necessary, and have been found to be necessary, too, even by the greatest Puritans in matters of government. The courts in America are called Honorable; and there are no titles of persons in power that will even there receive any but humble petitions. Therefore, so far from quarrelling with the Liturgy as to this its mark of honour to the Sovereign and his family, I highly approve of it in this respect. But it is impossible for me to give it this approbation, and to see in it a most powerful means of training up the people to profound respect and reverence for those who are placed at the head of its great affairs; it is impossible for me to view it in this light, without regarding the exclusion of her Majesty's name as the deepest of injuries to that gracious Queen, whose character is an honour to her family, to the nation and to the sex. Here are

the means of inculcating, in the minds of children, profound respect and reverence for her person; and these means are withdrawn from her, though they were possessed by all her predecessors; and herein is double injustice; positive injustice, in the first place, and then all the injustice arising from odious comparison.

This is the light, my lord, in which I view the question of the Liturgy; and this made me, from the beginning, declare, that every point sunk into insignificance when compared with that of the Liturgy. The people, who never fail to see in its true light, every matter which is fairly laid before them, have not failed to give, upon the present occasion, proof of their usual discernment. They perceive how vitally important the question of the Liturgy is to her Majesty. Even their very habits have been their teachers here. They have been accustomed, from the moment they could use their tongues, to sound the name of the Queen in the performance of the most solemn of their duties. It is not easy to account to them for this sudden change in this respect. They know nothing, or at least they

ought never to have known any thing, of that which has been at work to effect this change. The King has astounded them. From their wonder they have been awakened to reflection and inquiry. These have led to conclusions in their minds, by no means favourable to the stability of the throne and its associate establishments. In many places the consequence has already been a partial desertion of the churches; and where these consequences may end, it is not yet given to any of us to know.

The main object with regard to the Queen being, then, to place her Majesty's name in the Liturgy without loss of time, I come back to my question: How could the re-assembling of this Parliament possibly tend to the accomplishment of this object? Your Lordship cannot imagine that the same House of Commons, who voted three to one against the placing of her Majesty's name in the Liturgy, and that, too, when they had declared that no inquiry into her conduct ought to take place, would now vote for placing her name in the Liturgy, when the other House of Parliament has, by a decided major-

rity, declared that the charges against her were well founded.

It is true that the Bill did not *pass* there; and that the Queen ought to be regarded as completely acquitted of the charges. The Ministers did, in fact, abandon the Bill. They were afraid, after all, to strike the blow. Like noisy and hectoring shy-cocks they proceeded to the moment of the onset, and then gave up. They pulled off the coat; they pulled off the waistcoat, they even proceeded to the *third* stage, and stripped into buff; but, though numerous backed, and surrounded with bottle-holders, they did not dare to step into the ring. They coolly put on again the shirt, the waistcoat and the coat; got off the ground as fast as they could; but still they retain their friends and supporters. How, then, can your Lordship imagine, that this present Parliament, if re-assembled, would do justice to her Majesty, and would take efficient steps for that other great and laudable object that you have in view, namely, the tranquillizing of the country?

In order to see what chance there is of their adopting tranquillizing measures, let us look

at their declaration, at the opening of the Session. The King had been advised, by these same Ministers, to make complaints to them relative to the conduct of a certain part of his subjects; and to state to them his determination to employ the means that a former Parliament had put into his hands in order to crush or chastise the disaffected. This met with the unqualified echo of the Parliament. No conciliation was talked off; no relaxation of the system of sway was proposed; the six terrible acts remained in full force as they do to this hour; and this Parliament stands before us with an act of Parliament in force, which authorizes any justice of the peace to take up and to bind over, not only to answer the charge, but to keep the peace and be of good behaviour in the meanwhile, any man that such justice may deem to be guilty of having written, printed, or published, or of having uttered any thing which that justice may deem to *tend* to bring into *contempt* either House of Parliament! This Parliament also sees in existence another act empowering any judge to *banish for life* any man that may a second time be guilty of

doing any thing, as writer, printer, or publisher, tending to bring either House of Parliament into contempt!

Not only did this present Parliament see these acts in existence; but not one single man of either House was found, during a Session of nearly six months, to say so much as one word tending to remove these unparalleled restraints upon those well-known liberties, which have so long been the greatest and only true glory of the country.

What, then, again and again, I ask; what, then, would be the use of re-assembling, at this time, this Parliament? What hope is there that such re-assembling would tend to your Lordship's object of *tranquillizing* the country. I pray you, my lord, not to deceive yourself. So long ago as the summer of 1817, far distant as I then was from this scene of turmoil and of peril, I besought your Lordship, with all the earnestness of a real friend, and with all the impressiveness of which I was master; and I will add, with all becoming respect due to your virtuous character and high rank: I besought you, I conjured you not to indulge the

delusive hope of seeing tranquillity restored to England by any means other than those of conciliation. If your Lordship be not *now* convinced of the delusiveness of such hope, say thing that I can say must be as bootless as throwing stones against the wind; and if you have arrived at this salutary conviction, suffer me to repeat, what good can you possibly expect from the re-assembling of this Parliament?

I hold it to be quite impossible; I take it for granted that you yourself think it impossible that the majority of the two Houses should turn about and vote against these same Ministers, and thus compel them to place the Queen's name in the Liturgy, and to adopt measures to tranquillize the people. And if this be so what but mere additional irritation could be produced by the re-assembling of the Parliament? I am aware that, though you do not say it, you may think that the re-assembling of the Parliament would produce a dispensation of the present Ministers, and supplying of their place by other men; and, though I have lately said a good deal upon that subject, I cannot refrain from re-

viving it in this address to your Lordship.

This government is not only carried on according to a certain system, but by a certain *description of persons*, who, and who alone, understand it, and are fit to carry it on. Look at the offices of this government, and see who are the persons that fill them. You will find that these latter have actually been brought up in the system. They and their progenitors have not only lived upon the public stack, or mow, but they have eaten their way into it; and have actually *bred* in it. There are *two generations* of them constantly in office, which they appear to possess by inheritance, as clearly as you do your estate. Besides the chiefs, there is a *smaller* breed, who never attempt to aspire, and who unambitiously and harmoniously live with the big ones, as mice do with rats. Many of these latter can be traced back to their great grandfathers, or to their great grandmothers.

Talk of a change of Ministry, my Lord! Talk of putting such people out of office, and yet preserve the system unchanged! Talk of ousting these broods without taking the stack

to pieces! Alas! your Lordship remembers well, that this was tried in 1806 by those, who then, as now, called themselves Whigs; and you also well remember that, in less than fifteen months, they went off with rolling ears, deploring the folly of the attempt. There may be, at this time, some of them so desperately hungry as to wish to try the thing again; but, they will, I am convinced, find themselves joined by no man who has a character to loose. The Whigs were blamed, at that time, and not unjustly blamed, for suffering the under-set, the mice of the offices, to remain. They were told, and justly told, that if they suffered these to continue, their own destruction would be the speedy consequence. But, I went further. I told them that they must change the system itself; for that, an angel from heaven could do the country no service so long as that system remained, which rendered the employment of whole herds of lawyers and stock-jobbers necessary to carry it on. It was just; but it was useless, to complain of the retaining of the mice. If the system remained, the mice were necessary. If carried on

at all, it must not only be carried on by the present means, but by the present *men* and their blood relations. Nobody else in the world can understand its details; and they understand them *instinctively*.

It was observed by some speaker at the late Southwark Meeting, that nobody could deny that there was a great deal of difference between such men as Lord Erskine and Lord Grey, and such men as Lord Eldon and Lord Liverpool. Nobody does deny it. Nobody wishes to deny it. And nobody need deny it, in order to make out the position that a change of men would be of no use without a change of system. For, though the two former Lords have most nobly acted in the case of the Queen, and though they both opposed that Bill which has provided the sentence of banishment for us; though they both opposed the banishment, the introduction of which, instead of *transportation*, Lord Eldon said had *spoiled the Bill*; though they both most manfully and most ably reprobated the new doctrine, sent forth in Sidmouth's Circular, which of itself put an end to all real liberty of the press; though, in

short, the two former have so many claims to our confidence and to our gratitude for the greater part of their conduct during these last four terrible years; still, I say, that, without a change of the system, and particularly without a change of the Representation in the Commons' House, an administration with these two Lords at its head could take not one measure calculated to restore the country to tranquillity. Nay, I distinctly say, that I should be sorry to see them come into power without such change; and in this, my Lord, I am fully warranted by the conduct of Lord Grey himself, who, in voting for the divorce clause in the Bill against the Queen, frankly and honestly acknowledged, that he was actuated by the desire to make the thing *too bad to be endured*. This was not only good policy, but good morality; just as much as it would be good morality for a father to mix jalap in the wine of his son in order to disgust him with the odious habit of drunkenness.

To what conclusion, then, my Lord, do we come, at last. To the old conclusion, that no good to the country can come from any source without a Reform of

the Commons' House of Parliament, to which, as along the branches to the trunk, and down the trunk to the root, we trace all the fruit, the ruin, the misery, the immorality that have fallen upon a country, once so happy and so free.

Base are the men, who, by their sorry jests, or their vile abuse, would turn us aside from this inquiry. "What," they exclaim, "would Reform give you sunshine in November, or make the grass grow in January?" No, you fool-rogues; and we do not ask you for sunshine in November in England; nor would we, if we could, have the grass grow in January. But, if you ask us whether Reform would speedily reduce the list of paupers to a mere nothing; if you ask us whether Reform would put a stop to the wide spreading ruin of industrious farmers and tradesmen; if you ask us whether it would send to labour, to beg or to starve, myriads of wretches who live by jobbing in the stocks in a constant and daring defiance of the laws; if you ask us whether it would render a standing army in time of peace useless; whether it would send men of experience, talent and honour to

represent our Sovereign at Foreign Courts; whether it would give a new spur to industry, encourage real talent and genius, award to the labourer the enjoyment of the sweat of his brow; if you ask us, you fool-rogues, whether a Reform would do these things, we say YES, and an infinite number of other things, the want of which is felt by every creature in this kingdom who does not live upon the wages of corruption.

Base are the vermin who, by a sorry mockery of seriousness, in asking us what we anticipate from Reform, would persuade us that we should get nothing by the change. If the Rich Russians of Coventry had not, by the assistance of a brutal and bloody banditti, kept me from shewing myself within the same walls with your Lordship, and filled up the seats of that insulted City by such men as Ellice and Moore, your Lordship should have heard, long ago, and in a very distinct and formal manner, a detail of the measures necessary to make this country once more worthy of the name of England. As it is, I perform my duty towards my country to the best of my judgment, and with my limited means, always happy



in the reflection, that, let come what will come, no mischief can happen to either King or people, that I have not endeavoured to prevent.

Of this, my lord, be assured, that with whatever pertinacity you may cling to the Borough of Downton, and to the Corporation of the City of Salisbury, you and I shall live to see the day when the people at large will have their fair share in the representation, and when the *Commons' House of Parliament will not consist, in the proportion of THREE FIFTHS, of the sons and other relations of the Peers!*

Furious, indeed, has been the driving downwards of the privileged classes within the last four years. It was this very month, four years ago, that I published that Address to the *Journeymen and Labourers*, which really formed the dawning of a new era in the minds of the people. Powerful, bitter, and cruel have the enemies of Reform been; but powerful, also, are reason, truth, and justice, supported and urged forward by industry and talent. I confess, that, on our part, we have given many proofs of most bitter and implacable resentment. I do

not wish to disguise that I myself have done many things, which, in themselves considered, would strongly savour of a desire to degrade and destroy. But, and I call my country to witness the declaration, whether all my acts, taken together, and placed in their most exaggerated light, do not fall infinitely short of the provocation, given to me in common with those whose only real offence has been calling for that Reform without which there is neither happiness nor security for the people nor for the King.

I would ask, as I asked the Regent in a letter addressed to him about a year ago, "*where is this to end?*" In a yielding of the people? Never! In their extermination? That is impossible. The struggle must go on; or a Reform must take place; and, in still persisting, as I do, to call upon the borough-holders to yield, I am actuated, I must be actuated, by a desire to see tranquillity and happiness restored without involving them in the natural consequences of unbridled fury. For, as to the people, how are they to suffer from the continuation of the struggle; and as to my particular self, what have I to apprehend further, short of a censor-

ship; for which, I most solemnly declare, I should not care one single straw.

Thus, I have, once more, laid before your Lordship a much truer account of your situation than you will receive from any other quarter; and I most respectfully beseech you not to believe that I speak the sentiment of those only whom Castlereagh had the audacity to call the basest populace. I speak the opinions of ninety-nine hundredths of the people, excepting those only who live upon the taxes. I told your Lordship, in July 1817, that there must be a change in the system, and that your only choice lay between a change, coming in such a way as would make the order to which you belong safe under the protection of the gratitude of this forgetting and good natured people, and a change coming in such a way as to place gratitude out of the question, and to make forgetfulness and good will utterly impossible. My opinion being in no wise changed; but, on the contrary, being greatly strengthened by time and events, I have only to repeat the advice which I then offered to your Lordship, and to add an expression of my anxious wish that you may be

disposed to listen to it rather than to the quivings of lawyers, and the worse than gaming-house slang of loan-jobbers and stock-jobbers, who, take my word for it, are the real and only conspirators against your title and estate.

I cannot conclude without asking you, flat and plain, how your Lordship, with all your good-sense, with all your knowledge of the subject, could, not sit silent, but actually lend your hand, in an indirect manner, to a measure, which, if it were possible to carry it into full effect, must, of necessity, leave your son as landless as the lowest of your labourers; a measure that must of necessity put some loan jobber or stock jobber into Coleshill House and Longford Castle? What is to deliver you from this terrible measure? Nothing in this world short of a Reform of the Parliament; and astonishing it is to me that you do not perceive it. That which I said, in my leave taking address, when I fled from the dungeons of Sidmouth, is now upon the axe of being fulfilled. The land and the funds must come to open conflict. Change Alley and the squares of Westminster, must be openly pitted against each other. The un-  
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guised conflict is not far distant. I have felt, in common with my brother Reformers, the heavy hand of your Lordship and your like; but still, I so deeply detest, I so abhor; I am so hostile in my very nature, to the *muck-worm*, that I would fain find myself justified in espousing your cause, against the disgusting and all-corrupting creature. However, a Reform of the Commons' House of Parliament is what I want, it is what the country has need of; it is absolutely necessary to its salvation; and rather than not obtain it, I will join even with the Muck-worm.

I am,

My Lord,

Your most obedient

And most humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

#### QUEEN'S PROCESSION TO ST. PAUL'S.

This took place on Wednesday the 29th of November. It was what the people call, a "Queen's Day;" that is to say, it was a fine day; and really, if one were disposed to be superstitious, one might easily ascribe to something other than mere chance, the very singular circumstance, that, in this rainy

season of the year, scarcely a drop of wet has fallen on the days selected for exhibitions and processions relative to her Majesty. Upon this occasion it is worth recording, that the Attorney-General began his opening Speech, that most foul and viperous attack upon her Majesty, which, however, I verily believe was imposed upon him by his instructors. It is, I say, worth recording, that he began this attack just at the moment when a dreadful *peal of thunder shook the House, and a flash of lightning filled it with a blaze*; and that the Solicitor-General began to sum up the evidence against her just at the moment of a total *eclipse of the sun*! In other times, it would not have required extraordinary credulity to believe that there has been something more than mere chance in all this. At any rate, every one must commend her Majesty for obeying the precept *not to forget God*, upon this occasion; for, though extraordinary human means have been made use of for her Majesty's protection, look at the power; look at the mass of organized and disciplined power that has been arrayed against her; look at the fortress and its band of

swearers; look at Cook, Powell and Browne; look at the Hanoverian Government and those of the nations on the Continent; look at the Bourbons, the Jesuits, the Pope and the Devil; look at these and then say, whether her Majesty ought not to be grateful to God for her deliverance. I have read and heard a great deal about persecutions; and, seeing and feeling have not been totally wanting to assist me; but, in looking back to the persecutions, the plots, the conspiracies, employed against her Majesty, I do really think that if you could find any thing to surpass them, you must resort to the archives of Hell itself; and, therefore, her deliverance from all these did, in my sincere opinion and sober judgment, call for a public thanksgiving to God.

His late Majesty made a public procession to St. Paul's to return thanks to God for his deliverance from a state of temporary derangement of mind. The deliverance was one from great suffering and human degradation: but, was the occasion calculated to excite greater gratitude than the deliverance of the Queen, against whom the infernal regions seem to

have poured forth their most deadly battalions! The people, indeed, together with the Press, have had much to do in the deliverance of her Majesty; and it is *possible*, though not very likely that the Doctors had something to do in the deliverance of the late King. However, while the Queen has often expressed her strong sense of gratitude towards the People and the Press, it was perfectly right that she should also return public thanksgiving to God. Her enemies say, that she might have done this in her closet; and the late King might have returned thanks in his closet. The Queen had not only a precedent for what she did, but she followed the example of one, whom the present King, in his first speech, as King, declares that he will keep constantly in his eye as an object of imitation; so that her Majesty has, in this case, the example of her royal father-in-law, stamped with the recognition of her own husband and sovereign.

As to a description of the procession, upon this occasion, to do any thing like bare justice to it would require ten times the space of this whole Register. A thousand or two of horsemen;

several thousand of men on foot; scores of flags of various descriptions; probably half a million of spectators; these, together with every possible demonstration of joy at the event, of attachment and love towards her Majesty and of devotion to her cause and her person, without one single breach of the peace, and without even the appearance of a soldier or man in arms upon any spot of the whole procession of seven miles, from Hammersmith to St. Paul's; these things, while they spoke the praises of the people, and clearly showed their good-nature, good temper and orderly disposition, would have been a lesson to any body but the present Ministers of England, and would have made any rulers blush except those who are combining to trample or rip out the entrails of the people of Naples.

The day, though fine, was very cold, and, therefore, her Majesty went to the Cathedral with her carriage closed; but, with that gracious condescension which marks her character; which her haughty enemies hate in her, and which has greatly contributed to endear her to the nation; with that condescension, which is at once

a mark of goodness and of wisdom, and for both of which her Majesty is as far distinguished above other females of rank as she is in point of station; with that gracious condescension, she returned with her carriage left quite open, so as to be seen by every spectator, even by such as were upon the pavement. It gave me singular pleasure to see her Majesty accompanied by *Lady Ann Hamilton*, to whom the pleasure upon the occasion could scarcely have been less than that which must have been felt by her Majesty herself. This Lady has been always the true, faithful and constant friend of the Queen. She has adhered to her literally, "*through good report and evil report.*" She has set at defiance the frowns of power, and all the artifices of fraud. She has scorned alike the menaces of enemies and the blandishments of friends when either has been employed, or when both have been exerted at once to withdraw her from her generous attachment. Her Majesty's carriage was followed by some others, and particularly by that of Mr. Alderman Wood, to whom, with Lady Ann, the nation owes a great debt of gratitude on this ac-

count. Her Majesty has done much, and will do still more for us; but she could have done nothing without sincere and faithful friends, and of those friends this lady and gentleman certainly claim the pre-eminence.

Mr. Thorpe, the Lord Mayor of London, has, upon this occasion, as I dare say he will upon every occasion, acted a part worthy of the Chief Magistrate of this great city. He, together with the Sheriffs and the Livery, showed every mark of honour to the Queen; and took effectual measures to prevent the intermeddling of the Government at Whitehall, by sending of its soldiers into the city. I will presently notice the conduct of a part of the *Aldermen*. But first, let me observe, that the Lord Mayor and Corporation wanted to have the possession of the Cathedral for the day; in order that they might have the power of preventing such a press of the people into it, as might not only incommode her Majesty, but even endanger her life. Let any one consider the danger in which the Queen must necessarily be placed in a building of such immense space and crowded to such a degree

as it must necessarily have been if the doors had been thrown open to the public. Nevertheless, it appears to have been with the utmost difficulty that the Clergy were prevented from doing this. It would appear that the *Dean* has the whole power in such cases, and that he had permitted nothing to be done out of the usual course. The Dean is the Bishop of *Llandaff*. At last, all that the Committee of the Corporation could obtain was the keeping of the doors closed till twelve o'clock, when they were to be thrown open upon the entrance of her Majesty! Possession, they say, is nine points of the law, and this appears to have been the case upon this occasion; for the Committee, having once got possession, kept it till her Majesty arrived, let her safely in at the grand portal of the Cathedral, and then fastened the doors, to the great displeasure, they say, of the Rev. Dr. Hughes, who is a sort of substitute of the Dean, and, I dare say, to the great displeasure also of the *very Reverend* the Dean himself!

How the Corporation did contrive to get the Queen safe into her seat and back again to

her carriage, I am sure I cannot tell; and I am also sure that the thing would have been utterly impossible if it had not been for that universal good humour and satisfaction, which was universal throughout the metropolis, and which never was equalled upon any former public occasion.

Yet even in the City of London there were not wanting men to brood over their discontent, and to spit out their spite, even on an occasion like this. The Queen's Chamberlain, when her Majesty had resolved to go publicly to St. Paul's, caused the same to be communicated to the Lord-Mayor, who assembled a Court of Aldermen to lay the communication before them. Seven of these Aldermen made a vain attempt to deter her Majesty from her laudable and gracious purpose. The means they made use of to effect their object, will appear from the following document, on which, when I have inserted it, I shall make one or two short remarks.

"TO THE HON. KEPPEL CRAVEN, VICE-CHAMBERLAIN TO THE QUEEN.

"SIR—As Magistrates of this City, anxious to prevent disorder and confusion within our jurisdiction, we request that you will have the goodness to lay

before her Majesty the enclosed copy of resolutions proposed at the two last Courts of Aldermen, with reference to your letters of the 17th and 18th instant, addressed to the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, and submitted by him to the consideration of the Court of Aldermen.

"The Court of Aldermen first alluded to having been abruptly broken up by Mr. Alderman Wood and Mr. Alderman Waithman, and that held yesterday having been also broken up by the retirement of Mr. Alderman Wood, in order to reduce the number present to less than a quorum, and by the motion of Mr. Alderman Waithman, in immediately counting out the Court, and these Resolutions having been thus prevented from becoming a public document, we nevertheless, at this important moment, but without reference to any party or political question, feel it to be an indispensable duty which we owe to our fellow-citizens and to ourselves, to transmit them to you as the individual sentiments of the Magistrates who have subscribed them.

"We regret the delay which has thus been occasioned, because we were not without hope that, on re-consideration, her Majesty might have been induced to change her intention of publicly proceeding to St. Paul's Cathedral, and thus to have obviated the dangers and inconveniences to which the peaceable and industrious classes of our fellow-citizens may be exposed.

" We have the honour to be,  
Sir,

" Your most obedient, humble servants,

GEO. BRIDGES, late Mayor.

WM. CURTIS.

CHAS. FLOWER.

GEO. SCHOLEY.

SAML. BIRCH.

CHRISTOPHER MAGNAY.

W. HEYGATE.

" London, Nov. 28, 1820.

" That this Court, charged as Magistrates with the preservation of the tranquillity and order of this city, cannot but express its regret at the intimation of the Vice-Chamberlain of her Majesty the Queen to the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, communicated by his Lordship to this Court, of her Majesty's intention to proceed to St. Paul's Cathedral, in a public manner, on Wednesday the 29th inst. as *likely to be productive*, under present circumstances, of *serious inconvenience to the inhabitants of this city*.

" That the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor be requested to forward a copy of the above resolution to the Vice-Chamberlain of the Queen, in order that it may be communicated to her Majesty."

To the great satisfaction of the public, her Majesty's condescension did not go so far as to permit her Chamberlain to take even the smallest notice of this, at once, childish and impudent communication, which, if we could forget the letters of Lords Liverpool and Melville to her

Majesty, might be pronounced to be without a parallel. What had these Aldermen to do with the matter, any more than her Majesty had to do with the squabbles and the counting out of their court? The Court of Aldermen did *not agree to the Resolutions*. Was not that enough? What had the Queen or her Chamberlain to do with their rejected Resolutions? They were as much nonsense to her as the Bill of Pains and Penalties now is. These clever fellows, Messrs. Bridges, Curtis, and Heygate, must *protest*, must they! In imitation, I suppose, of the Duke of Newcastle, the Duke of Clarence, the Duke of Northumberland, and other protesting worthies of the House of Peers! Mr. Birch would have done a great deal better, I think, if he had been preparing, for her Majesty's repast, a good batch of pastry; and I could, if I had a mind, assign a more suitable employment of the other worthies, whose names are here recorded, sacred to laughter for ever.

These worthies seem to have been extremely anxious to prevent dangers and inconvenience to the peaceable and industrious classes of their fellow-citizens.



Why should they apprehend such dangers and inconvenience *at all*, and to the *peaceable and industrious* in particular? None of them were compelled to come to the procession; they might all stay away, if they pleased; if none but peaceable citizens came, what harm could they do; and if no harm happened to them, what danger would they have to experience?

Midas, shaking his ass's ears, once proposed a premium for a discovery to prevent the blind from being spies. In this day of *anymongering*, we may have some Midas arise who will want to find out blind men to pursue this laudable occupation; but if a conjurer should be wanted, nobody, I think, will go to seek him amongst these horror-anticipating Aldermen, who, however, anticipated in vain. There they were sitting all day, waiting in their magisterial robes; but there they sat alone, tranquil as the rotten weed on the lake, and wholly undisturbed in their profound cogitations, except by the distant shouts of "*God bless the Queen!*"

To, turn, from this disgusting subject, let us, before we dismiss this article, just observe, that this procession, together

with all the circumstances belonging to it, will, amongst other of its effects, produce an effect upon the nations of the Continent, and especially upon the councils of those who depend upon the helping hand of the present Ministry of England. To enumerate all the good effects that will arise at home and abroad from this attempt to destroy her Majesty, and from her Majesty's triumph, one must set down to reflect upon the matter for weeks. The whole of the civilized world will feel the beneficial effects of these events; and though the people and the press of England have done much, let us never forget, that her Majesty came and broke the chains of both. She could have done nothing effectual without the press and the people; but the people could have done nothing without her. In such a case, the party that makes the first move has the greatest merit, and, upon this occasion, her Majesty made the first move. It was her wise and gallant resolution to come to England and face her enemies, that has led to every thing which we now behold. To her, therefore, our thanks are due; and to support her, every Englishman is bound to do the utmost in his power.

## TO THE REFORMERS

COUNTRYMEN AND FRIENDS,

The time seems to be arrived for us to make the nation an explicit, solemn, and formal Declaration of our views and intentions. It is now possible for any man in his senses to believe, that the present state of things can last long. Indeed, the very supporters of corruption avow, that a great change of some description must speedily take place. But, while all agree, that there must be a change, very few are found ready to declare what it is that they expect; or, indeed, that they wish.

It is in this, that we, the Reformers, have repeatedly expressed our positions, and by other means, what we have wished. But, this expression, though sufficiently plain, has been buried under a mass of co-temporary matter, and our views have been disfigured by the misrepresentations of the agents of our malignant and powerful enemies. Besides, the statements in support of our claims, the several writings in which our principles and designs have been set forth, have been scattered here and there, and are no

where embodied in one single piece of reasonable bulk. Many, who are now young men, were born forty years ago, when our struggle first began to assume a really serious aspect. Such of us as have long been engaged in the struggle, are apt to imagine, that, because we clearly understand the nature of the cause, the whole nation must clearly understand it; which, though an error natural enough, is still an error.

For these reasons, and many others that might be stated, it appears to me, that we ought to send forth a Declaration of the description above given; and, if any considerable number of you concur with me in opinion, the following is the means that I shall adopt for effecting that purpose.

Circumstances may arise to prevent what I now intend; but, at present, my intention is to invite all who may choose to join me, to *dine* at some convenient place in London, on, or some day before, *New Year's Day*.

It is my opinion, that, from this meeting, a Declaration might, at this time, be sent forth with great advantage to the cause of *Par-*

*legislative Reform*, which, indeed, is the *cause of the kingdom*. It is now, clear to most men, and, I believe, to all men, that to change the Ministry without changing the nature of the Representation in the Commons' House, would produce no possible good. And, yet, is it not, indescribable disgrace to this great country, that this present Ministry should remain in power! Those, who, from their rank and talent, might be naturally looked towards as the successors of the Ministers, know, and, indeed, acknowledge, that they could not remain in power without the support of the Reformers; and, yet, to have that support they affect to fear to adopt the means; they affect to fear, that the adoption of those means would be dangerous to the whole fabric of the government.

This, therefore, is the time for us to appeal to the nation; and to show, as we easily can, that those fears, real or pretended, are not only wholly groundless, but that to reform the Parliament is the only means of preserving the fabric.

Such is the object which I have in view; and such the mode in which I propose to

effect it. I by no means wish to put myself forward on this, or on any occasion; but, when we want a thing done, the example of the American Farmers has taught me, that, "come boys!" and not "go boys!" is the word.

If any Gentleman, in country or town, has any improvement to suggest, as to the manner of accomplishing the object, I shall be happy to attend to such suggestions. If the meeting take place, I shall hope to see at it many Gentlemen from the Country. We must all be anxious, that what we do, upon this great occasion, may be able in the manner as well as sound in the matter; and, therefore, it is desirable to draw together a mass of knowledge and talent worthy of the goodness of our cause.

If it were thought desirable to circulate the Declaration widely, a hundred thousand might be distributed for a sum which we could certainly raise for such a purpose. Perhaps, however, the best way will be to publish it without any subscription, and to sell it very cheap indeed to persons who may be disposed to hand it about amongst their neighbours, especially in the country.

I shall be glad to receive communications upon the subject *by post* (No. 269, Strand); but, the *postage must be paid*; or, I shall be, as I already should be, exposed to enormous plunder. WM. COBBETT.

### CHANGE OF MINISTRY..

The following article is from the *Morning Chronicle* of this day, 30th of November. It is not, perhaps, demi-official; but it is worth the reading; and worth some attention from us Reformers. When the reader has gone through it, he will find a remark or two of mine on the 6th paragraph, to which paragraph I beg him to pay particular attention, and also to the eighth paragraph.

"1. *The Courier* maintains that 'there is not the least truth of any change of Ministers being in contemplation'; and observes, also, 'we need not feel any reluctance in asserting that neither Lord LIVERPOOL, nor Lord HARROWBY, nor Mr. CANNING, have tendered, or mean to tender, their resignation.'

"2. But *The Courier*, not content with protestations as to the harmony which prevails in the Cabinet, and the firm determi-

nation of all the Ministers to remain in place (on which we shall reserve ourselves for a future day), has thought fit to assume the existence of an eager wish on the part of the Whigs to get into office. We know not what part of the conduct of the Leaders of that party could lead to any such inference. The Whigs have certainly shown no eagerness hitherto to get into power; nay, they have more than once felt themselves compelled to decline the offers which have been made to them on that subject. They relinquished their places when they could no longer retain them without an abandonment of principle; they have refused to return to office, because they felt they could not do so without a compromise of principle; and the natural inference is, that they will never consent to accept of office on any terms inconsistent with principle.

"3. But when the present situation of the country is considered, the idea that any body of enlightened statesmen would seek for office from interested motives, is beyond measure absurd. Nothing but a high sense of the duty which they owe to their Country and the Crown could possibly induce the Whigs to undertake the administration of affairs, at a time like the present. Of this we may, however, be certain, that if, from such a state of duty, the Whigs should ever consent to accept of office, they will only do so on a clear understanding that they shall conduct the affairs of the country on such principles, as

may allow them to entertain a rational hope that they may thereby restore energy to Government, and popularity to the KING; and that they will, beforehand, take care respectfully to make these principles known to his MAJESTY.

"4. Among the points on which it would be necessary to have a clear understanding are:

"5. The necessity of an immediate and general retrenchment of expenditure.

"6. An Inquiry into the abuses that have crept into our Financial Administration, our Commercial System, our Representation, and our Judicial Practice.

"7. A distinct determination not to abet or countenance the projects of Foreign Potentates against the internal Reforms of independent Nations.

"8. A Restitution of all Constitutional Privileges to Catholics and other Dissenters; and

"9. A distinct understanding, that as the *ex post facto* Bill of Pains and Penalties was thrown out, to the universal joy of all men who reverence law, no attempt should be made to revive the prosecution in any shape.

"10. Unless these points at least are conceded, no Whig Ministers ought to accept of office. This is our own opinion, and we state it as such, having had no consultation on the subject with any individual of consideration in that party, and knowing nothing of the determination to which they may have come. We have no hesi-

tation, however, in declaring, that in our minds no honest man can consent to accept of office, without these points at least be secured."

You see, there is nothing talked of here about *Reform of Parliament*, but a slight mention is made of an intended inquiry into abuses, that have crept into our representation! Crept, have they! Faith, they have not crept. They have stalked in bolt upright; and they have been justified, too, upon the plea of their being as notorious as the sun at noon day! We have not forgotten this; nor have we forgotten the release of Sir Menassah Lopez, while the jails no longer afforded dungeons sufficient for the Reformers, without sending them to hundreds of miles distant from their homes. These are no creeping abuses. This proposal to *inquire*, indeed, is creeping enough. It is like going about partridge shooting with a lantern. The Devil take such creeping, I say! And so we say all.

This proposition, even to *inquire*, makes only a single imperfect phrase of a paragraph; whereas "a restitution of all constitutional privileges to Catholics;" this famous old tub to the whale makes a distinct head in this string of propositions and proposed *benefits* to the country! None of your tricks! None of your hub-bub-boos! This is like the negro-slavery reform. Any thing but a Reform of the Parliament. As to this Catholic work, I, for one, will always oppose any thing

done for the Catholics, or attempted to be done for them, *until there be a Reform of the Parliament.* I am for doing every thing for the Catholics, and for all the dissenters in religion; but it must be after, and not before a Reform of the Parliament. I am not for having a parcel of Catholic members in the Houses of Parliament to vote against every proposition for Reform, which would certainly be the case if Reform did not walk into the Houses before them. I will, therefore, join with Lord Eldon, Lord Liverpool, and even with Lord Sidmouth, against what is called Catholic emancipation, unless that measure be preceded by a Reform of the Parliament; because I know, that, if the Catholics were to carry their point before we obtained a Reform, they would go very far towards cutting our throats, if they could come within reach of them, to prevent us from getting a Reform afterwards. I again say, that I most anxiously wish to see the Catholics put upon the same footing with ourselves; but I will, to the utmost of my power, endeavour to prevent them from obtaining a bribe to assist in keeping us in slavery; that is to say, to keep us without representatives chosen by ourselves to sit in the Commons House of Parliament. So, none of your tricks, Mr. Perry! You are speaking in the absence of all authority; perhaps, you may know nothing of the intentions of your party; but you can guess; and if you guess rightly, I can tell you for fact that

your party, if they should get into place, will get in against the wishes of the people; will be baited like badgers while they are there; and will soon be kicked out again, neck and heels, to be kicked and cuffed, hooted and reprobated and scorned. *A Reform of the Parliament is what we want; and this we will have; or your party shall have no peace or security in the possession of place and power.*

### ANOTHER FETCH!

The following is a letter from the Morning Chronicle of this day, 30th November. They assail us in all shapes, and, irksome as it is, we must notice their attacks. The Gentleman treats us here with a quotation from Mr. Craven's letter to Lord Liverpool, and thinks that because her Majesty complains of the conduct of the Ministers, she wants us to petition the King to remove these Ministers, without receiving any pledge that others will do better. But, in fact, there is not one single argument or observation in this letter of the Chronicle, which I have not anticipated and fully answered in my above inserted letter to Lord Folkestone. In the first paragraph of this Whig letter, we find repeated the stupid old falsehood, that we ourselves disagree as to the sort of Reform that we want. If this were true, it would be of no weight; because laws are never passed; even laws to inflict the penalty of banishment or death, by an unanimity of votes; but the as-

assertion is false; it is notoriously false, too, and if this gentleman do not yet know what we want, it is the more necessary that my plan (which will be found in another part of this Register) for a *declaration* to be issued by the Reformers, should be put into execution as soon as circumstances will permit.

Pray, reader, look at the *third* paragraph of this Whig letter. Mark the absurdity of the man. What does he think is to *chase* the pestilence from our atmosphere short of a Reform? As to his asking us to reflect on the possible ravages of the storm; cannot that storm be at once prevented by a Reform of Parliament; and without that Reform is not the storm sure to come? However, I have no time for argument with this gentleman; nor is argument with him necessary. The short and long of the matter is this: there must be a reform of the Parliament; or the Ministers must go on and the storm must come.

One word more, and that is, to caution every man who wishes to live to see better days, to stir neither hand nor foot to put out these Ministers unless their successors will pledge themselves distinctly to bring in a bill for the reforming of the Parliament. I need say no more to men who *think* upon the subject; and as to those who do not think, as they always have been, so they always will be, the prey of impostors; but, thanks be to God and the Queen, there are very few men who do not now think.

# " TO THE EDITOR OF THE MORNING CHRONICLE.

" SIR,

" 1. At a moment when the abhorrence and detestation of Ministers appear to have reached their climax, and when the unanimous expression of national feeling would sweep them in a storm of indignation from the councils of a Sovereign, whose confidence they have so lamentably abused, I cannot but question the judgment of those who, unquestionably possessed considerable over the minds of the many, would divert their attention to remote abuses, the means of remedying which *not two in twenty are perhaps agreed upon*, instead of permitting the popular feeling to flow in one *great uninterrupted channel of supplication for the removal of those men from power*, against whose daring assaults the highest station in the realm is no security, as the lowest is not proof against their malice. Lord Wm. Russell and Mr. Hobhouse have declared that they desire no change of Ministers, as they are satisfied no real good could result from such a measure. The latter, indeed, accords his concurrence with a dictum of Mr. Pitt's in 1784, 'that under the present system no Minister could do any good, or could in fact come into administration without becoming a bad Minister.' It is somewhat singular that this language should have been held at a Meeting called to consider the propriety of congratulating her Majesty on the defeat of her persecutors, and to pray the dismissal of the Mi-

ministers with whom that persecution originated, and which persecution her Majesty expresses a conviction will never cease while those Ministers remain in place and power. The Queen's own words will best convey her opinion on this subject—'The Queen expressly commands me to add, that her Majesty, as well as the King and the country, have reason deeply to regret that the persons who have involved all those parties in their present unhappy difficulties, should still have influence to prevent that adjustment of differences which the Queen regards as essential to their common interests. Her Majesty has never entertained a doubt that the King, if left to the guidance of his own sound judgment and honourable feelings, would at once listen to the Queen's claims upon his justice, and to the united prayers of his loyal people.'—Answer to Lord Liverpool's Letter. Her Majesty thus clearly points at the authors of the late unhappy events, as still the obstructors of accommodation; their removal is therefore as essential to her honour, comfort, and, indeed, security, as to the peace and welfare of the kingdom, and safety of the throne.

"2. Fully agreeing in the necessity of *Parliamentary Reform*, I am yet at a loss to discover how that can best be accomplished by permitting those men to remain in office whose principles permit of their making the most formidable and effective use of the power with which corruption supplies them,

to resist any measure of Reform, and whose political existence depends on their maintaining the corrupt system complained of, in all its rank luxuriance. The inventors, aiders, and supporters of the Unholy Alliance, the conspiracy of Kings against the liberties of their subjects, are pledged to do so, and their zeal is stimulated by the applause of approving despots. Supposing then, this Administration dismissed and another formed, composed of men of proved talents and integrity, whose long and unwearied exertions as champions of our liberties, lay just claim to our esteem, confidence, and gratitude. Has Mr. Hobhouse so ill an opinion of mankind, as to suppose that such men would become as implacable and dangerous foes to *Rational Reform* as Castle-reagh, Sidmouth, Canning, and the rest of the Tory crew? If he indeed entertains such an opinion, let us turn our eyes inwards, and begin the reform of men before we attempt that of their institutions.

"3. I am, however, disposed to believe, that Gentlemen who profess these sentiments, do so under a conviction that the evil will work its own cure; that the clouds which are daily darkening our political horizon, if suffered to accumulate, will burst in a tempest that will purify the political atmosphere. But when they check the all-powerful popular breath which might at this moment, united and wisely directed, chase forever from our skies their threatening, inauspicious and pesti-



low vapours, let them, I say, reflect on the possible ravages of the storm, which no good or wise man can anticipate without horror and alarm. Ministerial men have long laboured in vain to get up what they would term Loyal Addresses. Let the people now pour them at the feet of the Throne—let the whole nation express their devotion and loyalty to their King, with their prayers for the dismissal of men, who have shaken in their folly the most sacred muniments of his Throne, and brought into question and discredit institutions the most ancient, and functions the most venerable and respectable. I am, Sir, your most obedient servant;

“TIMOLEON.”

### LET US LAUGH!

The following is taken from the *Morning Chronicle* of a few days ago! Whether the Old Gentleman be MR. PERRY himself, who, the other day, took care to remember to forget to insert *my name* in a speech that he reported; whether this Whig be this Mr. Perry, who thus endeavours to keep up the cant about “the *Seditious*,” or, whether it be some superannuated brother, I am sure I cannot tell; but, at any rate, it is no *sedition* to laugh at him.

“TO HIS MAJESTY THE KING.

“SIRE,

“As an Englishman, I have a right to address your Majesty, so that I shall deem no apology for this letter necessary. And I prefer addressing your Majesty through the means of a public Journal, since you yourself, when, nearly twenty years ago, I had the honour of a personal acquaintance with your Majesty, told me, ‘That as long as a free press remained in this country, its Monarch could not be corrupted by flattery.’

“Though I differ from many of my Whig friends on the question of the Queen’s guilt, I am willing to confess that the personal attachment which I still entertain for your Majesty may have warped my judgment, and I must add, that the question of Guilty or Not Guilty has nothing to do with the consideration of the Bill of Pains and Penalties. So odious—so disgusting—so unconstitutional is that Bill, that every man who is attached to the Hanoverian succession, and to the free Monarchy, established by the *Whigs*, in these realms, must loath and execrate it.

“The inexpediency—the impolicy—the unconstitutional nature of that Bill ought to reuss your Majesty to exertion, and compel you to look about you for a new Ministry—nay, more, to hand over the present Administration to condign punishment. I am sure that your Majesty must be much altered since I had the honour of your acquaintance, if you did not see both the impolicy and unconstitutional nature of the proceedings of your

Ministers. You were wont to be most liberal in your sentiments; most kind, generous, and humane in your nature. I believe you to be so now. I could adduce, indeed, an instance of your humanity and kindness which occurred very lately. It must, therefore, have been through inadvertency that you permitted your *traitorous* Ministers to bring forward this odious measure... I call your Ministers traitorous, for having involved the country in the most unwarrantable disturbances, and for having exposed your person to the odium, if not of the best, of the most numerous part of your subjects. The veriest Tory cannot more sincerely lament the execrable caricatures of your person, and falsehoods of your conduct which have been invented by the seditious; but can we blame the poor wretches for this conduct? Who gave them the opportunity—who gave them the plea, but those wretched Ministers who have overwhelmed the country with debt, and by this unconstitutional Bill aided the cause of irreligion and immorality? I therefore address your Majesty, in order to give you the most friendly advice—dismiss your Ministers—take again to your counsels the friends of your youth, and you will certainly become the most beloved and popular Monarch. I can personally vouch for your amiable manners, your kind heart, and your many virtues. I have not forgotten them—I have ever retained the affectionate gratitude to you personally—though I

must own that I could not approve your conduct.

"Take to your counsels *Lords Lansdown, Grey, Holland, and Erskine, once again.* Call back *Mr. Tierney*, that true and genuine Whig in the Lower House; and those *true disciples of your old friend Fox*, while they save their country, will bring to light the many and excellent qualities which I know you to possess. I beseech your Majesty not to think that I have any interested views; since the death of my old friend the immortal Fox, I have meddled little with politics, and I am now so advanced in years, that I can only write this by the aid of amanuensis.

"Desires to live in retirement, and to prepare for my latter end; I court not public favour or applause, and nothing but the most conscientious motives, and the most sincere attachment to your Majesty, could make me write this. The same reason will prevent my signing my name to this letter; but your Majesty will know who I am, when I inform you that it was written by one, who, when he thought himself a ruined man, received an anonymous letter containing a considerable sum of money, which was sent, though the discovery was not made for five years after, by your Majesty. Think me not, therefore, ungrateful, though nobody more thoroughly hates, and has less scruple in blaming, the iniquitous measures of your Majesty's Government. No one is more ready to acknowledge, both in public and private, your wonder-

*ful talents and excellent heart.*—No one more sincerely laments, that through the impolicy of your Government, your character has been so *belied* and exposed to *insults and misrepresentations*, as *false* and *unfounded* as they are *foul* and *calumnious*, than your grateful and dutiful subject,  
 “AN OLD FOXITE.”

#### ANSWER TO LORD LIVERPOOL'S LETTER.

My Lord,—I have been honoured by her Majesty's commands to acknowledge the receipt of your lordship's letter of yesterday, and to state that her Majesty cannot for a moment misunderstand its real purport.

The Queen perceives that the King's ministers have resolved to prevent Parliament from assembling for the dispatch of business at the time to which both Houses had adjourned. The justice and wisdom of the legislature would at that period, beyond all doubt, have restored her to the full enjoyment of those rights which the Constitution has vested in the Queen-Consort. The ministers plainly show that such is their belief, and they are determined, for some purposes of their own, to delay the redress to which she is entitled.

In a measure thus alike contemptuous towards Parliament and the nation, the Queen perceives a still deeper design. It is impossible to doubt that the authors of the late bill have formed the project of trying in some other shape their baffled scheme of degrading her Ma-

jesty, and ruining the best interests of the august family to which she belongs. Defeated in their first attempt—disgraced in the eyes of the people—consigned to the contempt of all Europe—deserted by the most rational and respected of their own adherents—they meditate a new attack on the honour of the Queen. Their speculations must be founded on the hope that the public sentiment, so loudly and universally expressed, will at length be wearied and exhausted, and that the Queen herself will no longer have patience to resist such cruel and endless persecutions. But her Majesty owes it to the British nation to declare, that she has the firmest reliance upon their support as long as she is the victim of oppression; and to herself she deems it due to add, that no harassing treatment on the part of the King's ministers will ever shake the duty she owes to this generous people. She has also the strongest conviction that the King's highest interests are at the present moment as much betrayed as those of the state, by the evil counsellors who are now once more plotting her destruction.

To the offer of money with which Lord Liverpool has thought proper to accompany his notice of the intended prorogation of Parliament, her Majesty has no answer to give but a direct refusal. Nearly ten months have elapsed since his late Majesty's death, and no parliamentary provision has been yet proposed for her. As long as the bill was pending the Queen

saw the propriety of accepting the advances made for her accommodation; but she will not accept as a favour from the ministers, what a due regard for the honour of the Crown would induce Parliament to grant as a right; and she is still more averse to impose upon the people the unnecessary burden of finding a palace for her, when the national munificence has already provided royal residences for all the Princesses who fill her exalted station.

The Queen expressly commands me to add, that her Majesty, as well as the King and the country, has reason deeply to regret that the persons who have involved all those parties in their present unhappy difficulties should still have influence to prevent that adjustment of differences which the Queen regards as essential to their common interests. Her Majesty has never entertained a doubt that the King, if left to the guidance of his own sound judgment and honourable feelings, would at once listen to the Queen's claims upon his justice, and to the united prayers of his loyal people.—I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's obedient humble servant,

R. KEPPELL CRAVEN.

*Brandenburgh-House,  
Nov. 18, 1820.*

#### ADDRESS OF THE CITY OF LONDON TO THE QUEEN.

"TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

"The dutiful and loyal Address of the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the

City of London, in Common Council assembled.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

"We, his Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects, the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the city of London, in Common Council assembled, desire affectionately to offer to your Majesty our sincere and joyful congratulations upon the triumphal refutation of the foul charges brought against your Majesty's character and honour, and the exposure of a conspiracy still more powerful and detestable than any of those of which your Majesty has formerly been the object.

"That the investigation into your Majesty's conduct, however unconstitutionally instituted and unfairly carried on, would terminate in the establishment of your Majesty's innocence, we confidently anticipated, when we lately offered our assurances of regard on your Majesty's return to our country. But we feel the greatest reason of rejoicing at the fulfilment of our expectations, when we consider the detestable but formidable means employed by your accusers to achieve your ruin; means against which, but for the power that guards the oppressed, no character could be secure. And while we contemplate with unspeakable horror and disgust the loathsome spectacle of the power of sovereigns, and the servility of courtiers, the influence of ministers and the treasure of kingdoms, employed in hiring spies and slanderers, corrupting servants, fabricating eb-

acone...calumnies, suborning wretched perjurers, erecting secret tribunals, perverting justice, and withholding the means of defence, we admire the undaunted courage, inspired by conscious rectitude, which could encounter, baffle, and defeat such mighty and infernal machinations.

“Well knowing that every fresh proof of the innocence of the victim of false accusers serves but to redouble their malice, and aware of the character and condition of some of those who undertook to sit in judgment on your Majesty, we have felt no surprise, and trust your Majesty will feel no concern at their votes and declarations: the first minister of the crown himself has shown what value is to be attributed to them.

“Our earnest hope, therefore, is, that contemplating the baseness of courtiers, and feeling that the only security for the prince, as well as the humblest citizen, is in the freedom, the intelligence and the spirit of the people, your Majesty will henceforth continue to reside amongst them, in the full enjoyment of your dignity, and in the exercise of every virtue that can claim and secure the esteem and affection of a generous nation.

(Signed)

By order of the Court,  
HENRY WOODTHORPE.”

To which her Majesty was pleased to return the following Answer:—

“I am deeply impressed, and unfeignedly obliged, by this loyal and affectionate Address from the Lord-Mayor, Alder-

men, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled:

That powerful conspiracy which solely menaced my destruction is fabled in the dust. The fabric of accusation which it had raised on the basis of fraud and falsehood, has been demolished! It has been shattered by the touch of truth, until the whole is vanished into empty air.

The victory which we have obtained is a subject of rejoicing on various accounts: but particularly because it is the victory of the best principles over the worst. It is the victory of truth over falsehood; of integrity over injustice; and of humanity over malignity, in its most revolting aspect and most hideous form.

But what is in the highest degree satisfactory is, that it is a victory by which the most valuable rights of the nation have in some measure been secured; and by which a more free expansion has been given to the principles of liberty.

If my enemies had prevailed, the people, who are now freed, would have been despised. Their oppression would have been indefinitely increased, and what can be more intolerable than oppression aggravated by contempt?

It is to the good feelings and good principles, to the sympathizing tenderness, and the generous support of the people, excited and energized by the all-powerful agency of the press, that I am principally indebted for my present safety from the grasp of such a gigantic conspiracy.

easy as never before threatened the security of an individual.

Though I am far from believing that my presence in this country can be so conducive to the national welfare as the nation seems to suppose, yet, when that sentiment is so warmly cherished and so extensively diffused, I feel it a duty to make it the rule of my conduct, and to conform my will to that of the community: whilst my residence in this country is the earnest desire of the nation, my heart will never oppose itself to that desire.

The considerations of health or convenience will yield to that of the general good.

The people have made many sacrifices for me, and I will live for the people.

#### HER MAJESTY'S ANSWERS TO ADDRESSES.

FROM THE INHABITANTS OF ST. JOHN,  
WAPPING.

The inhabitants of St. John, Wapping, in the county of Middlesex, are requested to accept my cordial acknowledgments for this loyal and affectionate address.

When I determined not to negotiate with my enemies at a distance, but to meet them face to face in London, I was conscious that, as long as I claimed no more than my just, constitutional rights, I should receive the resolute and steady support of the English nation. I knew the rancour of my adversaries; but I also knew the force of public opinion in this country;

and I was convinced that, as long as that opinion could be freely expressed, I should be protected against injustice and oppression, and had nothing to dread either from open violence or insidious machinations.

A short time convinced me that I had not erroneously calculated upon the generous sympathies of the English nation. The people everywhere exhibited the most lively sympathy with my sufferings, and the most intrepid zeal in the vindication of my rights. A sort of chivalrous feeling seems to have pervaded the kingdom.

All history teaches us that nations are subject to intervals of enthusiasm on religious or political topics. Enthusiasm in general is a violent effervescence of blind feeling, of a vague and confused kind, without being attached to distinct ideas, or capable of being comprehended in any definite terms. But the enthusiasm which is now felt is something of a very intelligible kind.—It is a strong excitement both of the mind and heart, in favour of law, of justice, and humanity; all equally violated in the person of the Queen.

FROM THE INHABITANTS OF THE AN-  
CIENT BOROUGH OF SUDBURY.

I am unfeignedly obliged by this loyal and affectionate address from the inhabitants of the ancient borough of Sudbury.

Every freeman ought to be more attached to principles than to individuals. Individuals perish, but principles are immortal. Individuals differ at different times, and under different circumstan-

ces; but principles are the same in all periods, in all regions, and every diversity of contingencies. Truth and justice do not change their nature according to any given longitude or latitude, according as the atmosphere is heavy or light, or the thermometer high or low. Particular principles may have partisans, but partisans do not make principles. Principles exist independent of party. Truth is not less or more truth, because it happens to be rejected by one great individual, or embraced by another. The people of this country were once the slaves of individual authority; a mere name was the watch-word of union. They are now, happily for them and for mankind, more attached to principles than to individuals, and more enamoured of permanent and definite truths, than of fugitive and empty sounds.

FROM THE INHABITANTS OF TEWKESBURY.

I return my sincere thanks to the inhabitants of Tewkesbury and its vicinity, for this loyal and affectionate address.

The defenders of constitutional liberty were never so numerous as at the present period.

The unjustifiable attack upon my rights has caused them to rise up, not merely in detached instances, but in numerous bodies, in every part of the kingdom. Every city, borough, town and village swarms with the patriotic vindicators of the Queen's rights, and of the nation's liberties. The rights of the Queen rise in importance in proportion as they are connected with the liberties of the nation. Liberty is the greatest of all blessings; for without it no other can be permanent or secure. Who would wish to have his property or his life dependent on the arbitrary will of an individual?

#### COBBETT'S GRAMMAR.

JUST PUBLISHED, PRICE 2s. 6d.

The *fourth edition*, carefully corrected, and dedicated to her Majesty, the Queen, of this work, which, as its title expresses, is intended for the use of schools and of young persons in general, and more especially for the use of *Soldiers, Sailors, Apprentices and Plough-Boys*.

Sold by W. BENBOW, 260, Strand.

This has been a week of law, and, when the reader considers, the full import of that awful word, he will not be surprized, that PEEPS and every thing else have been suspended for another week.

## RUMP CONSPIRACY.

### TO THE ELECTORS OF WESTMIN- STER.

*On the Trial which took place in the Court of King's Bench on Tuesday last, before the Chief Justice, and a common jury; the subject of which trial being an action brought by Thomas Cleary against Mr. Cobbett.*

London, Dec. 7, 1820.

GENTLEMEN,

Your and I are not only old acquaintances but old friends. Some of you have grown up to manhood since the commencement of our acquaintance; some of you know less of me than others do; but, as I think it probable that circumstances may render it useful, I shall here take the first step towards a renewal of your acquaintance.

For several years I have lamented that this great and public spirited city should, in a great measure, have been held in a species of bondage by a little knot of persons, whom I have, for a long time past, called *the Rump*, and whom I will not, upon the present occasion, more particularly characterise; because it is my intention to address you more at length in a short time, and in a manner by the resorting, to which I hope to convey my sentiments to you *all*, and to obtain a rather particular attention to what I intend to address to you.

Men in general, and particularly Englishmen, love *fair play*. My sole object, at present, in addressing you is, to draw your attention to the conduct and character of the Rump and of its *agents and associates*. Here has been a trial, recollect, gentlemen. Here we have, not only Mr. Brougham's attack and my de-



fence; but the *charge of a Chief Justice and the verdict of a Jury*. Here is, above all things, evidence given on oath by two members of the *Rump*, and by *Wright and Jackson*, two of their agents and associates.

Now, Gentlemen, I have to beg you to *look well* at this evidence, as you will find it in the report of the trial. Read the evidence with attention, consider well who and what *Wright and Jackson* are. Look well at the evidence of *Adams* in particular; and then reflect that this *Adams* has, for many years, been one of this little knot of persons who have had the chief management of the political concerns of this great and important city.

Recollect, Gentlemen, that *Cleary* complains that, in consequence of my writings against him he has lost the confidence and even acquaintance of numerous persons who, before, thought well of him. He further complains that divers persons have, in consequence of those writings, refused to have any transactions with him, and even to hold discourse with him. For reparation of which grievous injuries he prays for damages to the amount of two thousand pounds; and a jury of Westmin-

ster men; a jury of tradesmen, not one of whom did I ever before see in my life, to my knowledge, gave him FORTY SHILLINGS!

Bear in mind, too, gentlemen, that I put in no formal justification; that I called no witnesses; and that I had solely to rest upon the good sense and honesty of the worthy men who composed the jury.

As to the trial altogether, it will speak for itself; but suffer me to remark, because the remark is of great importance as to *public morals* and *public happiness*; that the Chief Justice, in his charge to the jury, while he reproved my having stigmatised *Cleary* as a forger, observed that it was impossible to believe that I could have given my consent to the publishing of the letter if I had been present in England, and that if I had confined myself to the charge of *breach of private confidence*, I should have been JUSTIFIED IN USING VERY STRONG TERMS OF REPROBATION. Now, remember, Gentlemen, that this decided opinion of his Lordship applies not only to *Cleary* and to *Wright*; but also to that of *Place, Adams*, and the whole of the *Rump*; and that

it is an opinion which ought to make *Adams* ashamed of himself to the end of his life.

—Gentlemen, look at the evidence given by *Adams* upon oath; look at the opinion of the Chief Justice; look at the decision of your honest fellow-citizens the jury; and then reflect that this *Adams* has been one of a little group of men, who have been intermeddling in the great political affairs of Westminster; and not only intermeddling in them, but even managing them so far as to be the ostensible persons to declare who should be your representatives in Parliament, and who should not! I beseech you, gentlemen, soberly and candidly to consider these things; and if you do so consider them, I am satisfied that there will want nothing more to rescue this illustrious city from such a degrading political jurisdiction.

I cannot dismiss this letter without availing myself of the opportunity of expressing my best thanks to the gentlemen of the Bar, present in court at the time of the trial. Those gentlemen might be suspected of having no very friendly feeling to-

wards me; but I must say, and I say it with peculiar satisfaction, that, if I had been the brother of some of them, and the father of the rest, they could not have discovered, as far as I was able to judge from their countenances, greater interest in my behalf than they did. By hints conveyed along to my sons, who sat one on my right, the other on my left, they rendered me very great assistance, in the cross-examination of the witnesses, and also in the management of my defence. The truth is, they were Englishmen; and they very quickly saw how base and how foul a set of men I had to contend against. It is not in human nature to behold such conspiracies without horror. In the midst of this general feeling in my favour, there sat Mr. Brougham, a solitary exception! He had begun the day's work by representing me as a cruel, hard-hearted, unsparing, inveterate, and implacable man; and I am sorry to be compelled to believe, that he quitted the Court, boiling over with mortification under the conviction

of my having gained over to my side the hearts of all present except those of his client and his witnesses, and that of himself. He was *more than an advocate* in the case: he had not command enough of himself to forego this very improper opportunity of seeking for retaliation on another score; but I believe I may say that he found himself totally disappointed in the attainment of his object. When I saw him arrayed against me, I was ready to say, in the language of a warrior mentioned in the Scripture, "*Is it peace?*" He soon convinced me that it was not peace; and I hope that I convinced him that he is likely to gain nothing by a continuation of the war.

I am, Gentlemen, now, as

I always have been,

Your sincere,

And faithful Friend,

WM. COBBETT.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH, DEC. 5.  
SITTINGS AFTER TERM, BEFORE THE  
LORD CHIEF JUSTICE, AT WESTMINSTER.

CLEARY v. COBBETT.

This case excited an unusual degree of interest, and the Court was excessively crowded at a very early hour. The defendant appeared in Court to conduct his own cause; and, after a short period passed in trying a question of no public interest, this case was called on.

Mr. CHITTY opened the pleadings. This was an action for libel. The declaration stated and was founded upon five several libels, and it was only necessary to direct their attention to the first count, which charged that the plaintiff composed and wrote a certain letter, reflecting upon the character of Mr. Henry Hunt, and read at the Westminster Election such letter, stating that it was Mr. Cobbett's, and that Mr. Cobbett charged him (the plaintiff) in his *Register*, with forging that letter. The other counts reflect upon the conduct of the plaintiff in this transaction. The defendant says that he is not liable, and the damages are laid at two thousand pounds.

Mr. BROUGHAM.—Gentlemen of the Jury—In opening the pleadings, my learned friend had occasion to tell you who it is that defends this action, and it is only necessary to name William Cobbett, in order to bring before you a person, who is, perhaps, the man of all others engaged as a writer in a daily or weekly paper, whose attack upon the

character of an individual is most to be dreaded; a man whose talents it is hardly possible to over-rate, except by saying, that great as they are, they are equalled by the zeal with which he has ever exercised them; and that zeal, great as it is, still less remarkable than the want of scrupulousness with which he has so zealously exercised those powers. But though the name is enough to tell you who defends this action, it is necessary that I should state to you who it is that brings it, and who that individual is against whom those talents have been thus zealously, so little scrupulously, and so unremittently exerted. He is a gentleman comparatively little known to you, a native of the sister kingdom, a person of good family, filling the situation of a respectable practitioner in the law, and now a member of one of the Inns of Court, for the purpose of qualifying himself for a higher station. After residing for some time with us, and taking part in the political circumstances of the day, he occasionally exercised the right of his elective franchise as an elector of Westminster, zealously, I believe conscientiously, I am sure rightly, and never wrongfully with respect to any individual whatever. Mr. Cleary became connected in the band of political union with Major Cartwright, an individual with regard to whose opinions on such subjects no matter what sentiments were entertained, who was universally admitted to be a man of inflexible integrity, unimpeachable character, and undeviating

inconsistency. [Mr. Brongham was here interrupted by a very general laugh.] I beg Major Cartwright's pardon, I meant consistency; I had not the slightest intention of imputing to him what is certainly applicable to others, whose inconsistency is as remarkable as the Major's immutability. I was stating to you, Gentlemen, that Mr. Cleary became devoted to the opinions of Major Cartwright, and after an intimacy of some standing between them, during which he had enjoyed a large portion of that hospitality for which the Major is distinguished, it happened not unnaturally that Mr. Cleary should have been found the foremost in the ranks of his supporters. Accordingly, we find him one of the most active of the Major's friends at the Westminster Election. While in the discharge of his duty in a public capacity arose the discussion, out of which these publications proceeded. Another of the candidates was Mr. Hunt, and it pleased Mr. Hunt to attack Mr. Cleary in a way, in which he thought the largest latitude of discussion at contested elections could not justify. Mr. Hunt read a private letter, written to him in confidence by Mr. Cleary, intended for his eye alone, and having used it in this way.—Cleary read another letter in retaliation, purporting to be a letter from Mr. Cobbett, but which Mr. Cobbett now disowns. It will be hardly necessary for me to read this letter, as it will be read hereafter, and I shall only say that it was written as far

back as April, 1808. I certainly acknowledge that to me at least it is difficult to discover why Mr. Hunt should complain of Mr. Cleary's conduct, after the use which he had so unjustly made of a private letter of Mr. Cleary's; but why Mr. Cobbett should complain of this, against whom Mr. Cleary had said not one word, but on the contrary spoken of him as the stay and prop of their common cause, in terms not merely respectful but reverential, that Mr. Cobbett should turn round with vehemence, I will not call it ferocity, is not easily accounted for, at least, it would not be easily accounted for on any other mode of conducting an argument than that which those politicians so pertinaciously pursue. The letter which had been thus read by Mr. Cleary, undoubtedly represented Mr. Hunt to be a very different person from that gentleman, whom Mr. Cobbett was then, at a considerable distance in point of time I admit, in the habit of eulogising. But, why should Mr. Hunt, of all mankind, be rendered unmanageable by such treatment? Was this the only instance, and was he the only man whom Mr. Cobbett had violently abused, and as speedily afterwards lavishly praised? It was not, you will recollect, Gentlemen, the retraction of a single year, or a single month, or a single day on the part of Mr. Cobbett, and all who are in the habit of ministering to their own pleasure by the perusal of this Gentleman's productions, for it is most unquestionably a pleasure of a cer-

tain kind, and see the display of great talents on a subject, however unworthy; I say that all such readers must be aware of the sudden changes that the opinions of this able writer undergo with respect to the characters of public men and public measures. Almost every number of *The Weekly Register* is distinguished by this variation.

The Chief Justice—We are confined at present, Mr. Brougham, to those parts of the publication which are set forth as libels upon the plaintiff in this action.

Mr. COBBETT—My Lord, I wish that the most extensive scope may be allowed to the Learned Gentleman.

Mr. BROUGHAM—It is certainly my wish, my Lord, to confine myself within those limits which your Lordship justly observes ought not to be passed over. Well, then, Gentlemen, because Mr. Cleary produced this letter, which Mr. Cobbett had written, because he had used it in the manner which I have already described, Mr. Cobbett proceeds to attack him as what? As the person who forged, or caused to be forged, the letter so read by Mr. Cleary; and as you know what Mr. Cobbett's manner is, knowing the levity with which things of so public a nature are apt to be read, and how soon they are forgotten, to dwell systematically upon the same subject, and never once to let go his grip until he has made his impression; sometimes varying the form, and very often using the identical words, so that from

the very repetition they acquire force; in that his peculiar manner does he heal in this case with his unfortunate victim—until every one who reads Mr. Cobbett's *Register* necessarily mixes up the name of Cleary and forgery, until they at length become associated, and the purpose of the calumny is thus completely accomplished. After having dwelt on this, the most pernicious of all these libels, it would be useless for me to occupy your time in alluding to the others, which however serious or severe, are less calculated to do mischief to the plaintiff's character. But I may tell you, that I have not stated the worst part of this libel, because you will find in another part of it that which alone was wanting to complete the calumny: the motives of the forgery are there assigned. After talking of a petition which had been signed very generally as the effect of his own exertion, Mr. Cobbett proceeds to state that this forgery could have originated in no other motive than that of a reward from Sir Francis Burdett, his opulent and base employer. So that this charge involves the basest and the worst motive by which the vilest man on earth could have been influenced. And now I ask you, Gentlemen, if ever a worse libel was published than that which I have now described to you?—I shall not occupy your time in dwelling upon the peculiar shade of criminality by which it is marked, and, perhaps, I should have better consulted the

interests of this case had I read those libels to you, and simply asked you what would you have felt had you been their object; and what would you have given that none such had ever been written of you, and then calling upon you to try by such a criterion the case before you? But as Mr. Cobbett is here to defend himself, it becomes necessary to say a very few words with respect to the charge itself. You will observe the great advantage that defendants are placed under who deal in general abuse, in vague and undefined censure, which is incapable of justification; but here is the case of a defendant charging an individual with uttering a forged letter, knowing it to be forged, and the evidence is within his own reach to substantiate that charge. If the letter is not Mr. Cobbett's, he had an opportunity of justifying upon the record, and thus defeating the action at once, by proving that it was a forgery, and shewing that Mr. Cleary had uttered it, knowing it to be a forgery. What has he done? he has merely pleaded the general issue, thus admitting that the letter is not a forgery, though he has hitherto repeatedly denied that it was his hand-writing, and has asserted that it was forged by Cleary, for the purpose of gaining a reward or a bribe from his base employer. Now, gentlemen, to anticipate what may be the line of his defence would be quite impossible. All topics are open to him; but I trust that you will not listen to him on one topic, should he

happen to dwell upon it. If you hear any thing said about freedom of discussion, if one word escapes him about the liberty of the press, do not shut your ears against it; but hear it for the sake of free discussion, for the sake of Mr. Cobbett, and for the sake of the liberty of the press; and no advocate of that freedom of discussion, of its champion or its liberty, will require less than I do, namely, that it should be restrained by no other fetters than truth. Gentlemen, I will give to Mr. Cobbett, and to all who write for the public, the amplest means of attacking all opinions, of violently assailing those establishments under which these opinions have been cherished, they shall have the use of every weapon they please for the purpose of eliciting truth without stint or control. I will not quarrel with the weapons they use any more than I will with the subjects which they attack; their vulgarity shall pass for strength, their ribaldry shall be wit, their buffoonery playfulness, they shall libel all men as well as all things, they shall month after month, or day after day, blacken or illustrate those characters they please; there must be but one limit to their range, and that is truth—one control to their aberrations, and that is falsehood. They must not range under the dominion of that spirit of mischief, but if they assert, they must be prepared to prove, and if they do not prove, they must be held guilty, not of invective, but of calumny.

Are we to be told that the only property which is not defended by law is character, that this which every honourable man prizes more highly than all other earthly boons, is to become the sport and sarcasm of every coward calumniator? Are we to be told that an unbounded license is allowed to fritter down the fair fame of every honest individual? If Mr. Cobbett can leave any doubt on your minds that such a law would not be fatal to the press, give as small damages as you please against him, but if all he says tends only to confirm you in the conviction of a contrary opinion, then I only ask that you should revert to that criterion to which I have before alluded. Place yourselves in my client's situation, and say what would you not give, rather than suffer under such unmerited calumny? I only ask that you should award against the defendant such damages as you would give to one whose peace of mind, not to say whose health, has been incurably injured by these publications.

### THE LIBELS.

*From Register, of 5 September, 1818.*

" Now, though you doubtless  
 " would not forge a Letter for  
 " so base a purpose, I declare  
 " that you have re-published  
 " a forgery; I declare this  
 " to be a forgery; I accuse  
 " Cleary, before the people of  
 " America, as I have done  
 " before the people of Eng-

"land, of having forged this  
 "letter, or, which is the same  
 "in point of baseness, of having  
 "obtained it from a man who  
 "had forged it, and which man  
 "he well knew to have been  
 "guilty of forging my writing  
 "and name, for fraudulent  
 "purposes, many times: \* \*

\* \* \* \* \* Mr. Cleary  
 "now appeared in a new cha-  
 "racter, instead of shunning ob-  
 "servation, he courted it. He  
 "expressed great gratitude to  
 "me; and, he accused Sir  
 "Francis Burdett of desertion  
 "and cowardice. Yes, that  
 "very Sir Francis Burdett whom  
 "he now endeavours to uphold  
 "by blackening the character  
 "of my friend, and that too,  
 "through the means of a for-

"gery of my hand-writing;  
 "and this he does from no other  
 "possible motive, that I can  
 "divine, than that of a pecu-  
 "niary reward from his opulent  
 "and base employer."

*From Register of 5 Decem-  
 ber, 1818.*

"Cleary, we are told, was  
 "mounted on a white charger:  
 "emblem of purity! He should  
 "have had a pillion behind  
 "him for his forging associate.  
 "That would have capped the  
 "climax of purity, though God  
 "has not given to Man a do-  
 "minion so absolute over in-  
 "ferior animals, as to justify so  
 "horrible a degradation of the  
 "honest charger."

"*Baronet.*—My dear and faithful friend, thou reason'st well,  
 It must be so. \* (*Sits down to write.*)

Here! (*rising*) This potent cheque to Coutts's swiftly bear;  
 The means, far more than ample, you'll find there,  
 To drench my householders and deck their wives;  
 To make them, 'gainst Hunt's mob, expose their lives,  
 And, 'gainst himself, to arm with dirks or knives;  
 And if the ruffian come to seek me out,  
 You'll swear, dear Cleary, I have got the gout.

"*Cleary.*—We'll Hunt, my Liege, attack by forgery,  
 And make him black as ———

"*Baronet.*—Hell, you'd doubtless say;  
 Ah! dearest Cleary, that's the only way!  
 But, who'll believe?

"*Cleary.*—'Tis Cobbett's name we take.

"*Baronet.*—The sound, dear Cleary, gives my nerves a shake.  
 But, can you blacken absent Cobbett too!

"*Cleary.*—We'll try, my Liege, what your bank-notes will do  
 With Walter, Stewart, Perry, all the tribe,  
 No man of whom who will not take a bribe.

"*Baronet.*—Bless'd paper-money, last and best supply;  
 That lends corruption swifter wings to fly! †

\* Play of Cato. † Pope's Satires.



That from the poll makes men like Cartwright flee,  
And fills the senate's seats with men like me!

" *Cleary*.—My Liege, I haste your wishes to obey;  
And blacken'd Hunt shall rue the provocation  
Given by his ruffian band. Into  
His affairs most private will we enter;  
His debts and dues, the treatment of his wife,  
And his amours at every stage of life;  
And though he still may act the hero's part,  
We're sure, at least, to wring a woman's heart.  
Adieu! my Liege, and—— (going.)

" *Baronet*.——One word, dear *Cleary*.  
'Twere well, indeed, to talk of debts and dues,  
Of wife neglected, and e'en of living  
With another's wife; but, if a child he have  
By wife of bosom friend, for maintenance  
Of which he money gave, and then re-took,  
At hazard of exposure of the dame:  
In such a case, it were not wise the act  
To hold aloft to public scorn.

" *Cleary*.——Ecod!  
To horse that's blind a wink's as good as ned!  
And now I go to bother, lie and bribe;  
To forge myself, or hire a forging scribe;  
To make our 'England's Glory' brighter shine,  
And fix you in your seat by right divine."

|  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>" The challenge of the little<br/>" contemptible reptile, <i>Cleary</i>,<br/>" was, however, the thing which<br/>" had most offended him. He<br/>" had seen this creature, the<br/>" mere cat's-paw of the Baronet.<br/>" He had seen him stuck upon<br/>" the white charger, but he did<br/>" not, till he saw me here, know<br/>" the political history of this<br/>" <i>Cleary</i>; this challenger of you;<br/>" this would have been hang-<br/>" man of the unfortunate re-<br/>" sistors in Derbyshire. Wor-<br/>" thy agent of the Baronet!"</p> | <p>" been deserted by the Baronet,<br/>" and who had called him in<br/>" my hearing, and that of an-<br/>" other credible witness, by all<br/>" the names descriptive of a<br/>" deserter, a coward, and a mean<br/>" wretch; this <i>Cleary</i>, that the<br/>" Baronet shuffled out of pre-<br/>" senting his memorable peti-<br/>" tion, by pretending it was too<br/>" humble, and by saying, 'I'd<br/>" ' see them damned before I'd<br/>" ' present such a petition to<br/>" ' them;' this <i>Cleary</i>, who<br/>" laughed heartily at this shuf-<br/>" fle, which I compared to the<br/>" bullying shuffle of Falstaff: 'I<br/>" ' call thee coward, Hal: I'd<br/>" ' see thee damned ere I'd call<br/>" ' thee coward!' This <i>Cleary</i>,<br/>" who, after reading my attacks</p> |
|--|--|

*From Register, 26th Dec. 1818.*

" This *Cleary*, who had been  
" the Baronet's authorised agent  
" in the work of founding coun-  
" try Hampden Clubs, who had

" upon the Baronet, and after  
 " witnessing his intrigue with  
 " the Rump for putting forward  
 " Kinnaird in order to keep  
 " you out; this Cleary, with all  
 " this knowledge of characters,  
 " and of the real views of the  
 " parties, becomes the open,  
 " the avowed, the brazen-faced,  
 " the shameless agent of the  
 " Baronet. Talk of miracles,  
 " indeed; of miracles wrought  
 " by fasting and praying; what  
 " are these compared with a  
 " handful of Bank-notes! The  
 " very act of joining the Baro-  
 " net, this act on the part of  
 " Cleary, who had spoken of  
 " him as of a coward or traitor,  
 " was base enough; but to be-  
 " come his chief agent in the  
 " annoying and assailing of Mr.  
 " Hunt, was truly detestable.  
 " However, this man must be  
 " regarded as being of himself  
 " nothing at all. He was a  
 " mere hired Secretary of the  
 " Hampden Club; and he has  
 " now been the mere servant of  
 " Burdett as completely as old  
 " John the porter is the Baro-  
 " net's servant. To view this  
 " Cleary in any other light would  
 " be not only ridiculous, but it  
 " would be to do great injus-  
 " tice. Cleary is a thing here  
 " to-day and gone to-morrow.  
 " We must not, therefore, suffer  
 " the sins of the Baronet to be  
 " carried away by such a scape-  
 " goat. Cleary has been the  
 " agent, and nothing more  
 " than the agent. When the  
 " Rump had resolved upon Kin-  
 " naird, they detached Cleary  
 " to affect friendship for you,  
 " and to aid others in setting

" you up against Mr. Hunt; but  
 " as soon as it was discovered  
 " that Kinnaird would not pass;  
 " as soon as it was discovered  
 " that the people would not  
 " listen to Kinnaird, then Clea-  
 " ry, having negotiated your  
 " resignation, becomes the agent  
 " of the Baronet to procure him  
 " a seat at all events, and to  
 " calumniate Mr. Hunt if neces-  
 " sary."

" It is undoubted that the Der-  
 " by men rose for the purpose  
 " of obtaining their rights by  
 " force of arms. And this is  
 " what Cleary calls robbery,  
 " murder, and rioting. So that  
 " after all the big talk about  
 " resisting oppression, we come  
 " to this: that if men are de-  
 " feated in their attempts to re-  
 " sist, they ought to be hanged  
 " as criminals. What did Bran-  
 " dredth do more than was done  
 " by the Whigs at the Revolu-  
 " tion? Nay he did not at-  
 " tempt to do nearly so much;  
 " and yet Cleary would have  
 " been his volunteer hangman."

" They were a set of men de-  
 " luded and deceived by us.  
 " And it was we, and not they,  
 " who ought to have been hang-  
 " ed and beheaded. It was, in  
 " this case, you, my dear Sir,  
 " to hang whom the Reformer,  
 " Cleary, ought to have volun-  
 " teered his services."

" That the fourth assertion is  
 " true I have no doubt. I have  
 " have no doubt that Cleary  
 " would have cheerfully gone  
 " down to act as the hangman  
 " of those whom the Baronet  
 " had first stimulated to action  
 " and then deserted."

## EVIDENCE.

JOHN WRIGHT swore that the letter, which was produced, was in Mr. Cobbett's hand-writing; that he, Wright, was Mr. Cobbett's agent in 1808; that he then received the letter from him. The letter was then read as follows. It is addressed to Mr. John Wright, No. 5, Pantons-square, London.

"Bolley, 10 April 1808. { Plenty  
of Copy  
to-mor-  
row.

"DEAR SIR,

"I send by the Gosport mail, a parcel of copy,

"Go to the Committee by all means. Let us suffer no little slights to interfere with our public duty. That is the way with those only, who are actuated by selfish motives. I shall be in town on Thursday night next, or on Saturday night. The former will, I think, be the day. If I find all to be good men and true, we will make such a stir as has not for some time been made. *All the gentlemen whom I meet with are loud in Sir Francis Burdett's praise. His motion about the cashiering of officers, has gained him thousands of valuable friends. So bent was I upon calling for a purgation of that damned House, that I was resolved to petition ALONE, if any one would have presented my petition. The nation is heart-sick of it. It is impossible for both factions united to calumniate our motives, if we proceed as we*

*ought, and do not mix with men of bad character. There is one Hunt, the Bristol-man — Beware of him! He rides about the country with a w——, the wife of another man, having deserted his own—a sad fellow! nothing to do with him.—Adieu.*

"WM. COBBETT.

"P. S.—I will write to Sir J. Astley. I am very sorry for his misfortune indeed. I want very much to see some man who has planted upon a large scale. Cutting upon a large scale is the order of the day here."

[The part in *Italicks* is the only part that appeared in the New York papers, as having been read on the Hustings; the only part put into the London papers; and the only part seen by Mr. Cobbett, when he asserted it to be a forgery. The person, to whom the letter was addressed, was not mentioned.]

WRIGHT, on his cross-examination, said, that he gave the letter to Place, one of Sir Francis Burdett's election-committee, called by Mr. Cobbett, the Rump. He acknowledged that he had shown to the Rump two others of Mr. Cobbett's letters; but, he said, that it was only with a view of proving the correspondence in the postmarks. Being asked, whether he had offered to show Mr. Cobbett's letters to the Attorney-General, and also to the late Mr. Whitbread, he swore he had not. He acknowledged that he had shewn a letter of

Mr. Cobbett's to Mr. Brougham about a year ago.

[The letter was produced in Court amongst others in a volume.]

WRIGHT said that this volume consisted of letters of Mr. Cobbett to the witness. He said he had carried it into Court, last winter. He swore that he did not see the volume *turned over* upon that occasion by Mr. Gurney or by any body else. He put the letters in a volume as a *guard*. He was at the hustings when the letter was read by Cleary. *Could not hear* whether it was *all* read. Did *not know* whether it was *all* put in the newspapers the next day. Did *not hear* his *own name* mentioned on the hustings. Acknowledged that the original letter had been kept and exhibited at Samuel Brookes's, glassman, in the Strand. Said, that he had been applied to to let Mr. Cobbett's son see the letter; and that he had *refused*. Gave as a reason, that he feared it would be *snatched*. Said it was kept and shown in a *double glass case*. Did not know whether Mr. Brookes and the whole of the Rump would have been able to prevent it being snatched. Denied that he ever threatened to show Mr. Cobbett's private letters if Mr. Cobbett did not refrain from exposing certain pecuniary attempts of the witness.

JOHN PAUL swore to the hand-writing of the letter, and said that he saw it, amongst others, some years ago.

WILLIAM JACKSON swore that he was Mr. Cobbett's agent

for publishing his Register while he was in America; and that, he received, for his trouble, a third part of the profits. That the libels produced were sent to him by Mr. Cobbett; that he published them under the authority of Mr. Cobbett. On his cross-examination, which was very long, he acknowledged, amongst other things, the following; that he was introduced to Mr. Cobbett by Lord Cochrane; that Mr. Cobbett had never wronged him or offended him or given him an ill word either verbally, or by letter; that he was *acquainted with Wright and with Cleary*, during Mr. Cobbett's absence. Being asked whether he had ever shown Mr. Cobbett's manuscripts (previous to publication) at Brookes's, in the Strand, he said *he might have done it*. Being asked whether he, with Wright, Cleary and others, were not looking over a parcel of Mr. Cobbett's manuscripts at Brookes's, one day when Sir Rd. Phillips dropped in, he said *he did not particularly recollect*; but would *not swear that it was not so*. Being asked whether, upon the receipt of a Register, containing *animadversions on the conduct of Sir Francis Burdett*, he did not hold a council, or consultation, at Major Cartwright's house, when he submitted the said manuscripts, to the Major and to Mr. Parkins, he answered that *this was the case*. Being asked whether the result was not that the manuscript should be put into print and published, he answered that such was the result. Being asked, whether, at the very time

that this intimacy existed between himself, Wright, Cleary and the Rump; at the very time, or about the very time, also, when he might have shown some of the manuscripts at Brookes's, and when Sir Rd. Phillips might have dropped in there; being asked, whether, at, or about, this very time, he did not write to Mr. Cobbett, a letter, in which he *congratulated* Mr. Cobbett upon having *ticked the Rump*; being asked this question, he answered that *he could not recollect*; said that *he might* have done it; *would not swear that he had not done it*. Being asked whether Mr. Cobbett had not written him a letter to use his own discretion with the manuscripts; to consider them as solely at his own disposal as to publication or not; whether he did not consider himself as being invested with full authority to leave out whatsoever he pleased in order to *avoid the danger of the law*; being asked these questions, he answered them in the *affirmative*. Being asked, whether he had not, without any leave from Mr. Cobbett, inserted in the Register a letter from *Cleary* in answer to Mr. Cobbett, he answered in the *affirmative*. Being asked, whether he had not written for Cleary, or assisted Cleary in writing (*during the absence of Mr. Cobbett*) a pamphlet addressed to Major Cartwright, containing *bitter reflections on Mr. Cobbett's conduct and character*; being asked this, he threw himself on the *protection of the Court*; and his Lordship said, that, as the

question tended to render the witness liable to an action, he was *not bound to answer it*.—Being asked whether he had not joined Cleary in an affidavit, by means of which a warrant was obtained from the Chief Justice, to seize Mr. Cobbett, carry him to a lock-up-house, hold him to bail and to make him justify bail, on account of this action of Cleary; being asked this, Mr. Brougham interfered, and the Chief Justice determined that the question could not be answered. Being, then asked, whether he himself had sworn that he published the Register *for Mr. Cobbett's benefit, without stating that it was partly for his own*; being asked this, Mr. Brougham again interfered, and the question was not allowed to be answered.—Being asked whether he had ever made an *assertion* to this effect, he said that he *might have done it*.—Being asked again whether he had ever received any provocation from Mr. Cobbett, he said *he never had*.—Being asked whether he did not know that Lord Cochrane had recommended him to Mr. Cobbett as a person of SINGULAR FIDELITY, he said he did not know it.

FRANCIS PLACE (Tailor of Charing Cross) swore to the hand writing of the letter.—On his cross-examination he acknowledged that he *got it from Wright*.—He said that it was taken to the Rump Committee; and that after that, he gave it to Cleary for the purpose of being read upon the hustings.—Being asked whether the

whole of it was read, he said *he did not recollect*.—Being asked whether it was mentioned upon the hustings that the letter was addressed to Wright, and that it was written ten years before, he answered that he could not recollect.—Being asked, whether the whole of the letter was published the next day in the newspapers, he said he did not recollect; being asked who it was that sent the letter or any part of it to be published in the newspapers, he said he did not know.—Being asked whether he was a member of the Rump Committee, said he was.

WILLIAM ADAMS (Crier of Drury Lane) swore that he had seen the letter in 1808; that it had then been brought by Wright, and shewn to the Westminster Committee.—On his cross-examination, he swore that the letter was brought to the Committee (now called the Rump) in 1818, during the contested election for Westminster. Being asked whether the whole of the Rump approved of the letters being read at the hustings, he said *he believed they did*. Being asked, whether he considered the promulgation of this letter as proper, he answered in the affirmative.—Being asked whether he considered the letter as a public one or a private one, he answered, that he considered part of it to be intended for publication.—Being asked which part, he answered, the part relating to Mr. Hunt, and the Lady.—This question was put to him in various shapes, several times, and he repeatedly asserted, that he regarded the

part, wherein mention was made of Mr. Hunt and the Lady, as intended for publication.—He was asked, “do you say upon your oath, that you regard that part of the letter wherein Mr. Hunt and the lady are mentioned, as intended for publication?” He answered, “Yes, I did.” Being asked as to his reasons for approving of the reading of the letter by Cleary, he answered, that he thought, it right, after he had seen the attacks of the writer on Sir F. Burdett.—Being asked whether the letter, as published in Cobbett’s Register from the New York Evening Post, was the same as that which was given to Cleary to read, he answered, that, he had never read Cobbett’s Register since it began to attack Sir F. Burdett.—Being asked, whether having, from feelings of delicacy, ceased to read Mr. Cobbett’s public writings in 1818, the same feelings of delicacy had induced him to begin reading Mr. Cobbett’s private writings; being asked this question, he appeared to say something which was lost amidst the laughter of the auditory.

W. MOLYNEUX (a printer) swore that he printed the Registers containing the libels, and that the manuscript from which he printed was, he believed, in Mr. Cobbett’s hand-writing. On his cross-examination, being asked whether he ever saw Mr. Cobbett write, he said, Yes, once. “When?” — “About three years ago.” “Where?” — “In Catherine-street, in the

"Strand." "What?"—"An  
"Order on Tipper and Fry for  
"paper." "You say, on your  
"oath, then, that you saw me  
"write an order for paper on  
"Tipper and Fry?"—"Yes."  
"Then I will ask you not one  
"other question." The wit-  
ness then got down, in a hurried  
manner, and then stepped up  
again and uttered the words:  
"at least, I believe."

[Here Mr. Brougham closed  
his case. *Major Cartwright* was  
in Court before the trial began,  
and continued there 'till it was  
ended; but he was *not called*  
by Cleary. HANSARD, the  
printer, had been subpoenaed by  
them, and also Dolby, in the  
Strand; but neither of them  
were called. The Chief Justice  
then called upon Mr. Cobbett  
for his defence, which consisted  
of a speech which occupied ex-  
actly two hours; and of which  
the following is the best outline  
that we have been able to col-  
lect from the newspapers; and  
considering the variety of the  
topics, the rapidity of the utter-  
ance, and the interruption which  
was so frequently given by the  
laughter prevailing in the Court,  
it is quite surprising that the  
gentlemen who make reports,  
should, with all their talent,  
have been able to give any  
thing so near to the truth. A  
great deal they have certainly  
left out, for which, perhaps, the  
defendant ought to offer them  
his thanks rather than make  
complaints. It is, nevertheless,  
his duty to observe, that, in the  
*New Times*, he has been very  
malignantly misrepresented;—  
and that every word of *sarcasm*

on *Major Cartwright*, on *Sir  
F. Burdett*, or on any persons  
*cordially engaged in the cause  
of Reform*; it becomes him to  
observe, that every word of this  
sort imputed to him in that  
paper, or that may be im-  
puted to him in any other  
paper, has been so imputed  
without any foundation what-  
ever. He must in fairness add,  
that the Report in the *Courier*,  
is, as far as it goes, candid and  
true.]

### DEFENCE.

Mr. COBBETT had not the va-  
nity to suppose that he could  
conduct his defence with half  
that effect with which it would  
have been managed by many  
gentlemen whom he saw around  
him; but the jury must have  
perceived that he had a parti-  
cular description of men to  
deal with; and perhaps he  
should not have prevailed upon  
any gentleman at the bar to  
handle those men in the way  
which he had been compelled  
to do. Mr. Brougham, who had  
been selected upon the present  
occasion for what he (Mr. Cob-  
bett) could not help calling a  
premeditated attack upon him,  
had thought fit to compliment  
him with the possession of very  
considerable powers; probably  
in order to induce the jury to  
believe him a hard-hearted,  
wicked, bloody-minded fellow,  
who would rip (for that Mr.  
Cobbett believed had been Mr.  
Brougham's expression) any  
body to pieces; and it was in  
some sort to get rid of that un-  
pleasant imputation that he now  
was trespassing upon the time

of the Court. It was very easy for a practised, disciplined barrister like Mr. Brougham to deal in such aspersions, and he (Mr. Cobbett) was not prepared to say that he should answer that gentleman in the way in which he ought to be answered; but he would do his best, before he entered upon the case, to remove some of the imputations which so much pains had been taken to produce. The learned Counsel had begun by his feeble efforts, as he had thought fit to term them, to describe the man whom the Jury had to deal with. The Jury must have expected to see a sort of monster drawn forth into the light; but he trusted he should convince them, one and all, that among the many libellers who had attacked him (Mr. C.), Mr. B. by no means deserved the least distinguished situation. Mr. B. had ascribed to him talent and zeal, and had said that he was to be dreaded. To be dreaded! dreaded! It was not a very high compliment to tell a man that he was to be dreaded. Some of the persons, however, who had stood in the witness-box to-day could have told the Jury, could have given satisfactory evidence, that he was not a person to be dreaded; but that he was too gentle, too liberal, too generous, and too easy to be duped; and, moreover, of all those facts Mr. Brougham was well aware. Mr. Brougham had described him as a man without scruple; as a sort of libeller surpassing all other men. From first to last he had been a writer, and often a pub-

lisher of his own writings; he had been a writer for twenty-eight years in England and in America; and yet, with all his over-zeal—and he wished to Heaven some people had recently shown as much zeal as he was taxed with; but, with all his excess of zeal and lack of scruple, he had never, in the course of twenty years' writing in England, been subjected to an action for libel, until the present action had been brought by a set of conspirators; and conspirators he would prove them before he had done with them. Mr. Brougham ought to have known that; indeed he did know it; and therefore his zeal, for once, for his client had caused him to overstep that which he knew to be true. In England, he repeated, he had never had an action against him; and, in America, only one; that was for a libel upon a physician. The physician (father, by the by, of the present American ambassador in London) had alledged that he lost practice to the amount of 20,000 dollars per annum; and 5000 dollars damages had been given against him (Mr. Cobbett); but the people had paid the money; and he (Mr. Cobbett) had done a service to the country by rescuing the people from his *inexorable lancets*. Twenty years had he been writing in England; he had not suffered the grass to grow under his feet, scarce a week had passed but he had written something; and yet he had never before had an action against him for libel. There was not a Newspaper, not a Magazine—



no, not even the *Evangelical*—that could say as much; and, to mark him out as a libeller! The learned Gentleman had drawn a picture both hideous and false. But there had been criminal prosecutions! Well. In the first case of criminal prosecution against him in England, the MS. had proceeded from a Judge; it had been handed to him by a Member of Parliament; it had been certified to be true by a Marquis and another Member of Parliament. Agreeably to the original contract between the parties, the Judge not coming forward to prove the truth of the libel (as he might have done, because there was an *action* also on the same libel), the MS. was given up; there was a trial at bar, where the Court was prepared to hold that the smallest alteration of the MS., even of a letter, would have prevented a conviction; the Judge was convicted; and instead of two years' imprisonment and a fine of 1,000*l.*, and securities for half a dozen years, and so forth, the Judge got a snug pension of 1,200*l.* a-year for his life. As for the prosecution by the Attorney-General, he (Mr. Cobbett) could only say that it had done him no harm. It had given him leisure indeed, and he had written and revised many things during his confinement. He had gone into prison sound; and he had come out sound; and his seven years of recognition had expired. Look at the *Times* and the *Chronicle*, and the other newspapers; look at the Magazines and the Re-

views; even the *Edinburgh Review*, with all its clish-ma-claver, had not been free; but it had crept out of consequences by those softening arts which the northern Gentlemen know so well how to adopt, while southern stupid fools ran their heads into a gaol. With respect to the protection of private character, that subject had been improperly introduced.—Cleary was not a private individual; he was a public character, a political character; he had been mixed up with Major Cartwright, whom he had hoped to have seen put into the box by Mr. Brougham. Cleary, the associate of Major Cartwright!—yes, as a bug might be said to be a man's bed-fellow. In the speech of the learned Gentleman, the plaintiff Cleary was described as intimately connected with Major Cartwright, and as having been introduced to him by a great number of friends, all of whom regarded Cleary as an enthusiast in the cause of Reform. He was to be not only a brother, but a bed-fellow, of the Reformer's. If, then, the connexion between Cleary and Major Cartwright was to be put into the fore-ground of the plaintiff's case; if that was to be made a leading part, and to form a chief ingredient in the plaintiff's *claim for damages*—how did it happen that the venerable Major, who was then in Court, had not been put into the box as a witness? He (Mr. Cobbett) had flattered himself, that, however tight bound the rest of the witnesses might prove, the oppos-

tunity would still remain to him of extracting from Major Cartwright the true history of the case. It had been represented that the friends of Cleary had succeeded in prevailing upon Major Cartwright to receive and adopt the plaintiff, as qualified to move in the first ranks of reform. It was also represented that he was quite disinterested, and looked to no other reward than the success of the common cause. Now had the evidence of Major Cartwright been called for that individual, whose evidence was all important on this particular, they (the gentlemen of the Jury) would perhaps have heard a different account. Major Cartwright would have proved more: he would have informed them that Cleary was anything but a private character; that, as to what had been said about invading family happiness, Cleary was the last man whose private circle or whose domestic fire-side was liable to interruption. In order to shew how improbable it was that the harmony of this man's home should be disturbed by the writings in question, he would for a moment or two advert to his first appearance on the stage of English politics. In the year 1812 he came over from Ireland, where he had been clerk to a scrivener, and became what the French called *sous secretaire*. Instead of imitating many of his worthy countrymen in industriously sweeping the crossings, or aiming at the post, for which he (Mr. Cobbett) did not mean to dispute his qualifications, of a tight little fellow of a footman, he contrived to get

appointed under secretary to the Hampden Club, at the subscription office of which the defendant had seen him stuck up like Matthew at the receipt of custom! For what he did, or did not, in that office, it could be proved by Major Cartwright, in direct contradiction to the plaintiff's statements, that he received pay. His (Mr. Cobbett's) son had also been subpoenaed, and why was he not put into the box? Had he been he might have confirmed or supplied the testimony of the Major, and have satisfied them as to the purity and disinterestedness of Mr. Cleary. In the paper of March 6th, this patriotic Irishman was fairly stated to have complained, in his (Mr. Cobbett's) house in Catherine-street, that the Club owed him money, although he had since sworn that nothing could be offered to a gentleman like him, and had also sworn that he was a gentleman.

Mr. BROUGHAM objected to this part of the defendant's address, as including facts not supported by evidence, and which the Court, therefore, would feel itself bound to restrain, as matter tending to prepossess the minds of the jury.

Mr. COBBETT said he had no control over the learned gentleman, nor did he perceive why the learned gentleman should endeavour to control him; it was at the discretion of the learned gentleman either to reject or to take for granted the circumstances now stated, and by referring to his own pleasure merely, in the exercise of that discretion, he would perhaps be

but following the fashion of his own part of the country.

Mr. Brougham insisted on the validity of his objection.

The Lord Chief Justice remarked that the rule was extremely clear.

Mr. COBBETT resumed.—He was truly surprised that the learned gentleman should be so full of objections, after the full aving which he had himself indulged in. He had been about to proceed with his account to the Jury of this Cleary's progress after his arrival in this country. It might be easily supposed that he was soon enlisted under the banners of Major Cartwright, and little wonder would arise, at hearing, that he very soon after assumed the capacity of an apostle of reform, with a bundle of lectures in his pocket, and, in the comfortable conveyance of a horse and gig, he commenced his travels through the country.

The LORD CHIEF JUSTICE.—“I think, Mr. Cobbett, you are now descending too much into particulars.”

Mr. COBBETT assured the Court, that his only object was to satisfy the Jury that the plaintiff was unworthy of any damages.

The LORD CHIEF JUSTICE.—“My only doubt is, whether you are not entering more minutely than any supposed necessity of the case requires, into circumstances which the Court and Jury cannot receive upon your unsupported statement.”

Mr. COBBETT said his intention was to show that this very Cleary had, notwithstanding his

professions, declared himself ready to be the executioner, and had perhaps led to the execution, of the unfortunate men who perished upon the scaffold in Derbyshire.

The LORD CHIEF JUSTICE.—“I cannot listen to this; what relevancy has it to the question before the Court?”

Mr. COBBETT said, he was prepared to show, that the plaintiff was paid for travelling, with a view to the institution of country Hampden Clubs. Of these societies, as well as of all other political clubs, he had never disguised his disapprobation. For his own part, he had never, during the whole course of his life, encouraged or assisted the formation of one single nest of this kind. The plaintiff had told his family, prior to his own going abroad, and to the Westminster election in the year 1818, at their residence in Catherine-street, that Sir F. Burdett was a deserter from the public cause; that he was a coward and a mean fellow, and had not paid to him (Cleary) the money which he had been promised. This fact, also, the Major might have established in evidence, had he been called on the other side.

The LORD CHIEF JUSTICE here observed, that no justification had been put on the record; it was extremely unpleasant to him to restrain the defendant, but the Court was bound to act in all cases upon general rules.

Mr. COBBETT declared he had no wish to consume unnecessarily the time either of his Lordship or of the Jury.

The LORD CHIEF JUSTICE.—

"My time is nothing; I only desire that the principles upon which the Court acts should be clearly understood."

Mr. COBBETT, adverting to what the learned Counsel had said with respect to the Westminster Election, at which the present controversy originated, observed, that if Major Cartwright had been placed in the witnesses' box, as he should have been, he could have shewn that Cleary was not the person entitled to complain, as he was actually the aggressor in publishing a private letter, improperly obtained from a treacherous agent, for the purpose of scandalising a particular candidate at that election, and involving him (Mr. Cobbett) in a quarrel with this candidate. If Major Cartwright had been adduced as a witness, he should also have shewn that which the Major would no doubt have had the justice to admit, that he had always and decidedly disapproved of these political clubs, to promote the establishment of which Cleary was specially employed. He disapproved of such clubs, because he could not help regarding them as so many little nests, over which the agents of Government might at any time cast their nets. At the Westminster Election, alluded to in this case, it would be recollected, that Major Cartwright and Mr. Hunt were candidates, as well as Sir F. Burdett.—Cleary was at the outset an advocate for the Major, but he afterwards joined the standard of the Baronet and the Rump, and to them he endeavoured with

others to persuade Mr. Hunt to yield his pretensions; but faith, Mr. Hunt would not resign.—Thence a controversy arose, and Mr. Hunt thought proper to read a letter of Cleary's, in which the latter expressed his readiness to become the hangman of the unfortunate Derby people, who composed one of the nests formed by himself, and over which Oliver threw his net. But whatever were the mists of this controversy, or the provocation received by Cleary, he, who was at the time in America, had no concern whatever with it, and it was obviously unjust, as a jury of honest men must feel, that he should suffer for the conduct of others; yet Cleary, with the consent, or rather at the instigation of the Rump Committee, thought proper to inflict this suffering upon him. To-day, as well as on other occasions, complaint was made of him for having called the letter alluded to a *forgery*, and it was urged by the Learned Counsel, that he had (as much as) been guilty of charging Cleary of uttering a *forged* note. But here he must observe, in order to repel the impression which the Learned Counsel sought to make, that there was a very material difference between uttering a *forged* note and a *forged* letter. The Learned Gentleman dwelt with the dexterity of an advocate upon the crime of uttering a forged bank note, which was a felony, but in candour, what comparison was there between an act which incurred the penalty of death, and the uttering

a forged letter, to which no punishment was attached? If his (Mr. C.'s) son had been put into the box, he would have deposed that he had applied long since to see this letter, in order to see whether it were genuine or not, as some of his friends had said it was. Only a part of this letter was read at the Westminster hustings by Cleary, and from that part he had no recollection of such a letter, and this could not excite any surprise, when it was remembered that the letter purported to have been written so far back as 1808. If the postscript as to Sir Jacob Astley had been published, that circumstance might have brought it to his recollection, and if so, he should have no hesitation in avowing it. But that a letter written in a hurry, about ten years before it was adduced at the hustings, should have escaped his memory, was not matter of surprise. But it was evidently a blamable matter publicly to read a letter of this nature with respect to an individual with whom he was at the time living upon friendly terms—whom he was then, indeed, recommending to the confidence of his country. Whether Francis Place or Wm. Adams, of the Westminster Rump, or their co-conspirators, thought it fair or not to make such a use of a private letter, he must suppose that the Learned Counsel, as well as all honourable men, could not help regarding such a breach of private confidence as a most atrocious act. But the charge of forgery was alone

pressed forward by the members of the conspiracy, while the *breach of confidence* was thrown into the back ground. There were, however, forgeries of omission as well as of commission; and it was indisputable, that the publication of a mere extract of the letter alluded to did amount to the crime of forgery, for in a garbled state *that letter was not his*. But had his son, whom the other side had summoned as a witness, been put in the box, this affair would have been fully explained. However, as the case appeared, the publication of this letter was clearly a dishonourable action. Adams had deposed, that he thought the letter *meant for publication*; but who that read the whole of it could entertain such an impression? Place did not go so far as Adams, saying, that he thought this letter only meant for the consideration of the Committee. The letter cautioned that Committee against Mr. Hunt, who was, as it stated, travelling about the country with a certain female, who was not his wife. Now, upon this point he could not forbear from expressing his approbation to a certain extent of the defence, lately set up by Col. French, on a similar charge against him. That officer pleaded the affection and fidelity which he had experienced for a series of years, from the female with whom he was accused of associating, and his plea made a due impression in his defence. Still he would not be understood to plead for the association of Mr. Hunt with

the female alluded to. But he would ask whether Sir F. Burdett, who had for some weeks enjoyed the hospitality of Mr. Hunt, under the same roof and in the company of this female, were entitled to make that association the subject of public censure? But other persons should have been silent upon this subject as well as Sir F. Burdett. Was it possible, indeed, that any other persons than Wright, Jackson, Cleary, Adams, and Place, could approve of the propagation of such censure? Could those who condemned the conduct of Majocchi, Demont, and Ompteda, approve of such a breach of confidence as that of which he had, in this instance, so much right to complain? What was there more hateful in those Italian wretches, than in the men whom we have this day seen in the box? Had the Jury looked at their countenances? And had such a set been seen at Dover, would not the honest people there have flung them into the sea? The learned Counsel had alleged that Ompteda had broken open the locks of the Queen's private drawer; but the Baron could not have expected to find Bergami there. No. If Ompteda had broken the locks, and he could readily believe an Hanoverian Minister willing to do any thing to which the devil himself could be disposed, he must suppose him to do so with a view to find the Princess's letters. But, if there had happened to be a Wright in her Royal Highness's confidence, Ompteda need not

have picked locks, for he might have obtained private letters by the same means that were resorted to in this case by Place, Adams, and Cleary. We had also heard of Vilmercati and Colonel Browne, and, with regard to them also he might say something, if he were not interrupted.

The Judge observed that Mr. Cobbett had gone far enough for his purpose.

Mr. COBBETT resumed, observing that these two personages had seduced the clerk of the Queen's law agent to give up some of her confidential papers, and thus more accurately imitated, rather than formed the example for Place, Adams, and Cleary. Thus the reprobation which the learned Counsel so profusely, but so justly, applied to the Milan Commission, might be transferred to the conspiracy of which he had reason to complain on the present occasion. The learned Counsel had said that his client was so much agitated by the alleged libels, that they were but too likely to interfere with his capabilities to become a practical barrister, to which object his present studies were directed. Now, considering the scarcity of the gentlemen of the bar, and the difficulty of procuring law for love or money, he must say that he should feel seriously responsible if he had the misfortune to occasion a deduction from that learned profession of such an eminent personage as Mr. T. Cleary (*a laugh*)! It was held to be a crime, even by poachers, to destroy young birds;

and how criminal, then, must he be, if he really had crushed a lawyer in the egg! (*Loud laughing, in which the Court and the Jury cordially participated*). He should be really sorry to commit such a crime, although so frequently and so severely provoked by Cleary; for this personage had published several libels upon him before his return from America, in the composition of which libels his faithful agent, Jackson, refused to say that he did not assist. One of those libels, which was the principal, was addressed to Major Cartwright, as the publication purported, by the Major's consent. Cleary, indeed, boasted that he had four or five times killed him (Mr. C.) with his pen while in America; and the first communication which he received from that literary warrior upon his return to England, was a challenge to fight a duel, threatening him with a stamp of cowardice if he refused to attend to the challenge, but complacently adding, that if he himself were too old to meet the challenger, that challenger would meet his eldest son, for whom he professed a great regard.

Mr. BROUGHAM observed, that there would be no end to this latitude if the defendant were allowed to proceed.

The Judge said that if the defendant did not mean to adduce evidence to these statements, they must be thrown out of the consideration of the Jury.

Mr. COBBETT said that Cleary had sent him two challenges, the first on the 28th of Septem-

ber, and the second shortly afterwards, in which he stated, that he (Mr. Cobbett) had done him no harm, and yet but a few days elapsed when Cleary made an affidavit before his Lordship that he had suffered an injury to a certain extent for which he (Mr. Cobbett) was held to bail.

Mr. BROUGHAM again protested against the statements which Mr. Cobbett was making, observing that he understood Mr. Cobbett intended to produce no evidence.

Mr. COBBETT maintained, that the interruptions of the learned Counsel were not justifiable.

The JUDGE said, that it was his duty to tell the defendant that he was not at liberty to state that which he did not mean to prove.

Mr. COBBETT observed, that he was not stating any thing but that which was quite notorious.

The JUDGE remarked then, that the notoriety precluded the necessity of the statement.

After some further controversy—

Mr. COBBETT said, that he would put the cases to which he had alluded hypothetically, for the consideration of the Jury, which the Judge admitted, as the Counsel for the plaintiff had put many cases hypothetically, to which he had not attempted to adduce any evidence. Mr. Brougham, however, contending that he was entitled to comment upon hypothetical cases. But this position was not admitted by the Court.

Mr. COBBETT proceeded, and, under the shelter of supposition, recited all the misconduct with

which he charged Cleary, Wright and Jackson. He mentioned that he had released Wright from a prison, fed and clothed him, and considering him as a creature of his own, communicated confidentially for several years. He regarded him as grateful; although, finding him supple, he ought not to have trusted him. In the course of his connexion with him, however, he wrote to him probably 2000 letters upon the most confidential matters with regard to his family and business, and upon turning him off when he had good reason to suspect him, this man retained all those letters, instead of giving them up as became an honest man. To Jackson he was introduced by Lord Cochrane. To him also he gave that confidence which his unsuspecting nature was but too liable to grant. Yet this man, to whom he never gave any offence, was found to use his own Register for the purpose of publishing attacks upon his character, and to league with his known enemies, Cleary, Wright, Place and Adams, with a view to injure him. Of Molineux, who was also a member of this conspiracy, he should only declare, as he could most solemnly, that he never wrote the order to the stationers, to which that witness deposed. What then was to be thought of the turpitude of this corps, or what security could there be for any man or his family, if such breach of confidence as that of which Wright stood convicted could possibly be sanctioned? But he cared not a farthing about this man's expo-

sure of his private letters. So indeed he had always told his children. For whatever foolish letters he might have written, he felt confident that he had never written any thing which could justify any one in saying that William Cobbett was not an honest man. But, when he said this, he meant *the series of his letters; all; and every part of every one.* The learned Counsel had shown his wish to dwell upon the letter read at Covent Garden hustings as a proof in his conception, that *he* (Mr. C.) was not consistent in his principles or opinions of men; but notwithstanding this letter, written when he knew nothing of Mr. Hunt, except from common report, he would say that that gentleman possessed great merits, although the learned Counsel showed such a disposition to abuse him.

Mr. BROUGHAM denied that he had said a word about Mr. Hunt; he should indeed be ashamed to abuse any man in Mr. Hunt's situation.

The JUDGE said, that he did not hear the learned Gentleman mention Mr. Hunt.

Mr. COBBETT admitted that Mr. Hunt was not named in the way of reprobation; but it was impossible to mistake the learned gentleman's allusion, or the inferences which he wished to have drawn. Adverting to the learned gentleman's allusion to his supposed versatility of opinion, he admitted that he had changed, but it was generally from good to better, or at least from bad to good—while the learned gentleman's chopping



about was quite of a different description, as appeared from his renunciation of his *written pledge* in favour of Radical Reform, which he had lodged in the hands of that faithful gentleman, Mr. F. Place (one of his *own witnesses this very day!*) who *thought proper to give it to the public*. What was the *sense* of this talk about *inconsistency*? Which of the Jury had not changed their opinion of *things*, and especially of *men*? Which of them had not had a clerk, or a servant, whom they had once praised, and afterwards found worthy of reprobation? *Othello* praised *Iago* in the middle of the play, but, at last, he called him, "*curst, damned, Iago!*" just as he (the defendant) did with regard to Wright. But what evil genius, what malignant spright, could have instigated the hon. and learned gentleman to adopt this cant about inconsistency! Him, whose shocking inconsistency, whose change from good to bad, had been so completely exposed by the venerable Major, and who, in pretending that his wretched client was *connected* with the Major, really appeared to be actuated by motives somewhat vindictive, seeming resolved, in repayment for the lash laid on his shoulders by the Major, to fasten his client on the Major's back for the remainder of his life! This was a conspiracy as foul as any they had heard of lately, although not so important as to the parties against whom it was directed. Now, as to the ques-

tion of damages; the impudence, the audacity of such a man as the plaintiff asking for damages, was unparalleled. The plaintiff had begun the attack; he had poured forth pamphlet after pamphlet against him (the defendant), to which he had made, by the by, no reply.

MR. BROUGHAM—I must make the same observation as I have made before. If Mr. Cobbett has any evidence to prove this, I have no objection to his arguing upon it.

THE CHIEF JUSTICE observed, the defendant should confine himself to what had been proved, or what he intended to prove.

MR. COBBETT proceeded.—The plaintiff had taken him to the Judge's chambers. He (the defendant) did not impute to the Judge that he had acted unfairly; Judges were but men; they were obliged to believe men on their oaths; but this was a very extraordinary proceeding. The Jury knew that, according to the new law, or according to the modern interpretation of the law, when a man now-a-days was prosecuted for a seditious libel, he might be brought before a Justice of the Peace, who, according to an oath made before him, might bind the party over till the time of trial; and mean time to keep the peace. That was tight enough in all conscience; yet that was for an offence against the State; against "the peace of our Lord the King, his crown and dignity." But now it appeared that there was a law somewhere,

and if he had been learned in the law, he might have been able to fish it out for them, that, if a paper were written against a man, which he chose to call a libel, he might go before a Judge, and swear that he had sustained injury from that publication, though he had the moment before declared that he had received no damage at all, and at the same time swear, that the person who had written the paper was going to leave the country; it was law, that on the strength of these declarations the writer might be carried to a lock-up house till he gave security to answer for it as if for a *bona fide* debt. This was the first time he (the defendant) had ever heard of such a law, and he believed it never had been law in England; that at least for an hundred years such a thing had been never heard of. Jackson would not swear that he did not know that he (the defendant) had issued the prospectus of a Daily Paper; that he had, in conjunction with his son, taken a house in the Strand for that purpose; and that he was living with his family at Botley. All this was well known to every one who read the newspapers; and no man did or could suppose that he had come across the Atlantic, and would then immediately go back again. His intention of staying here, and his plans of business, were as notorious as the Queen's going to St. Paul's on Wednesday se'nnight; his office was as notorious, at least, as St. Clement's church in the Strand. Yet, knowing all this,

Cleary had gone to a Judge to swear that he apprehended that he should quit the country. Was ever act so malicious or base? It was then spread the next day, through all the respectable newspapers, that Cobbett was arrested for debt by Cleary.

The CHIEF JUSTICE.—This is not stated in evidence.

Mr. BROUGHAM.—Mr. Cleary made the usual affidavit of debt.

Mr. COBBETT.—It might be presumed, from the circumstances of the case, that it must have got abroad. It did, in fact, get abroad; it was published in the country papers, and, among the rest, in the Hampshire Parson's Paper, where it was read by his (the defendant's) wife, at Botley. Talk of carrying war into the bosom of private families! Could any act like this be ascribed to William Cobbett in the long course of his public life? And he, the mild Mr. Cleary, came to be protected against the *ferocious* William Cobbett! Feebleness was often taken for mildness;—but they should recollect that the feeblest animals were often the most malicious—reptiles the most crawling were the most venomous. He begged the Jury to look at the whole transaction honestly, from the beginning to the end; that they would not be made the instruments of robbing him and his family, though he would rather that should be the case than buckle to the learned gentleman or his client.—He begged they would not give their sanction to the basest treachery ever

known; he begged them to think once again of the *countenances* of the witnesses before their decision; afterwards, no doubt, they would be glad to forget them for ever (*a laugh*.) He begged them to mark with reprobation this abominable system of *espionage*, this spy system, to shew the natural abhorrence of Englishmen at what was base, and to let their decision stamp the infamy of those who had been guilty of such a *breach of private confidence*.

The Chief Justice summed up the evidence, and charged the Jury.

The Jury retired for about three quarters of an hour, and then brought in their verdict:—Damages, FORTY SHILLINGS.

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### HER MAJESTY'S ANSWERS TO ADDRESSES.

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FROM THE INHABITANTS OF THE PARISH OF ST. MARY, ISLINGTON.

My cordial thanks are due to the inhabitants of the parish of St. Mary, Islington, for this loyal and affectionate address.

If my adversaries had felt any regard for a free government, they would never have set aside all the forms of the constitution, and trampled on all the rights of individuals, for the purpose of gratifying the purposes of power or ministering to the appetite of revenge.

My enemies have now done their worst, and we are at liberty to contemplate the case they have attempted to esta-

blish, and the effect they have produced. Never was there so much assertion and so little proof—such an accumulation of *criminating* remarks, and such a variety of even specious evidence! If we take away from this mountain of accusation all the circumstances that have been misrepresented, all the minutiae that have been exaggerated, what do we leave it but an inflated mass of the most palpable falsehoods and glaring perjuries that ever were heaped together by power, instigated by unmitigated malignity, and assisted by unbounded wealth?

In the midst of the many painful circumstances connected with this unparalleled proceeding, there is one on which I may congratulate the country: it has produced a degree of excitement throughout the community of the most virtuous and ennobling kind;—it has called forth the most generous sentiments and the most disinterested efforts. All the great principles, a regard for which most elevates the human character, are on the side of my advocates. Truth, justice, humanity, and that which they never fail to accompany—liberty, are marshalled in the same ranks against falsehood, cruelty, and oppression. The best principles of human nature are conflicting against the worst; it is not a mixed question, in which there is any obscurity of the wrong, or any ambiguity with respect to the right: it is not a question of casuistry, which may confound the simple and puzzle the

wise : it is a case of individual oppression, in which power is labouring to trample upon right : hence all the moral sentiments of the people are on the side of the Queen. The Almighty has, from the foundation of the world, issued his prohibition against injustice, and he has inscribed it in very legible characters on the human heart.

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FROM THE INHABITANTS OF THE VILLAGE OF CRIEFF, IN THE COUNTY OF PERTH.

The inhabitants of the village of Crieff, in the county of Perth, are entitled to my cordial thanks for this loyal and affectionate address.

All the *ex-post facto* laws are so unjust in themselves that they have, at all times, been deservedly reprobated. There is no principle upon which they can be supported ; and they have usually no other origin than the desire of individual oppression. They are laws made not even for a particular case that is contemplated, but for a particular case that has actually happened.

One of the necessary adjuncts of a good law is, that it is made before the offence is committed which it designed to punish.—Every good law has a prospective tendency. It must, of course, precede the offence. To punish by a retrospective law, is, in fact, to punish without law ; for it is just the same thing to punish without law as to punish by a law which was not made till the offence was perpetrated.

I think that the Bill of Pains

and Penalties has been so universally condemned, and so warmly reprobated, that no party in the state will ever attempt a similar outrage upon the venerable fabric of the constitution.

When my adversaries deprived me of the prayers of the church, they little thought that they were erecting for me a more hallowed sanctuary of supplication in the hearts of the people.

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FROM THE INHABITANTS OF MIDDLETON, IN LANCASHIRE. §

I return my unfeigned thanks to the inhabitants of Middleton, in Lancashire, and its vicinity, for this loyal and affectionate address.

My innocence must always be my highest honour and my purest satisfaction ; but I know the temper of my adversaries too well to believe that my innocence alone would have constituted my security, if I had not, at the same time, been so enthusiastically greeted by the sympathies of the people, and so energetically supported by the spontaneous efforts of the press. When I landed at Dover, the minions of corruption were seized with a panic, from which they have never since recovered. They were conscious, that while the people were transported with a noble enthusiasm in favour of a persecuted Queen, they would relinquish their dissensions on topics of inferior importance, and would unite with her against their common enemies. The cause of the Queen soon became the cause of the

nation. The nation showed a determination to defend the Queen, because they were convinced that the Queen was animated by a sincere desire to promote the public welfare. The steady support which I have received from the people must ever attach me to their interests; and how can I ever separate their interests from those of liberty?

FROM THE FREEHOLDERS AND WEAVERS  
OF EAST COKER, ODCOMBE, AND EAST  
CHINNOC, PARISHES ADJACENT TO  
THE TOWN OF YEovil, SOMERSET.

I am much obliged by this loyal and affectionate Address from the Freeholders & Weavers of East Coker, Odcombe, and Chinnock, parishes adjacent to the town of Yeovil, Somerset.

I cannot be insensible to the warm affection and the animating sympathy of which, under the direction of Providence, I have become the object, in all parts of the kingdom. I am, at the same time, conscious that I have done nothing to merit so many tributes of the people's loves. My circumstances do not permit me to be a benefactor to the country in any other way than by boldly vindicating my own rights, and those of the people, against the arbitrary encroachments of our common enemy. If despotic power be the greatest of human calamities, to check its incursions or to repel its aggressions, is so far to strengthen individual security and to promote the public weal.

FROM THE INHABITANTS OF LANARK.

I gratefully accept this loyal

and affectionate address from the inhabitants of the loyal borough of Lanark and its vicinity.

I must ever revere the names of those whose intrepid exertions have rescued the country from the yoke of servitude: these are the men who, if any, merit the gratitude of posterity; these are they who transmit the most valuable inheritance, not only to their children but to the whole community—the inheritance of liberty. The inhabitants of Lanark, who are perpetually beholding the scenery in which many of the gallant exploits of Wallace were performed, must imbibe those generous sentiments which such associations naturally inspire. This address shows that the spirit of liberty has caught their affections and is glowing in their hearts.

Religious liberty must ever go hand-in-hand with political. Where tyranny exists, it will be perpetually borrowing, or attempting to borrow, aid from the mysterious trickeries of superstition. The free circulation of sentiment on religious topics will, of itself, produce that independence of mind which is highly favourable to the interests of civil liberty.

The Scots paid dear for their religious liberty—they purchased it at the expense of the most grievous sufferings. They must well know the value of that for which their ancestors paid so high a price; they must be well aware that the slavery of the body followed the slavery of the mind; and that in the present state of man it is the liberty of the Press which best secures the

free circulation of opinions, and is, consequently, the best friend to intellectual and personal, to civil and religious liberty.

FROM THE INHABITANTS OF MARGATE.

I feel much pleasure in receiving this loyal and affectionate address from the Inhabitants of Margate.

I trust that the present conspiracy against my honour and my rights will, indeed, be the last. So large a portion of my life has been infested with the inquietudes which this conspiracy has occasioned, that I cannot, I trust, be deemed presumptuous in hoping that this effort of malignity will be the last that I am doomed to experience on this side of the grave. But, if the present conspiracy be the last, it will not be because my adversaries have relented in their vengeance, or softened in their rancour—because they have been changed from persecutors, or civilized into Christianity—but because the people of England have united in my defence with so much ardour of zeal, so much constancy of attachment, and so much intrepidity of resolution. My enemies must, at length, be impressed with this conviction, that they cannot degrade the Queen without enslaving the people.

FROM THE INHABITANTS OF THE BOROUGH OF HUNTINGDON.

I have felt an unfeigned satisfaction in receiving this loyal and affectionate address from the inhabitants of the Borough of Huntingdon.

My enemies have long covered their tyrannical projects, and their selfish views, under the plausible pretext of religion. The word itself has stood them in great stead; though with them it has been nothing but a word. It has served as a mask for every species of iniquity, for, what act of cruelty and oppression is there, which it has not been invoked to justify? But the age of vague phrases is passed! Mankind have begun to know the true meaning of words, and are no longer to be cheated by a sound. They know that the better part of religion is charity; and that it was contrary to every feeling of charity to omit my name in the prayers of the Church. This single act has done more to make the hierarchy despised and the Church deserted, than a thousand infidel publications. It has shown the stuff of which the hierarchy is made, and that the knee of submission is bent to Caesar in cases in which God only ought to be obeyed.

The press has lent me its most strenuous aid in the conflict of my enemies. It has been at once my spear and my shield. It has been my instrument of attack and of defence. It has been my safeguard as well as that of the constitution.

FROM THE INHABITANTS OF THE BOROUGH OF BEVERLEY, IN THE COUNTY OF YORK.

I cordially thank the inhabitants of the Borough of Beverley, for this loyal and affectionate address.

The national character cannot

receive any taint from the conduct of my enemies. For base, unjust, and barbarous, as that conduct has been, it has not been approved by the nation. The nation have raised their voice against it from one end of the kingdom to the other. It has been condemned by almost every individual in the middle ranks, of both sexes, and of all ages. The proceedings of my enemies have received the applauses of none but the most corrupt part of the community.

This illegal and unconstitutional measure must lower the judicial character of the country in the estimate of the good and wise, not only in this, but in every country in Europe. No impression can be more fatal to the reverence in which the judicial character ought to be held, than the opinion that the persons by whom it is exercised are the instruments of malevolence, or the menials of power; that they are the compliant creatures of sordid interest, or of mercenary expectation.

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FROM THE INHABITANTS OF WEST  
HAM, IN THE COUNTY OF ESSEX.

The inhabitants of the parish of West Ham, in the County of Essex, are requested to accept my unfeigned thanks for this loyal and affectionate address.

A large part of the history of mankind is only a sad recital of crimes. But of all the crimes in history that have individual malignity for their origin, or individual suffering for their end, not one can be produced which

can exceed, if it can parallel, the present conspiracy, in the impurity of its motives, the barbarity of its means, the villainy of its agents, the multiplicity of its artifices, the refinements of its cruelties, combined with the length of time during which it has existed, and the unceasing eagerness with which it has been prosecuted.

The people of this country have acquired such a hold on my affections, and such a claim on my gratitude, by the generous ardor and the enthusiastic attachment with which they have supported me in such arduous trials, and against such an overwhelming foe; that I must consider my rights as their rights, their interests as my interests, and even their wishes as my own.

I have expressed no sentiment in favour of civil and religious liberty of which I have not been deeply convinced of the truth, and feelingly conscious of its importance. My heart is, and I trust ever will be, warmly interested in promoting the welfare of this country; but I should not only be untrue to all my former professions, but an enemy even to my species, if I did not most affectionately cherish the principles, and as far as I have power, most zealously promote the interests of civil and religious liberty.

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FROM THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN  
OF EILMARNOCK.

My cordial thanks are due to the inhabitants of the town of

Kilmarnock for this loyal and affectionate address.

Of the faction by whom I was once supported, and afterwards betrayed, I have since experienced the unceasing persecution. It is no excuse for them to say that, in the present attack upon my honour and my rights, they are acting with a sort of involuntary volition, or are mere instruments in gratifying the vengeance of some power that is enveloped in hideous obscurity. The purposes of that malice, which they consent to execute, they make their own. They identify themselves with iniquity, of which they become the instruments. And what honourable mind is there that would, for a moment, consent to be the obsequious tool of a malignant purpose? What virtuous mind would suffer the lure of present emolument to make it the perpetrator of an act which he disapproved? The mildest censure that can be passed upon this faction is, that there is nothing which they would refuse to do for the sake of retaining their places, or gratifying their selfishness.

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FROM THE VARIOUS LODGES OF THE  
ORDER OF ODD FELLOWS.

I cordially thank the officers and brothers of the various lodges of the order of Odd Fellows for this loyal and affectionate address.

Loyalty is the unremitting associate, and benevolence the pervading principle of this ancient and estimable fraternity. Their loyalty is a sentiment which, while it implies their

submission to the laws, will not sanction inhumanity or oppression in any of its forms. The officers and brothers of the various lodges of the order of Odd Fellows will not yield their assent to any principles of conduct that are adverse to justice, or in opposition to liberty.

The principle of benevolence was implanted in the breast of man, as the means of perfecting the social union. In proportion as this principle is predominant in any assemblage of persons, the social union must be improved; and if such a principle could be universalized, it would supersede the severity of legal restraint, and the rigours of penal law. The happy effect of this principle, when it pervades small unions, or incorporations of men, is a presage of the blessed results that would ensue, if it were diffused through any large portion of the body politic. What, then, would be the glorious effect if this principle were predominant in the councils of nations?

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FROM THE INHABITANTS OF THE EAST  
BARONY PARISH OF GLASGOW.

I am much obliged to the inhabitants of the East District of the Barony Parish of Glasgow, for this loyal and affectionate address.

Power is at first gradual in its encroachments—it then proceeds with more gigantic strides. The faction that has been so long making successive inroads upon the liberties of the people, has at last dared to insult the honour, and attack the rights even of the Queen;



the rights of the Queen are, at this moment, the last refuge of public liberty; if this faction, which is so hostile to the principles of liberty, shall succeed in accomplishing the degradation of the Queen, what individual is there who will not, hereafter, be liable to the yoke of servitude?

The people have hitherto forgotten their own internal divisions in their profound sympathy with my sufferings;—this is such an amiable trait in the national character, as ought to be perpetually remembered.—Should the union which now so happily prevails amongst the middle and subordinate ranks of the community, not experience any disastrous interruption, the Queen is not only safe, but the cause of the constitution must triumph over that of corruption, and the interests of liberty be established upon a rock.

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FROM THE INHABITANTS OF THE VILLAGE OF CHOLSEY, IN BERKSHIRE.

I sincerely thank the inhabitants of the village of Cholsey, in Berkshire, for this loyal and affectionate address.

There is a large mass of morbid matter in the Constitution which has long been operating against the rights of the people and the prosperity of the country. This corrupting influence is, and has, for many years, been in a state of progressive increase, till it has left hardly any sound part in the body politic. The system could not have existed with such an incorporated mass of corruption,

unless the original materials of the Constitution had been of the most solid and durable kind. The Trial by Jury, and the Liberty of the Press, are two parts of the fabric that have most powerfully contributed to preserve the rest. If these were taken away, the liberty we should have left would be so small as to be an invisible quantity: tyranny would be predominant: it is now of sufficiently alarming dimensions, but it would then rise into a gigantic magnitude, beneath which the people must crouch as humble menials or obsequious slaves.

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FROM THE CLERKS IN THE PROFESSION OF THE LAW.

I return my unfeigned thanks to the clerks in the profession of the law, residing in the Metropolis, for this loyal and affectionate address.

The better the laws of this country are understood, the more clearly must it be perceived that, in the measure which is still pending in the House of Lords, they have been flagrantly violated in order to deprive me of my matrimonial rights, and my constitutional title and dignity.

Laws are made to be observed; and, in a limited monarchy, the observance of the law is as obligatory on the monarch as on the most humble of his subjects. Where obedience is required, the law knows no partialities; it makes no distinction between high and low—between rich and poor; all are alike in the law. That equality, which can never be realized in

the circumstances of life, is no chimerical supposition with respect to that submission to the laws, which is binding on every member of the state.

If any individual were to go into a court, and, as a preliminary to the prosecution of his suit, desire that all the laws which make against his cause should be set aside, we should deem his insolence an approximation to insanity. But yet my adversaries have not only made this demand; but, strango to tell, it has been admitted in the court in which it has been made!!!

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FROM THE MALE AND FEMALE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF PORTSMOUTH AND THE ISLAND OF PORTSEA.

I have much gratification in receiving this loyal and affectionate address from the male and female inhabitants of the town of Portsmouth and the island of Portsea.

The maritime prosperity of Britain has always been dear to my heart. I have exulted in reading the triumphs of this great naval country upon the ocean. I have deeply sympathized with that pride which Britons feel when they talk of a Jervis, a Nelson, or a Duncan.

My fondness for maritime affairs, and my predilection for the honest virtues of the sons of the ocean, have induced me, at a former period of my life, to breed up many young men for the naval service. I am con-

vinced that Britain must decline in the scale of national greatness, in proportion as she loses her naval pre-eminence. But the people of England ought never to forget that the power of the British navy is greatly dependent on the prosperity of British commerce; and that this commerce itself is infinitely connected with the interests of liberty. Commerce will not long remain in that country from which liberty has vanished. A nation of slaves can never be great either in commerce or in arts. In proportion as Britain loses her liberty, her commerce will decline; her naval strength will be diminished; and her former glory will become gradually extinct.

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FROM THE EIGHT INCORPORATED TRADES OF THE CITY OF PERTH.

I have great satisfaction in receiving this loyal and affectionate address from the Convener, Deacons, and members of the eight incorporated trades of the city of Perth, in the Convener's court assembled.

The indignities which I experienced when abroad were excrescences from that great trunk of conspiracy against my honour and my rights which has taken such deep root in this country, and has spread its branches far and wide over the continent. The nation has been insulted in the person of the Queen; nor ought it to be forgotten that a minister of the Pope dared, in an official instru-

ment, to deprive the Queen of moral retribution is at hand. In-England of that appellation to justice and falsehood may flourish which she is lawfully entitled. for a season; but it can be only There have been times when for a season. That season will such an insult would not have soon pass away; and he who been suffered by any Ministry; seeks them where they were and, when, if it had been en- once seen, soon finds that they dured by the Ministry, that Mi- are to be seen no more! The nistry would not have been en- ways of Providence are not as dured by the people. our ways! but they are always

The malice of my enemies has in favour of moral rectitude in done its worst, and the day of their ultimate results.

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 37.---No. 29.] LONDON, SATURDAY, Dec. 16, 1830. [Price, 6d.]

## TO THE ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER.

*First*, on the Trial in an action of Wright against Mr. Cobbett,  
*Second*, on the late Westminster Meeting, and on the conduct  
of the Rump and the Members for the City on that occasion.

London, Dec. 12, 1830.

GENTLEMEN,

I have never liked to ob-  
trude my private concerns upon  
the attention of the public; but  
I have been compelled to do so  
more, perhaps, than any other  
man that ever lived. I say  
*compelled*; because it is, in fact,  
compulsion when it becomes  
necessary, in order to prevent  
the weakening of the effect of  
my public exertions. How many  
times have my antagonists, of  
various descriptions, enjoyed  
their day or week's exaltation  
at what they flattered them-  
selves was my overthrow! How  
often have they even said that  
they had *sunk me* for ever!  
And how often have they been  
sorely disappointed. I do suppose  
that, speaking upon a moderate  
computation, more than twenty  
thousand bitter and malicious  
libels have been published

against me, while it is pretty  
notorious that I have had, at  
one and the same time, open  
enemies arrayed in tremendous  
powers, and pretended friends,  
carrying about in their bosoms  
little *ests* and *sloe-worms* to  
sting and annoy me. Yet I have  
passed through all this; and I  
believe there is no spectator of  
the present political scene, who  
will regard me as much re-  
duced in point of power. I  
have never appealed to the  
LAW to protect me against ca-  
lumniators. I have relied upon  
truth and time and talent. The  
Rump do, I am told, exult ex-  
ceedingly at having obtained a  
verdict on Monday last, the ele-  
venth inst. against me in favour  
of Wright, with a THOUSAND  
POUNDS DAMAGES. They  
have now, they say, *sunk me*  
in good earnest! Never was a  
man so often sunk! This is no

*sinking*. This is what the sailors call merely "*shipping a sea*;" that is to say, taking a wave on board, which only gives the vessel a "*heel*," but by no means prevents her from keeping on her course; and, gentlemen, you will see that this, like every other "*sinking*" that I have experienced, will be at last a *mounting* in place of a *sinking*.

This trial has brought certain things to light; that is to say, has made them evident; has produced proof of their existence, of which existence we had before only conjecture and suspicion for our guides, or rather as the grounds of our conclusions. The matter of the trial itself, as well as the speeches of Mr. Scarlett; the conduct of the witnesses, and of the abettors and supporters of the thing altogether; these all demand some attention; and I beg leave to trouble you with some short observations with regard to them.

In the first place, with regard to the alleged libels themselves, I have only to repeat here what I stated during the trial, namely, that *here the thing cannot drop*. I shall by and by speak more fully upon what Mr. Scarlett said with re-

gard to my wish to *shift the responsibility* from my own shoulders to those of my eldest son, and I shall also speak upon the foulness of his imputations with regard to that son, who, upon his own oath, tendered himself as a *defendant*. I shall offer no conjecture here as to the reasons which induced Mr. Scarlett, and that client who is so well worthy of him, and of whom he is so well worthy, to be so extremely pertinacious in wishing to have *me*, and *me only*, for a defendant. I declared, and I declared the truth, that I was neither printer, publisher, nor proprietor of any one of the articles for which I was sued; and, in my view of the matter, the evidence fully bore out this declaration.

Now, gentlemen, observe that, there were three Registers the first published in January 1817; the second in March 1819, and the third in January 1820. With regard to the first, I would not swear that I did not write the article, but I should be full as reluctant to swear that I did; with regard to the second, which puts forward Wright by *name*, points out his place of abode, and imputes to him certain specific crimes, I

wrote no part of that which constituted what is called the libel. With regard to the third, it merely calls *Wright* the tool of the Rump, and is no more a libel than any part of the Liturgy is a libel. Part of it was dictated by me to my son John. He said he thought the whole of it was; and I do not know whether it was or was not.

It is the second of the three, to which I wish to draw your attention. I sent home to my Son William an article entitled "*Crown and Anchor Farce*:" and a farce it certainly was. At the exhibition of that farce, it came out that this *Wright* was the man who had communicated to *Cleary* a private letter of mine to read on the hustings at Covent-garden. In commenting upon the farce, I alluded to this communicator of the letter; but I entered into no particulars with regard to him, and I neither named him nor pointed out his place of abode. If you will look into the Register here alluded to, you will find pretty satisfactory proof of this fact; for in one part of it I say that I will "take another opportunity" of shewing who and what this man is. But this manuscript by no means satisfied my Sons or their

Mother, who were boiling with impatience to have something done of a more direct nature. My sons, therefore, put their pens to work, and produced that which has, at length, led to this judicial proceeding.

This is the true state of the case. The motives to do the thing, and the doing of the thing also were fairly, and with a scrupulous regard to truth, stated by my Sons in their evidence. It was also truly stated by my son William, that he acted wholly for himself and for his own benefit, during my absence; that is to say, after he himself arrived in England from America. He truly stated, that it was left entirely to himself, either to publish or not to publish any thing that I might send him. Whatever I sent or might send, he was to consider as his own; to be altered, amended, or wholly rejected, according to his own judgment and taste. And observe, that the evidence that was produced to shew the contrary of this, was a letter from me to my faithful *Jackson*, who had been recommended to me by *Lord Cochrane*, as a man in whose hands I might trust my life; the evidence was a letter (another private letter!)

from me to this man, saying that my Son (who was then going home) would take charge of all my affairs in England, and especially those of a literary nature. What evidence was this? Jackson was then the publisher; and this was merely telling him that he was to be so no longer. However, it was concluded that my Son published under my directions, and that I was responsible for whatever he did!

Dolby, indeed, swore that he heard me say, after I came home, that all that I had written about Wright was true. Bear in mind that Dolby had been sued by Wright at the time when I came home; that he was preparing to justify; that I had the books and other documents; that it was very natural for me to say that I would prove the truth of what had been published; but was it natural for me to say (even if the thing had been so), that I myself had written the thing? Dolby swore, that I said I would prove the truth of what I had written about Wright. Dolby being asked, whether I had said, that it was I who had written the article in question, said, "no; but, if you had said the contrary, it would have

"excited astonishment in every one present."

This was the evidence. This evidence of Dolby and of Jackson was the only evidence to prove, that I had caused the publication. I shall, by and by, speak of the law of the case in this respect, but, I must first explain the real facts a little more fully.

The article consists of three or four facts loosely stated, without dates and without precise sums being named. Now, observe, I had all the books and other documents with me. I, therefore, if I had written the article myself, had all the means of making a grand array of particulars, and I leave you to guess whether I was likely to have forbore to do this. When the action was commenced against Dolby; or, at least, when it was coming on for trial, it was necessary for my son William to make affidavit that the proofs were with me, and that he expected me home before December. Such was the truth; and I arrived at Liverpool the latter end of November, bringing the books and documents with me; and there I was at the Angel Inn in the Strand, with the other

gentlemen who were witnesses in the case, at the time when the action against *Dolby* was coming on in December last; but, when we were all prepared, *Wright* suddenly *withdrew the Record*, and then commenced his action against me, instead of commencing it, as he ought to have done, against my son who alone had employed *Dolby* who had never had any communication with me in the course of his life, but who had been paid by my son to be the publisher of the Register, for my son, and not for me! *Dolby* had written me a letter to America; but I had not even answered that letter.

From these facts, which are all indisputable, it must clearly appear to every man that I did not even write the statement with respect to *Wright*, for, as I said before, if I who had all the books and documents with me, had written the statement, it is manifest that I should have gone into particulars of dates and sums, which my sons were unable to do for the want of those documents. You must needs think that my desire was strong enough to do the thing well; and having all the documents in my hands, and

plenty of leisure for the performance, it is impossible that I should have missed the opportunity. Besides, can it be supposed possible that, if I had really written the thing, which I must have known would be published in *February*, or early in *March*, 1819; can it be supposed possible that I, knowing that I myself could not come home until the fall of that year; can it be supposed possible that I could have sent home such an article to be published, and to be published by my own Son, too (for as to *Dolby*, I well knew that he would not make himself responsible); can it be supposed possible, I say, that I should have sent home such an article to be published by my own Son without at the same time sending the books and documents, which are spoken of, too, in this very article? Is it possible that, after having for so many years refrained from saying any thing at all about this man, notwithstanding so many provocations; once more I ask you is it possible that, under all these circumstances I could have written the article and sent it for publication, and still have retained in my own hands these books and



documents, though there never was one week passed without there being a ship coming from New York to England! You will say that it is impossible, and will conclude, that I had no more to do with the matter than any of you.

There is another fact, which is, I think, conclusive. The article talks of *big drops of sweat*, on a *cold winter's day*, rolling down *Wright's* forehead. Now, the transaction alluded to took place in the *summer*. I, who had the papers with me, *know the time*, and should, of course, not have made use of this little *colouring*. If I had stated *time*, I should have stated the right time; or, at any rate, should not have put *winter* instead of *summer*.

But, it is asked why I did not now justify and go into the whole justification. I was not aware of the forms of proceeding. To prepare, arrange and have every thing in order in that regular and scrupulous manner which the law, very wisely, requires, demanded a great deal more time than I had to bestow. The Coventry election almost immediately succeeded the bringing of the action; at the time when I might have

been making due preparations, *her Majesty* arrived. Her's was a *cause* of a vast deal more importance than mine; and as you may have heard, perhaps, I have taken some little part in that cause. At any rate, the fact is, that I never did, and never would bestow an hour nor even five minutes upon this thing. I knew that I was neither writer, printer nor publisher; and I was not to be persuaded that any jury was to be made to believe that I was either; and even if they were, I was determined to run that risk rather than enter into a justification upon this loose publication, destitute as it was, of all the particulars necessary to bring the matter fully and fairly before the public.

But, now Mr. *Scarlett, Wright* and the *Rump* will be furnished with a *real defendant*. I said that the matter could not stop here. *Wright* has now become a *public character*, he is now proved to have been in connection with the *Rump*. He is now seen furnishing them with the means, which (as *Adams* swore) were made use of in order to *counteract my attacks on Sir Francis Burdett!* It was a long time pretended; it

was pretended in print over and over again by *Cleary*, that he read the letter in REVENGE for Mr. *Hunt's* having read a letter of his; but now we have it upon the oath of *Adams*, over and over again, that the *Rump* got the letter from *Wright*, and gave it to *Cleary* to be read upon the hustings; for what! Why, because I had attacked Sir Francis Burdett; and in order to shew my inconsistency! And while *Adams* swore this, he smiled so sweetly upon Sir Francis, who had been summoned, as I suppose, as one of the witnesses for *Wright*, and who sat by the side of Mr. *Brougham* just opposite the witness box. Away then with the story about my letter being read by *Cleary* in revenge for Mr. *Hunt's* having read a letter of this hero of the white charger. Here we have it proved, that *Cleary* was the mere instrument in the hands of the *Rump*, and that the main object was to take vengeance on me for what are called my "attacks" on Sir Francis Burdett!

*Wright*, therefore, is, as I said before, a public character in Westminster. He belongs, in some measure, to that celebrated

body; that nice little snug corporation, which has been kind enough to take upon itself the office of regulating the political concerns of the City of Westminster; and especially that part of its concerns which relates to the choosing of members to represent that City in Parliament. This being the situation of *Wright*; being so closely connected with this Corporation, my son will, doubtless, think himself bound, as speedily as convenience will permit, to do justice to this celebrated personage, from whom came the letter, or, rather, the part of the letter relating to Mr. *Hunt* and the lady. Besides, Mr. *Scarlett* has had the modesty to assert in open Court, that the connection between me and *Wright* began by *Wright's* lending me twenty pounds; and, as proof of this, the careful personage produced in Court a private letter more than twenty years old! He produced, I think, between four and five hundred private letters, some of them not more than three inches square! all carefully put into two books! What a careful personage! How regular in the preserving and arranging of papers! How fit

to be kéeper of records to the *Rump!*

However, his no less worthy advocate and eulogist, Mr. Scarlett, having represented him as lending me *twenty pounds*; *Wright* having acknowledged, upon the trial of *Cleary*, that he, *Wright*, about a year ago, shewed a private letter of mine to Mr. *Brougham*; this same *Wright* having upon his oath declared that he gave the letter to the *Rump* to be made use of in order to counteract my writings against Sir Francis *Burdett*; the Baronet himself having been brought into Court upon this occasion; *Wright* being manifestly the source from which were drawn what were thought to be the means of annoying me and of giving pain to my family in my absence; the letter having been exhibited at *Brooks's in the Strand*, where it was to be seen, according to public advertisement; *Brooks's* in the Strand having been the house where was exhibited, or left to be shewn, the copy of a private letter from Sir Francis *Burdett* to me (the original of which I never got), purporting to be an answer to a private letter from me to Sir Francis, relating solely to pecuniary mat-

ters, and which answer contained an injurious misinterpretation of the meaning of my letter to Sir Francis: these things standing thus; *Wright* being thus closely connected and mixed up with all these matters and all these parties, it is right, it is fitting, it is just, it is absolutely necessary, that he be known in his real character, in order that from it you may judge correctly on the subject. Of himself he is little. As a proof of my having thought little about him or his actions, I never, for seven long years, after he ceased to be in my service, made even an allusion to him; though, on many occasions, most earnestly implored to do it. I heard that he was seen very frequently with Sir Francis *Burdett*, with Lord *Ersine*, with Mr. *Vansittart*, and even with Lord *Castlereagh*. I supposed that it might be (as I still suppose it was) about the printing of their speeches in parliamentary debates, or some such matter. At any rate, it was no business of mine, and I left those gentlemen to do as they liked. As to my private letters, if any one could read them, that man was unworthy of my notice, or, at least, his good opinion was a

thing which it was my duty to hold in contempt. But now, *Wright* assumes another place! He now stands surrounded and completely mixed up with the parties above mentioned. *They* are of some public importance; *they* put themselves forward in an ostensible manner. He *belongs to them*; with him all the above parties have taken the fraternal hug. Let me and mine undergo all the disadvantage to be expected from his enmity; and let all the above parties participate in the honour reflected upon them by his friendship.

Having now placed the main matter fairly before you, I shall next advert to some circumstances that transpired at the trial, and to some of the singular notions and doctrines put forth upon this occasion by Mr. Scarlett, having first, however, requested you to go back with me to the origin of these law suits.

You will be pleased to bear in mind that, as it now appears in evidence (for I have never yet *seen* the original letter myself), a private letter of mine was read by *Cleary* on the hustings of Covent Garden, at the election of 1818. I should say

*a part* of a private letter, for no one has sworn that the whole was read. A part only of it at any rate was published in the newspapers the next day. The former and the latter parts of it were left out. My name was put at the bottom, the date was put at the top, and the name of the person to whom it was addressed was *not mentioned*. The letter in this state (in print) reached me in America. I declared it to be *a forgery*; and I now declare it to have been, in that state, a forgery; because if you leave out a part of any written thing, you, in fact, *alter* the thing; it is *not the same thing*; it is a *counterfeit*, it is a *forgery*. Besides, in this case, and as far as relates to my declaration of the thing that came out to America, and was first published in London, all the circumstances which would have led to a recollection of the letter, were left out; so that I naturally regarded it as a forgery.

However, the imputation of *forgery* was nothing in such a case. It was the breach of *private confidence*, and the indescribable baseness towards *the lady*. Towards myself it was bad enough, and especially as

the circumstance of *distance of time* was kept out of view in the reading at the hustings. Several persons who heard the reading have declared to me that they have no idea of any *date* being mentioned. One gentleman told Mrs. Cobbett (who arrived in England soon after the letter had been read) that he had understood it to be a *letter from me to Cleary*. In the hubbub of the moment, perhaps the far greater part of the people so understood it, and as *Wright's name was not mentioned*, how was any body to understand it, as being a letter to any body but *Cleary*? I had *Wright* in the box, on the trial with *Cleary*. He swore that he was on the hustings at the time; but he would not swear that the *whole* of the letter was read, nor would he swear that *his own name was mentioned*! *Adams* was also at the hustings, and he would not swear that the *whole* of the letter was read; nor would he swear that *Wright's name* was mentioned. In fact, Gentlemen, it is as clear as day-light, that only a part of the letter was read; that *Wright's name* was not mentioned; that the *date of ten years before* was skipped over; and that the immense multitude that stood before the hustings were led to believe that it was a letter that had *come to Cleary from me*; and that I was speaking of Mr. HUNT and his way of life, in terms of the strongest reprobation *in private*, while I was, *in public*, holding him forth as a man worthy of admiration, and in particular of the support of the Electors of Westminster.

This, therefore, was a most atrocious act towards me and towards Mr. Hunt; but what was it then, Gentlemen, with regard to the lady? She, at any rate, had not "*attacked Sir Francis Burdett*!" She had said nothing against him, and done nothing against him! She had not been guilty of the unpardonable sin in vengeance for which, private letters, ten years old, were to be raked up and promulgated. *Adams* said, upon his oath, on the trial with *Wright*, that he had not been acquainted with Mr. Hunt since the year 1808; but did he not know that Sir Francis Burdett had? I reminded *Adams* of a circumstance, which I thought would have brought to his recollection an instance of particularly intimacy with that gen-

tleman, even in 1816. It did not, but, at any rate, Sir Francis Burdett, himself, was upon a very intimate footing with *Mr. Hunt* from 1810 to 1815, this was five years out of the ten that had passed since the letter was written. He had been at *Mr. Hunt's* house for a fortnight or three weeks at a time. He had been out shooting with *Mr. Hunt*. In short, they had been very intimate. He knew the lady very well. He had very frequently been under the same roof with her; and after all this, the *Rump* Committee bring out a letter, written by me before I had ever seen the lady, and before, I believe, I had seen *Mr. Hunt* more than two or three times; and they publish a part of that letter, in which I, without sufficient time to deliberate, had alluded to that lady in a way in which no human being can suppose I ever would have alluded in any public document or speech.

Now, look at this transaction, then, as connected with the conduct of Sir Francis Burdett upon the occasion. He knew what pain the promulgation of this letter was calculated to give to the lady. He knew very well all the effects that this pro-

mulgation was calculated to produce. I by no means accuse him, and I never have, of having given even his assent to the reading of the letter. But, he who has complained so bitterly of breach of private confidence, in a case of his own, and, indeed, so justly; he that could then be so feelingly alive in his own case, ought to have had some feeling for the lady in this case. Granted that the deed was done, before he knew any thing about it. I sincerely believe that it was so; but ought he to have been silent upon the subject after the deed was done? Could he hear of this deed being done by the *Rump* and *Cleary* without shunning them as he would shun a pestilence? Could he endure to sit in a seat in Parliament obtained by such men and such means? Did he think it consistent with his honour still to lean on this despicable *Rump* for support, to ride in a car preceded by *Cleary* on a white charger, while a banner with the word "*purity*" upon it waved over his head? Remember, Gentlemen, that the Chief Justice declared the promulgation of this letter under such circumstances, to be *an act worthy of the severest reprobation*.

tion; and remember also, that, after the commission of this act Sir Francis Burdett not only continued to receive the caresses of the *Rump*; but, at the Crown and Anchor farce in the succeeding November, he expressly exculpated the *Rump* and *Cleary* from all blame in the transaction, and even notified to the meeting from his own lips that a *fac-simile* of the letter would be published; thus doing all that lay in his power to circulate widely and to perpetuate the stigma upon that lady, under whose roof he had been received and entertained with hospitality and kindness!

Is it *my* fault if these things be revived? Is it my fault if that which never ought to have taken place was not speedily forgotten after it did take place? Oh! no! it is *Wright* and the *Rump*, and *Cleary* and *Jackson*, these are the workers up of the matter. I am here, as I have been all through the thing, purely upon the DEFENSIVE. The beginning was the promulgation of the letter. *Wright* gave the letter; the *Rump* received it and gave it to *Cleary*; and *Adams*, one of the *Rump*, now declares upon his oath, as

indeed *Wright* declared, too, that the motive for the publication of the letter was to counteract the effect of my "*attacks upon Sir Francis Burdett.*" So that, to this we come at last, the lady's heart was to be wrung; she was to become the subject of scandal with every scandalous tongue in the kingdom; she who was innocent of all offence against Sir Francis Burdett, was to suffer this in order to get vengeance on me because I had dealt my blows upon the Baronet! And, if you can, in the annals of malignity and cowardice, find any thing to equal this, I beg you to refer me to the page.

I beg you to bear in mind that this was the root of all the evil. Of both these law-suits, of some most furious assaults upon the Baronet; of some not less furious upon the *Rump*; and I venture to anticipate other consequences of a vast deal more importance to more than one of the parties. The branches which have come from this root have already extended pretty widely, and yet I fancy that we are not got yet nearly to the extremities.—Amongst the good consequences will be the total extinction of

the *Rump*: and I confess to you that I think that worth a great deal;

Gentlemen, Mr. SCARLETT said, upon the trial, that I endeavoured, by the means of *shuffling* and *cowardice*, to get out of the responsibility. I asserted then, as I repeat here, that I was *not the defendant*; but, at the same time, there was no attempt made to deprive the plaintiff of a defendant. On the contrary there was my Son, who was writer as well as publisher, and who, of course, admitted by his own oath the full extent of responsibility. There could be no danger that I could save myself from that to which he would not be exposed; and who but a monster can believe, or pretend to believe, that I wished to escape from pecuniary difficulties by imposing them upon him? The thing is ridiculous as well as monstrous.

I have truly stated, before, my reasons for declining to go into a justification in the trial of this action. But suppose it to have been a mere *whim*, or a mere desire to *put the thing off*, on account of the Jury or any thing else; pray, have not I as good a right to indulge myself in this way as Sir Francis Burdett has?

He takes three terms to endeavour to set aside a trial in which he has been the loser, after, by the bye, having had an opportunity to defend himself in person. And has any body yet imputed *shuffling* or *cowardice* to him? He has availed himself of his power to employ lawyers, in order to change the scene of trial or to obtain time, and who calls him a *shuffler* or a *coward* on this account; nor was it the least amusing part of the proceedings of the day to hear him larded with compliments from the same pair of lips out of which every species of abuse came foaming upon me. I never said during these three terms that there was a shuffle or a juggle going on; I never cried out coward, and said that it was a mere trick to deny the letter in one county that was acknowledged in another county. There was the letter; it was written by Sir Francis; it was sent to Brooks to be published; Brooks published it; Sir Francis owned it, and well he might, for it was the best production of his that I ever saw. The matter was clear all through. He did not attend the publication in London; but he sent it to London; he was in Leicestershire when he wrote it;



he must have put it out of his hand in Leicestershire; and what signifies it whether it was tried in Leicestershire or London? Yet, do I call it shuffling; do I call it cowardice in him to make use of his *purse* (in the employment of lawyers and attorneys I mean) to endeavour to put off the evil hour? Certainly I do not. A man is to take every advantage in such a case, which is offered to him by the forms and delays of the law. But then what sort of person is this? He is not to be attacked by the pen. Vengeance of all sorts is to be resorted to in the repelling of such attacks. Private letters are to be brought forth and read and garbled; he is to be permitted to publish his own letters in answer to private letters, and those answers are to contain misinterpretations of the letters which they profess to answer; he is to send forth through the *Rump*, such publications as the Leicestershire letter; he is to have all the credit of great boldness and resolution and devotion to the country; he is to be canonized while yet alive as a martyr in the cause of freedom; he is to have three terms, and half a dozen lawyers, for the purpose of endeavouring to set aside

a verdict, the evident tendency of which is, to send him to a prison; and after all this, he is to sit and receive the extreme unction of flattery from the very same mouth, which is the very next moment employed in vomiting forth upon me the charge of shuffling and cowardice, because I endeavour to shew that my Son, instead of myself, is the *proper defendant* in an action for damages! Why this person is by far the most sacred that I have ever heard of. The King is nothing to compare to him. The King can *do no wrong*, to be sure. One person, and one only, has contended that the King can commit no act of immorality or of folly; and really to this length the flatterers of the Baronet would seem to carry his privileges. Even what I am now writing will be called "*an attack upon Sir Francis Burdett*;" though it is absolutely necessary as an answer to the stupid imputations of his eulogist. There is no length to which this wretched *Rump* do not seem disposed to carry their flatteries with regard to this gentleman, of which we shall see a further proof by and by.

Not only is this sacred per-

sonage to be allowed, without imputation of blame, to avail himself of all the advantages which the delays of the law afford him; but he is, in the meanwhile, not to have a word dropped, if he keep aloof from the scene of action, and remain as quiet as a mouse, while *Major Cartwright*, who is placed in exactly the same state of peril, boldly and fearlessly puts himself forward with more activity and energy than ever. What a contrast might have been drawn here during the last six months! How often might I, if I had been so disposed, have dwelt upon this contrast! How clearly might I have shewn, that my former "*attacks*," as they are childishly called, were neither more nor less than the historical statements correct in substance, and only a little exaggerated in the colouring! Yet, during those six months, I have not alluded even to the tranquil state of Sir Francis, or to his absence from the scenes of action. I have seen, as well as other people, the great difference between his conduct and that of Major Cartwright; but not a syllable have I, in print, said upon the subject. If retirement and silence;

if the delays of the law; if any or if all of these could preserve him from a prison, he had a right to avail himself of them; but his eulogists; and those who reciprocate countenance and support with him, are not, because I endeavour to throw the burthen of an action upon the real defendant, and thereby to obtain the best means of causing justice to be done to all the parties; his eulogists and supporters, who bring forth my private letters in vengeance for my pretended "*attacks*" upon him; these people are not, upon such grounds, to accuse me of *shuffling* and *cowardice*, without my bringing forth his conduct in illustration of my arguments in defence against the imputation.

But, since these "*attacks*" have been so much talked of; and as they are now put forward again as a justification for the ransacking of a man's private letters written *ten years before*; since this is the case, since this stalking-horse has been again brought forward in order to hide all the baseness of the transactions at the Westminster Election; since the *Rump*, *Cleary*, *Wright*, and *Jackson*, are all to be placed

behind this stalking-horse, let us, gentlemen, see a little what those terrible "*attacks*" were, and enquire whether they were well or ill founded. I say that the *manner* of them was more harsh than I, upon reflection and with time to cool, could wish. I am ready to say, and I have very often said this same thing; and to repeat it as often as may be necessary. Mr. *Scarlett* said, in his reply, that I expressed my *sorrow* for these "*attacks*," and begged *pardon* of the Baronet. I contradicted him at the moment. I told him that what he was stating was not true: What I did say, gentlemen, was this: that the *attacks*, as they had been called, upon Sir Francis Burdett, were things which ought to have been forgotten as soon as possible; that they ought to have been obliterated from the memory, and that, for my own part, I had by no means felt a desire to renew them; that they would have been forgotten long ago, had it not been for the workings of a little, dirty, meddling mischievous crew, who sought a gratification of their own base passions in keeping them alive; and that I thought, after all, that the Baronet, hav-

ing also time to reflect, was a man with a mind too honourable not to reprobate the acts of treachery of which he had seen such an ample exhibition.

This is as nearly as possible what I said; yet the delicacy of Mr. *Scarlett's* mind could suggest the imputation of *cowardice* to be applied even to this instance of my candour and liberality; though it must have been manifest to every man that I had been actuated by no motive other than that of wishing to do nothing that could by possibility tend, under his present peculiar circumstances, to deprive him of any portion of public feeling which might exist in his favour. However, since these pretended and much-talked of "*attacks*" are again brought forward as the means of annoyance to me, I am imperiously called upon again to advert to those "*attacks*," and to inquire whether they were in the main just or unjust.

Now, gentlemen, observe these "*attacks*" were made during two periods; the first between May 1817 and May 1818. This set of "*attacks*" were founded on the *public conduct* of Sir Francis. The second set of

"attacks" began after May 1818, and ended in the summer of 1819. This last set of "attacks" took place, you will observe, after the reading of my letter upon the hustings; after *Cleary* had ridden upon the white charger; after the Baronet had given his full countenance to that transaction by saying that *Cleary* was not blameable, and by announcing, at a public meeting, that a facsimile of the letter would be published; and also after Sir Francis had caused to be published (first having had it shewn in manuscript at Brooks's) a private letter from him to me, relating to money which I owed him; after he had caused to be published this answer (no copy of which I ever received from him); after he had caused to be published this, together with my private letter to him relating to the same debt, and which private letter to him contained a frank statement of the whole of my affairs: it was *after* all this that the second set of attacks began. Was it possible for them to be much too harsh? If the Lord Chief Justice was sound in his doctrine when he said, upon the trial with *Cleary*, that the breach of private confi-

dence in *that* case, justified very severe terms of reprobation; if such was the opinion gravely delivered by a Judge in his charge, what bounds, I pray you, were to be set to the terms in which I was to "attack" Sir Francis Burdett, after that conduct of his of which I have just given you a description?

Therefore, gentlemen, electors of Westminster, who suffer yourselves to be sported with by a *Rump* Committee, you are, in estimating those things which are called "attacks" upon Sir Francis Burdett, to leave wholly out of the question all the "attacks" which have taken place since the election of 1818; for, whatever they have been, they have been fully merited. And when did these "attacks" cease? And under what circumstances have they been wholly discontinued? Gentlemen, pray attend to these questions. The "attacks" ceased the moment I set eyes on his letter to the electors of Westminster; for which letter he has since been, as I was very sure he would be, brought into great peril. From that hour to this have I made any "attack" upon Sir Francis Burdett? Twice, I think it is, he has been named by me, in the

way of defence of myself against what I deemed an "*attack*" on his part; or on the part of the meddling fools who seem to aim at his destruction; but have I attacked him? Have I said a syllable about his unaccountable absence and silence during the last six most interesting months? Nay, was not the one single occasion when he did step forward in Parliament, eagerly caught at by me as the ground of bestowing the highest praise on his conduct; and did I not, by the republishing of his speech on that occasion, manifestly not only not to my own pecuniary advantage, and manifestly also to my loss, do as much as in me lay to insure to him every particle of praise that was his due? Did this conduct bespeak rancour, malignity, enmity, revenge, as existing in my breast; or did it bespeak just the contrary of all these?

It is to the *first* set of "*attacks*," therefore, that I now request you to turn your attention for a few minutes; and, while I do not pretend that cool reflection would justify them as to their *manner*, to the utmost extent, I think I shall be able to produce to you proof unde-

niable of the justice of the *matter* of those "*attacks*;" I think that what has happened in your own city not many days ago, has made good to the very letter, the *matter* of those "*attacks*."

Those attacks embraced two points: *first*, the making use of a junto called the *Rump*, for insuring to himself and an underling of his own choosing, seats for the City of Westminster; and also for the purpose of excluding from those seats every man not devoted to him, and not willing to be his underling, however great the industry and talent of such man. If you want any proof of the truth of these allegations; if you want any thing more in this way than that which has passed before your eyes, and which is perceived by every man in the nation, it would be waste of time to attempt to give it you. As to this point, the matter is settled by the evidence of facts.

The *second* point was, to express the whole in two short propositions, "that the Baronet" "was a man of *talk* and not of *do*;" that he called upon the "people to support him, and" "that when the people *stirred*" "he would not move."

Now, Gentlemen, I will not attempt to refer you to the *past*. I mean to nothing that has not passed within this *month*. I will not waste your time by carrying you back to 1817, or even to the langour and lassitude and still-life of the last summer. I will confine myself to the space of one single month; and if you do not find within that space proofs in ample justification of my "*attacks*," in the capacity of *historian*, you will be reduced to the absolute necessity of acknowledging me to be a *prophet*. To which latter character, however, I have not the impiety to aspire.

Now, then, observe, her Majesty, who had triumphed over her enemies, was the object of universal congratulation on the part of the people. Numerous addresses were instantly prepared and voted. More than a *hundred and fifty* had, I believe, been actually presented; some of them from two hundred miles distance; some even from *Scotland*. The city of London had met, had gone up and addressed her Majesty. The city of Westminster did not stir! The borough of Southwark had met and addressed her Majesty. Even the *parishes* in Westminster itself had met or were meet-

ing, and one of your Members had presided at one of those meetings, but the *City itself* did not stir! This City that used to take the lead in every good thing; this great, populous and really public-spirited City remained dumb as a wool-pack, while even the very villages in Somersetshire and Cornwall were sending up addresses to the Queen! Talk of supporting her Majesty, indeed! What support would that persecuted and gallant lady have received from the people of England, towards whom she so graciously expresses her boundless gratitude, if the people of England had, upon this important occasion, waited for the example of *Westminster*!

Oh! Gentlemen, see what it is to have suffered yourselves to be subjected to the government of a *Rump*! Thank me for the endeavours I am now making to rescue you from this state of indescribable abasement. Your hearts were good. You felt for her Majesty. You, round your fire-sides, congratulated the Queen. But, having submitted yourselves to the government of a *Rump*; that *Rump* being notoriously the mere instrument of one man; that man not choos-

ing to step forward; there you stood a mark for the finger of scorn to the whole kingdom! At last, some spirited tradesmen, resolved not to share in meriting this scorn, signed a requisition, took it to the High Bailiff, and called a meeting, the result of which was, an Address to her Majesty, and a Petition to the King.

Let us now see, then, what passed at this Meeting. Sir Francis Burdett came to it. He was compelled to come. It was absolute and instant perdition not to come. Having come, he was compelled to speak. And now we come to the main point, as to which I shall now produce proof, that in those things stigmatized as "*attacks*," I was either a correct *historian* or a *prophet*.

Bear in mind, if you please, that the "*attacks*" stated Sir Francis Burdett to be "a man of TALK and not of DO." Do you remember in the course of those "*attacks*," these words: "*many talks* about impeaching Castlereagh, but *no impeachment*?" You must remember, I think, these very words. Now, then, observe, during his speech at this Meeting Sir Francis said, "all that had transpired upon

"the subject, served to prove that his Majesty's Ministers ought to be hanged [loud plaudits]." In another part of his speech he said, that even "if unwilling agents in the transaction, no ministers since the revolution, had done any thing more loudly calling for impeachment [applause]." .

Thus far Sir Francis, Next came Mr. Hobhouse, who spoke thus. "He would only say, therefore, that unless the people of England came forward to demand, not only the dismissal, but the impeachment; not only the impeachment, but the punishment of those who had leaped such multifarious evils upon them, the work would be but half done [loud cheers]. Let not the people deceive themselves; let them not believe, that if they waited till Parliament meet, two months hence, some means would not be found of tripping the people out of their just demands for the punishment of those whom the united voice of the people of England pronounced to be the only malefactors."

Now, Gentlemen, Electors of Westminster, was not this pretty bold talk? Let us now look at

the do. It appears that some of the electors present thought that this talk meant something! They appear to have thought that when men talked of *impeaching* and *hanging*, that they meant, at least, to do something in the way of *impeaching*; and, thus thinking, some of them stepped on one side and drew up a resolution, which, according to the report in the Morning Chronicle, was in the following words:

"That this Meeting has heard  
 "with *peculiar satisfaction*,  
 "the declarations of Sir Francis  
 "Burdett, Bart. and John Cam  
 "Hobhouse, Esq. of the *pro-*  
 "*priety* and *necessity* of *im-*  
 "*peaching* his Majesty's Minis-  
 "ters, for their unconstitutional  
 "and illegal proceedings against  
 "the Queen, and also for the  
 "atrocious violation of the con-  
 "stitutional rights of the sub-  
 "ject, which has long charac-  
 "terised their counsels and  
 "measures; and that this Meet-  
 "ing, feeling the greatest con-  
 "fidence in the *zeal, persever-*  
 "*ance, industry, and talents* of  
 "their Representatives, do here-  
 "by request that Sir Francis  
 "Burdett, Bart. and John Cam  
 "Hobhouse, Esq. will under-  
 "take, in the name and on be-  
 "half of the people of Eng-  
 "land, to move and conduct an  
 "impeachment of the Ministers  
 "of the Crown, and that the  
 "other Members of Parliament  
 "now present be requested to  
 "support the same."

Could any thing in this world be more proper than this? What could be so natural; what so proper? And, as one would have thought, what so gratifying to these two high spirited members of Parliament! The Resolution was, it appears, moved by Mr. BARNOW, of the Strand. The report says, as you will see, that he afterwards *withdrew* it. He asserts, most positively, that he did not; and that the members of the *Rump*, who were in and about the hustings, made a hubbub and confusion. However, I shall take the report and lay it before you, just as I find it given in the Morning Chronicle; and I am persuaded that you will find in it the most satisfactory proof, that, in my pretended "*attacks*," I was the most correct of all *historians*, or one of the truest of all the *prophets* that ever lived in the world.

"Sir F. BURDETT trusted that the Meeting would not adopt such a Resolution as this upon the spur of the moment. The *propriety* of impeaching his Majesty's Ministers was one thing; the *necessity* of doing so was another. There was another consideration of great importance, which the persons with whom this Resolution had originated appeared to



have overlooked; namely, the propriety of doing the thing effectually. They had not considered the means of the present Meeting to carry the Resolution into effect, or the means and powers of the persons who were instructed to propose such a measure. This was not the time and place for such a Resolution. He imposed no ~~what would doubt~~ his (Sir F. Burdett's) readiness to lend all his assistance to obtain justice for the country, and an inquiry into that long course of misadministration under which the people had laboured. He trusted the people of Westminster would give him credit for being at all times ready to use his best exertions in the public cause, and, at the same time, he felt persuaded that they would not adopt a Resolution of this kind at such a time without reflection, and ~~will upon him to undertake a~~ great and important measure, which it would be utterly out of his power to carry into effect.

Mr. BRYCE said, he had not been convinced by the arguments of the Honourable Member, nor that he should still feel it his duty to press his motion. The Honourable Baronet had talked of the inadequacy of their means and forces, but surely they had force enough to make the attempt; they had at least force enough to endeavour to chain the iron hand of despotism, and let the result be what it might, it would teach

Ministers an important lesson.

Mr. HOBHOUSE said, there could be no doubt of his Honourable Colleague's desire to chain the iron of despotism, and to co-operate cordially in any measure which could lead to such a result; but the question now was, whether the Resolution which had been proposed was calculated to effect the object it had in view? If they thought the passing of such a Resolution was the best way of effecting that object, undoubtedly he should feel it his duty to be bound by their decision, and to endeavour, as far as he was able, to give effect to it. They had elected him as their agent, and as their servant he considered himself bound to obey their instructions. At the same time he begged them to consider whether the passing of this Resolution was likely to lead to the object which they had in view. He entirely concurred with his Honourable Colleague, that in the present state of Parliament, the punishment of Ministers was not likely to be effected in this way. They would recollect that in the last Session of Parliament, when a motion was made for an inquiry into the state of the nation, only 170 Members of that Parliament voted even for an inquiry into the grievances of the people. That same Parliament had supported the present Ministers throughout the whole of the late notorious proceedings. In an as-

"sembly be constituted, there  
 "could be little hope that any  
 "endeavour on the part of his  
 "Honourable Colleague and  
 "himself to bring Ministers to  
 "justice, would be attended  
 "with success.

"Mr. BENBOW withdrew his  
 motion.

"Sir F. BURDETT was glad  
 "the motion had been with-  
 "drawn, for had they passed  
 "such a Resolution under such  
 "circumstances; it would not  
 "only have been utterly in-  
 "effectual, but in every point  
 "of view *unadvised and child-*  
 "*ish*. If the people of England,  
 "however, felt as the Electors  
 "of Westminster did on this  
 "subject; and they chose to  
 "petition Parliament to im-  
 "peach Ministers, that mode of  
 "proceeding might by possi-  
 "bility have some *practical*  
 "*effect*, but a mere Resolution  
 "passed at a Public Meeting,  
 "however respectable, convened  
 "for another purpose, would  
 "not only be very *inexpedient*  
 "and *ineffectual*; but *childish*,  
 "and liable to *ridicule*."

Talk of *shuffling*, Gentlemen!

Did the world ever before see  
*shuffling* like this? "Like mas-  
 "ter like man" is an old saying;  
 and never was more apt than  
 upon the present occasion. Not  
 being willing to imitate, in the  
 most distant degree, the *Rump*  
 and their associates, I will not  
 even mention what was alleged  
 in the *side talk* upon the hus-  
 tings, as one of the reasons for

objecting to this resolution; but  
 it is quite evident that here is no  
 good reason given, and that the  
 whole is a piece of *shuffling*,  
 which is, perhaps, without a  
 parallel even in the records of  
 the *Rump*.

I am unwilling to detain you a  
 moment longer upon such a sub-  
 ject; but do pray look at the Ba-  
 ronet's distinction between the  
*propriety* and the *necessity* of  
 impeaching the Ministers. Ne-  
 cessity means something that is  
*needful*, and propriety, in this  
 case, means *fitness*. Now, could  
 it be *needful* to impeach the  
 Ministers, and yet not *fit* to do  
 it? Can that which is *necessary*  
 be improper, or can that which  
 is *proper*, in such a case, be *un-*  
*necessary*? However, not to  
 waste our time upon the split-  
 ting of hairs, could it be either  
 unnecessary or improper to im-  
 peach men, who, according to  
 the Baronet, "ought to be *ad-ju-*  
 "*st*"? If so we must conclude,  
 taking the speeches of both  
 members together, that the way  
 to go to work, according to  
 them, was, to hang the Minis-  
 ters first and impeach them  
*afterwards*!

Here we hear Sir Francis  
 again calling upon the "people  
 of England" to come forward.

This is just the old language. This is precisely what I complained of in my first set of "attacks;" but here is the flagrant inconsistency of calling upon the people of England to come forward to demand impeachment, while there are several thousands of those people standing before him, demanding that very impeachment, which Mr. Hobhouse had only five minutes before called upon them to demand; here is the monstrous inconsistency of thus calling upon the people of England to come forward with this demand, and when they instantly make the demand, calling that demand, "*insupportable, ineffectual, childish and ridiculous*!"

Still! I sorely need not say another word! Thus it has been for several years, and thus it will be, while this great City shall suffer itself to be under the guidance of that miserable jester called the Rump, who here, as to all practical purposes, retarded Westminster as much a rotten borough, as Gotton or Old Sarum. The trial about Wright is a thing of no consequence in itself; but, it is of importance as it serves to discover, and lay bare to your

view, the wheels and pegs and springs and wires by which a set of intrigues are constantly carrying on to render your right of election in effect a nullity, and to prevent this great and public spirited City from assisting in the smallest degree in the restoration of national freedom and prosperity.

Look, too, at the conduct of the Rump upon this occasion. Observe how these men made it an occasion for offering the incense of flattery to their idol; and look at the stupid and impudent trash which Sir Francis Burdett called "*the very flattering manner in which the worthy gentlemen had introduced his name*." This flattering affair was, as is reported in the Chronicle, in the following words. "He (Mr. Fish) could not forbear from advertising to the circumstances in which their long tried friend Sir F. Burdett was placed for his active and ardent exertions in defence of liberty and humanity. These circumstances were indeed such, that he was much afraid that if the people did not stand forward in due time, an attempt would be made to act upon a verdict which never could have been obtained but through the mal-administration of public justice (ap-  
plause), and that one of the most enlightened patriots

"England ever knew might be subjected to a severe visitation. (cries of "no, no"). That Ministers would be happy to place such a man as Sir Francis Burdett *hors de combat*, there could not be the slightest doubt. Such men must be afraid of truth, or any one likely to speak it with firmness, especially at the present crisis, when the public mind was so strongly excited, and when so much public spirit prevailed throughout the country. But he hoped and trusted that *that spirit which had saved the Queen* from the persecution of those Ministers, would also be exerted to arrest their vindictive purpose with regard to Sir Francis Burdett."

This was a flattering manner, was it! The folly of this man, is to be equalled by nothing but his impudence. What! are all the people to come out, then, upon this occasion! And what are they to do? Are they to go to the Court of King's Bench and order the Judges not to pass their sentence? was their ever such impudence! such bloated, such over-grown, such prodigious folly! This man pretends to be alarmed, lest Sir Francis Burdett should be sent to prison. Grant that he really wishes that he should not be so sent: but, look, then, at the presumptuous stupidity of the man, or,

rather, at his unparalleled impudence! He knows, or he ought to know, that Sir Francis is wholly and entirely in the hands of the Judges. He ought to know that a new trial has been refused, and that the defendant is to be brought up for judgment. In this state of things what does he do? Why, at a public meeting, surrounded by thousands of persons, call upon the people to come forward, and arrest what he calls the vindictive purpose of the Ministers; while, and in the very same breath, he accuses of *mal-administration of public justice*, those very judges at whose mercy he must know, unless he be an idiot, as well as a "worthy gentleman," Sir Francis Burdett is now placed. Of all topics in the world this topic ought to have been most carefully avoided upon such an occasion, and under such circumstances; and, if it had been introduced at all, could it have been introduced in such a manner by any human being that did not belong to the little lick-spittle, and, at the same time, pert and impertinent crew, called the *Rump*, who, at the very moment that they are calling upon the whole nation to

come forward and arrest the proceedings against Sir Francis Burdett for *libel*, are hawling out against me as a *libeller of him*, and are putting in motion all their wheels and wires in order to insure my destruction ! This *Rump* have seen scores of public-spirited men sent to the dungeons. They have seen Mr. Knight, Mr. Deane, shut up in jail for two years. They have seen Sir Charles Wollesley sent to jail. They have seen Mr. Harrison sent to jail for three years and a half. They have seen Mr. Hunt sent to jail for two years and a half. They have seen one man in Cheshire sent to jail for four years and a half for publishing seditious libels. Not a word of commiseration from the *Rump* towards any of those persons. Nay, at a meeting where Mr. Hobhouse was one of the leaders, a toast to the health of those public spirited sufferers was rejected ! And, after all this, this *Rump* has the impudence to call upon the whole of the people of England to come and rescue by force their idol, who has also been convicted of a seditious libel ! All England is to rise, because Sir Francis Burdett is likely to share in the

fate of men, beyond all measure more public spirited and useful than himself, and beyond all measure less indulged during the proceedings against them. Many of the persons above mentioned were not only held to bail, but were committed to prison long before they were brought to trial. From a prison they were brought into court to defend themselves ! Has this been the fate of Sir Francis ? No ! He has been allowed three terms to endeavour to obviate a sentence. Four Judges have sat listening, first and last, for fifteen days, to the endeavours of his advocates to prove grounds for a new trial. Patience like this has very rarely been shown in any court. It has been without a parallel, and certainly it has reflected great honour upon those Judges. At last they come to a solemn determination that he shall not have the new trial. And what then ? Why, the Attorney-General gives him the further indulgence of not being called up to receive judgment until the next term ! And, with all these striking facts staring him in the face ; this insolent and despicable *Rump*, who have never said a word about the imprisonment of

Mr. Hunt, Mr. Harrison, Sir Charles Wolsey, or about the terrible sentence on the poor man at Chester; this impudent Rump, who so unfeelingly rejected a toast to the health of these and numerous other sufferers, have now the coxcomical effrontery to call upon all England to come forward and "arrest" the arm of the law with regard to Sir F. Burdett; while I beg you to bear it in mind, they are making use of all their underhand malignant means of annoying and injuring me for having made what they call "attacks" on this very man whom all England is to rise and rescue!

Jackson, while he was, shewing my manuscripts to the Rump, was at the same time writing to congratulate me that I had tickled the Rump. Tickling is not enough now. It requires boiling or broiling; one of which operations, I think, I have now performed on it; and, therefore, for the present, I leave it; reserving to myself, however, the privilege of returning to the cookery again and again, if it be necessary, until it shall have wasted in the water, or dried over the fire to a chip.

I now come to a part of Mr. Scarlett's attacks, which was of a very singular nature indeed, namely, that I put my children forward, that I put my infant son forward, in order to shield myself! This is wholly false, because that which was stated by my sons was all perfectly true. My eldest son not only caused the publication, but was the writer. But, what precious nonsense is this about putting my sons forward to shelter myself! What a monstrous nonsense is it! In the first place, this infant child was, when he first took possession of the publication, only eighteen years old; and the infant wanted (at that time) almost an inch and three quarters of being six feet high. In the next place, there was no shelter wanted upon this occasion; for there was this same son, now twenty-two years old, avowing himself to be the proper defendant. But, even suppose it had been a criminal information by the Attorney General; would it have been shuffling and cowardice in me, as Scarlett said it was, for my son to assume the responsibility? If it would have been such in me, what must be the judgment of the public upon persons cou-

needed with what has been as the victim, if a victim there  
 called the respectable part of must be, in the stead of his  
 the press? I have sent to the father. And what did the At-  
 Stamp-office to see how this torney-General do? Why, he  
 matter stands. But first let me suffered even the son to go  
 observe, that Mr. White, of the unprosecuted, and yet this *Scar-*  
 Independent Whig, being in *lett* is to take advantage of his  
 Dorchester jail in 1811, and dung-hill, and call me a *shuffler*  
 continuing to be the proprietor and a *coward*, because my son  
 of his paper, had an ex-officio comes forward and avows that  
 information laid against him for it was he who wrote and pub-  
 a libel published in that paper. lished that, with the writing of  
 He brought forward his son which his father is charged, and  
 (who was an infant also, I be- with the publishing of which he  
 lieve,) to swear that he had is also charged, though this fa-  
 inserted the article without his ther was in America while the  
 father's knowledge. And what other was only at Dorchester!  
 did the jury do upon that occa-  
 sion? Why, they acquitted Mr.  
 White, who was never accused  
 of *shuffling* and *cowardice* be-  
 cause he put forward his son;  
 or, rather, because that son  
 came forward to offer up him-  
 self as the real author, and

But, a word or two of the re-  
 spectable part of the press. Mr.  
*Daniel Stewart* is one of the pro-  
 prietors of the *Courier*. Not long  
 back, his name and that of Mr.  
*Street* stood at the Stamp  
 Office; but now the names of  
 Mr. *Street* and Mr. *Mudford*,  
 stand at the Stamp Office; and

if a libel be published in the *Courier*, Mr. Stewart evades personal responsibility. Do I call Mr. Stewart a *shuffler* and a *coward* for this? No; but then am I a *shuffler* and a *coward* because I shelter myself from personal responsibility? This is not the case, for there is no personal responsibility in the question with regard to me; but even if there were such, I ask you, Gentlemen, is not this *Scarlett* an abusive calumniator?

The persons whose names stand at the Stamp Office as responsible proprietors of the *Times newspaper*, are TWO LADIES, whose names it is unnecessary to mention particularly. They are, doubtless, the sisters of Mr. *Walter*; they own a share of that very valuable property; and the brother and sisters have a right, agreeably to the law, to take into view all the circumstances of their situation, and of public matters; and to so act as shall expose themselves, all viewed

together, to the smallest chance of danger. I do not blame Mr. *Walter*; but could any human being blame me for availing myself of any degree of protection to be obtained through the means of my son becoming the proprietor of the publication instead of myself? Shall not my son feel as strong a disposition to protect his father, as Mr. *Walter's* sisters feel to protect their brother? Mr. *Scarlett's* experience may have produced in his mind, astonishment that a son should prefer going to prison himself, to the seeing of his father go to prison; but, I trust that there are very few sons of Englishmen, who would not, if necessary, put their own persons in such a case in place of that of their father. This *Scarlett* called me *cruel*, for what he called putting forward my son in this way! This man (who certainly cannot have the happiness to be a father himself), does not imagine, then, I suppose, that, if a sentence were



passed to cut off a male leg in my family, either of my sons would insist that it should not be a leg of their father. He may look upon such a thing as impossible; but I should be a most unhappy wretch, if I were not convinced that it would be the fact.

However, this is all waste of words. It is such nonsense; it is so stupid to talk of *shuffling* and *cowardice* in such a case; that every man must say that my sons would be the most unnatural of children were they not ready and willing, and even were they not to insist upon doing that which this frothy man imputes it as a crime to me in having suffered them to do. What! It was so evident, I suppose, that I had found such faithful agents in others, that it was brutal of me to think of exposing my own "*infants*," six feet high! Such faithful creatures had always been about me; *Wright* and *Jackson*, in bringing out my private

letters, had given such undeniable proof, that I stood in no need of the agency of my own "*infants*," that I ought to have suffered these latter to walk about, and grow up as straight as a rush without interrupting their tranquillity by making them the depositaries of my confidence! It was so "*cruel*" to put responsibility upon these little darlings; and so monstrously unjust and wicked to take my affairs out of the hands, my secrets out of the bosoms of that matchless pair, *Wright* and *Jackson*!

One of the libels, as they are called, was a letter to my son James at New York. This letter begins with the words, "*my dear little James*." This was fine food for the wit of Mr. Scarlett, who heaped upon "*my dear little James*" at a very great rate. He called him a young libeller; and added, that he wondered that I had not put my *wife* forward, too. Men, under certain cir-

circumstances, should say little  
 about wives, unless very loudly  
 called for; and that *Mr. Scar-*  
*lett* would have found if I had  
 had to reply to him instead of  
 his having to reply to me.  
 But, as to "*my dear little*  
*James*," it is curious enough  
 that I should, when I came  
 home from the Court, find a  
 letter from him, dated at New  
 York on the 7th November,  
 and containing the following  
 passage: "Your answer to the  
 "Attorney-General's opening  
 "speech has been re-published  
 "here; and every body says  
 "that *Mr. Brougham* ought to  
 "have read it to the Lords  
 "instead of the speech that he  
 "made in the opening of the  
 "Queen's defence. The an-  
 "swer to the Solicitor-General  
 "is also published. I got the  
 "bundle of placards and hand-  
 "bills by Captain Peck; and  
 "have distributed them in  
 "every direction as far as they  
 "would go. Except the Con-  
 "sul and his tribe, every one

"here is in favour of the Queen,  
 "and they are actually pre-  
 "paring an Address, as I un-  
 "derstand, at Philadelphia."

If it were not to show too  
 much respect to *Mr. Scarlett*, I  
 would treat him to a twopenny  
 post letter, inclosing him this let-  
 ter of "*my dear little James*,"  
 who, notwithstanding *Mr. Scar-*  
*lett's* miserable wit, has in this  
 one single instance performed  
 that which amounts to a greater  
 quantity of merit, than *Mr. Scar-*  
*lett* ever possessed, or ever will  
 possess, to the end of his life.  
 My opinion is, too, that "*my*  
 "*dear little James*" can, at the  
 age of seventeen, write a great  
 deal better than *Mr. Scarlett*,  
 can, or than he ever will. "*My*  
 "*dear little James*" has done  
 more in the cause of her Majesty,  
 than all her lawyers put toge-  
 ther; and he has done this, too,  
 without any fee.

The truth is, that *Mr. Scar-*  
*lett* was labouring for several  
 purposes: first to triumph over  
*Mr. Brougham*; second, he

was, as he thought, labouring for his *party*; third, he was labouring for his *patron*; fourth, and last, though not least, in his estimation, he was labouring for a *post*, which, out of delicacy, shall be nameless. In all these respects he was labouring in vain; and as to his prospects of *getting me into a prison*, they are certainly illusory. Does he think that he has established a principle which will run through printer, publisher, and every body else till it comes to the writer? He is very much deceived if he does think this; and, if I be a person whom he wishes to *get rid of*; if he have set his heart upon that, break heart, for thy malignant wish will never be gratified!

Notwithstanding all that I and the public have seen upon this occasion; notwithstanding these consequences of my open and confiding disposition, that disposition is by no means changed in the smallest degree. I know that rather than act a

treacherous part towards me, or any one belonging to me, Mr. Bonbow would suffer himself to be cut into a thousand pieces. In estimating the relative effects of a confiding and of a suspicious disposition, the good is in a prodigious degree on the side of the former; for, though it now and then produces annoyance and affliction, the latter is an ever gnawing worm that leaves you not a moment's peace and happiness during the whole course of your life. In looking over the list of the faithful and of the perfidious, in whom I have placed confidence, the former is twenty times more numerous than the latter; and, it is very singular, but not more singular than true, that those books and documents, which will now enable me to cover the *Rump* and their associates with confusion, were those rescued from the flames in Long Island, in consequence only of the extraordinary fidelity, zeal, and courage of my *housekeeper*,

to whom, in my absence, my books and papers were entrusted. She rushed into the room, which was in flames, and when no man was bold enough to enter it, and dragged out the trunk to the door, at the manifest risk of her life. I had given her particular charge about the trunk, and in her confusion she had forgotten it until it was nearly too late. Oh! let us not talk, then, about being *sick of the world*, because we new and then meet with ingratitude and perfidy! A thousand of such men as have come forward with my private letters would not weigh a feather in the scale against Mrs. CHURCHER. I have derived more pleasure from the grateful recollection of this one act of her's, than I ever can suffer pain from all the treachery and perfidy that ever has been or ever can be employed against me.

One word as to the trial, merely as a trial. I had not the vanity to suppose that I was ca-

pable of conducting a complicated trial. I am not such a coxcomb as to set myself up as a lawyer, knowing nothing of the profession; and also knowing it to be a profession which requires a life of study. I never was in a Court of Justice above five times in my life; and I trust that it will not be supposed that I went there now for the silly purpose of making a figure. I went because it was necessary that I should go to speak of the *Rump* and their associates in those terms which, perhaps it would not have been proper for a lawyer to speak. I accomplished fully the purpose had in view. I begun well the good work of roasting this *Rump*; and in which work, you may depend on it, I never will cease till I have destroyed its pernicious influence in this great and public-spirited City.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your faithful friend,

WM. COBBETT.

## PROPOSED DINNER.

I insert below the proposition about a dinner. In consequence of letters received from several gentlemen in the country, I have determined to put it off to some little time after New Year's Day, because, I find it would be inconvenient for them to come up to London in the Christmas week. Probably, therefore, it will be in the second or third week in January, due notice will be given of the precise day. Some persons appear to have imagined that I propose a sort of Meeting of *Delegates*. I assure them I mean no such a thing! I mean merely a Meeting of persons to dine together, for the purpose of discussing the propriety of sending forth a declaration of their views and wishes with regard to Reform. The subject has been a good deal *mistified*. I wish to see it shortly treated ~~of~~ in a declaration. And though I, by no means pretend to dictate or prescribe to the country, or to any part of it, I am one man, at least, and have a right to offer my opinions. If numbers join me in those opinions, the joint and deliberate expression of the opinions may do good; and, at any rate, it appears to me impossible that it should do harm.

## TO THE REFORMERS.

COUNTRYMEN AND FRIENDS,

The time seems to be arrived for us to make to the nation an explicit, a solemn, and a formal *Declaration* of our views and intentions. It is impossible for any man in his senses to believe, that the present state of things can last long. Indeed the very supporters of corruption avow, that a *great change* of some description must speedily take place. But, while all agree, that there must be a *change*, very few are found ready to declare what it is that they expect, or, indeed, that they wish.

It is true, that we, the Reformers, have repeatedly expressed, by petitions, and by other means, what are our *wishes*. But, this expression, though sufficiently plain, has been buried under a mass of co-temporary matter, and our views have been disfigured by the misrepresentations of the agents of our malignant and powerful enemies. Besides, the statements in support of our claims, the several writings in which our principles and designs have been sent forth, lie scattered here and there, and are so

where embodied in one single piece of reasonable bulk. Many who are now young men, were boys four years ago, when our struggle first began to assume a really serious aspect. Such of us as have long been engaged in the struggle, are apt to imagine, that, because we clearly understand the nature of the cause, the whole nation must clearly understand it; which, though an error natural enough, is still an error.

For these reasons, and many others that might be stated, it appears to me, that we now ought to send forth a *Declaration* of the description above given; and, if any considerable number of you concur with me in opinion, the following is the means that I shall adopt for effecting that purpose.

Circumstances may arise to prevent what I now intend, but, at present, my intention is to invite all who may choose to join me, to dine at some convenient place in London, on, or some day before, *New Year's Day*.

It is my opinion, that from this meeting, a *Declaration* might, at this time, be sent forth with great advantage to the cause of Par-

liamentary Reform, which, indeed, is the cause of the kingdom. It is now clear to most men, and, I believe, to all men, that to change the Ministry without changing the nature of the Representation in the Commons' House, would produce no possible good. And, yet, is it not indescribable disgrace to this great country that this present Ministry should remain in power! Those, who, from their rank and talent, might be naturally looked towards as the successors of the Ministers, know, and, indeed, acknowledge, that they could not remain in power without the support of the Reformers; and yet, to have that support they affect to fear to adopt the means; they affect to fear, that the adoption of those means would be dangerous to the whole fabric of the government.

This, therefore, is the time for us to appeal to the nation; and to shew, as we easily can, that those fears, real or pretended, are not only wholly groundless, but that to reform the Parliament is the only means of preserving the fabric.

Such is the object which I have in view; and such the mode in which I propose to

effect it. I by no means wish to put myself forward on this or on any occasion; but, when we want a thing done, the example of the American Farmers has taught me that, "come boys!" and not "go boys!" is the word.

If any Gentleman, in country or town, has any improvement to suggest, as to the manner of accomplishing the object, I shall be happy to attend to such suggestions. If the meeting take place, I shall hope to see at it many Gentlemen from the Country. We must all be anxious, that what we do, upon this great occasion, may be able in the manner as well as sound in the matter; and, therefore, it is desirable to draw together a mass of knowledge and talent worthy of the goodness of our cause.

If it were thought desirable to circulate the Declaration widely, a hundred thousand might be distributed for a sum which we could certainly raise for such a purpose. Perhaps,

however, the best way will be to publish it without any subscription, and to sell it very cheap indeed to persons who may be disposed to hand it about amongst their neighbours; especially in the country.

I shall be glad to receive communications upon the subject, by post (No. 269, Strand); but the postage must be paid; or, I shall be, as I already should be, exposed to enormous plunder.

WM. COBBETT.

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# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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TO  
EARL GREY.

## LETTER II.

*On the obstacles to a Change of the Ministry.—On the Speech of the American President.—On the Causes of the present Distress in this Kingdom.—On the means of removing that Distress.*

London, Dec. 19, 1820.

MY LORD,

It is a part of the privileges of the press to avail itself of the use of well-known names in order to give a sort of passport to its productions, and to obtain for them a chance of being received with attention. Availing myself of this privilege, I again address your Lordship upon matters of great importance to the country at this moment; and which matters, if they be not speedily attended to by persons in power, will command attention in a tone and manner not to be resisted. Every one now sees that a great change of some kind must take

place. I have long been endeavouring to shew that the change ought to be made. At first, not a man joined me in opinion; afterwards I was joined by a few; I now hear my opinions echoed from one end of the kingdom to the other; and I see writers and speakers putting forth as their own, and taking great credit to themselves for those very opinions, for having put forth which, they, for years stigmatized me as fool or rebel. Some men pursue one path of gratification, and some another path. Some are delighted with titles and decorations; a greater number make their happiness consist in the accumulation of riches. The path of gratification which I have pursued is that of obtaining the reputation of possessing knowledge, and that species of knowledge especially, which is calculated to enable a man to contribute towards the prosperity, the freedom and the glory of his country. I have never written for temporary purposes. I have never been swayed by a desire to avoid

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popular obloquy. The decision of *to-day*, I have always disregarded; and what I have always desired to have said of me was, "he foresaw these things when nobody else foresaw them; he understood these things when nobody else understood them; the evils, which have now fallen upon his country, would never have taken place if his advice had been followed." I am too well aware of the workings of envy in some, and of false pride in others, to expect ever to see this acknowledgment in print, or to hear it from the lips; but, at the same time, I know that men must say it in their hearts; and even in their reluctance to give utterance to their thoughts, I find additional gratification; while I know, with as much certainty as I know that this is Tuesday, that the wisdom of my principles and proposed measures, of fourteen years ago, must be acknowledged, and that in acts of *Parliament* too, or, that this country must take its chance on the boisterous sea of revolution.

As I had the honour to observe to your Lordship in my first letter, the people can see no use of a change of the Mi-

nistry, ~~not~~ accompanied with a change of the system. Indeed, it is necessary to believe this, in order to take from the opposition a presumption of complete worthlessness of character. For, it is notorious that there is every reason in the world for the removal of the present Ministers, upon the supposition that a mere change of *men* would not be absurd and even mischievous. The feeling with regard to her Majesty, is wholly without a parallel, whether considered as to its ardour or its extent. In 1814, when Napoleon had been subdued, when a twenty-two years war had been brought to what was regarded a most glorious termination; when, though for various reasons, all parties joined in rejoicing, when the government, the aristocracy, the Church; when these took the lead; when the army and even the fleet were called forth to join in the shouts; when nearly three hundred thousand pounds of the public money was expended in triumphal exhibitions and entertainments; even at that time the demonstrations of joy, and the expressions of congratulation were nothing in comparison to what they have been in

consequence of the triumph of her Majesty. At that time the cities and towns inhabited in part, at least, by the opulent, and acting under the urgings of the constituted authorities, displayed signs of joy; but now these signs have shewn themselves in the very villages, and that, too, where the principal person has frequently been no more than a common farmer. So far from waiting to be urged by persons in authority, the people have acted in almost every case contrary to the well known wishes of such persons; and, in numerous instances, in open defiance of them.

Now, my Lord, it is not to be believed that those who have thus rejoiced at her Majesty's triumph, must not hold in reprobation the conduct of the Ministers; and that they must not wish to see those Ministers disgraced by being at any rate deprived of their power. They do not, perhaps, think with a certain Member of Parliament, that the Ministers ought to be *hanged*, or, at any rate, that they ought to be *hanged* while it is improper or unnecessary to *impeach* them; but that the people, who still suspect that the Ministers meditate some-

thing against the Queen, to whose applications those Ministers turn a deaf ear; that the people do and must wish these Ministers to be dismissed, is a thing not to be denied.

What, then, can be the cause of their stubborn silence upon the subject of that dismissal? You have the cause very satisfactorily explained in the petition of Middlesex, and in that of the Common-Hall of London, and also in that of the City of Westminster. "*Give us a Change of the Ministry.*" say the people; but "give us no change that will not *cure to us a reform.*" In the county of Durham, I perceive, nothing was said about a change in the Ministry; and nothing is proposed to be said, I perceive, in the county of Berks. Why is this; because if the proposition to dismiss the Ministers had been made, some one (the meeting being a public one) would have proposed, as was done at *Leeds*, to make Reform a *condition* for the change of Ministry, and would thereby have defeated the purpose of those who had brought forward the proposition for praying for the change, which actually took place in Middlesex, to the utter

confusion of those by whom the meeting had been called.

It is manifest, therefore, my Lord, that the only obstacle to the supplanting of the Ministers by their rivals for power, is, that those rivals will make no pledge to procure for the people a Reform in the Commons' House of Parliament. In my last letter to your Lordship, I thought it unnecessary to go at any length into matter to shew the necessity of this Reform. Neither shall I do this upon this occasion; but I will endeavour to describe, as fully as my space will allow, the present dangers of the country; and if I should succeed in doing justice to that part of my subject, I shall, I think, have little difficulty in convincing you, that these dangers are to be obviated; or, in other and more pointed terms, that a dreadful convulsion is to be prevented solely by that Reform, which would conciliate the people, hush all animosities; make England once more like England, make us all join heart and hand with the King, his Ministers and the Parliament, to rescue our country from peril and degradation, and to make

it once more worthy of its name. (Beg.)

What is the principal cause of that ruin and misery which now pervades the land, and which makes the life of the industrious man hardly worth preserving? What is the principal cause of the discontents which have furnished us with the best possible means of urging on the cause of Reform? This cause is the existence of a paper system, by the means of which the incomes of the land-owners, and earnings of the industrious, are taken from them in proportions so large as to leave to the farmer, the trader, the journeyman, and the labourer, so perfect an inadequacy of means, as to deprive the two former classes of the possibility of making suitable provision for their children; and as to produce, with regard to the two latter classes, that monster in civil society, *starvation in the midst of abundance*.

My lord, is it to be arrogant or presumptuous, to differ in opinion with; or to call in question the wisdom of, those who one year ascribed the distresses of the country to a *super-abundance of food*, and the very next year ascribed it to a *super-abundance of mouths*? Is it to

be presumptuous, my lord, to assert that there must be something *radically wrong* in a system under which good harvests as well as bad harvests are an *affliction* to a nation? Is it to be presumptuous to discard as unworthy of attention the opinions of men, who declared the distress to have arisen from a *sudden transition from war to peace*, and who, at the end of six years of peace, have seen nothing but a constant increase of distress, and have then avowed that they have no remedy to administer, and no remedy even to suggest? Is it to be presumptuous to venture to set forward one's opinions in opposition to those of men, who tax one part of the people to furnish another part with the means of *emigrating*, at the very same time that they pass laws to *prevent the importation of food*, and, of course, the *exportation of manufactures* in exchange?

I think it is not to be presumptuous to do this. I have all along disapproved of the measures which have been adopted with respect to this great matter. In my last letter I took the liberty to call your lordship's attention to what was

passing in the United States of America relative to the subject in question; and I shall, by and bye, have to notice the recent speech of the President, and again to avail myself of it in the way of illustration.

But, in justice to myself as well as in justice to the subject, I must first trace the *cause* from its root to the extremity of the branches. It was in the year 1797 that the first step was taken towards our present state of ruin and misery. It was then that that memorable Order of Council was issued, out of which have grown twelve acts of Parliament, the last of which goes by the name of Mr. Peel's Bill; to which acts we have to ascribe a long train of suffering and a hideous mass of present danger.

The first of these acts suspended cash payments at the Bank; the last of them has enacted, that cash payments shall be resumed; and has provided for the adoption of certain measures preliminary to that resumption. Here is the great cause of the distress; and now, in justice to myself, I will simply set down a very short account of my endeavours to prevent the

existence of this cause of calamity and of danger.

At a very early period after my return to England in 1800, I clearly perceived the dangers of this paper system; and I perceived not less clearly that payments in cash could never be resumed, without a destruction of a great part of the debt, or, without producing, first, general ruin and misery; and last, a convulsive revolution. During the years from 1803 to 1810, it was very seldom that a month passed over my head without an endeavour to inculcate these opinions, for the inculcation of which opinions I was repaid, in speech, in print, and in conversation, by every species of abuse, and in certain other ways, by the severest of persecution and punishment short of absolute killing. If ever man was *martyr* to any thing, I was a martyr to these opinions, which are now put forth as their own by thousands upon thousands of men, who then persecuted me, or who heartily applauded the persecutors.

I now come to the memorable epoch of 1810, when the discussion upon this grand subject, upon the decision as to which I well knew the fate of England

was to turn, assumed a more regular and official form. The party to which your lordship belonged, took the matter up, on the motion of the late *Mr. Horner*, and obtained a committee of enquiry, which committee was called the Bullion Committee, and which Committee reported, that an act ought to be passed *to compel the Bank to resume cash payments at the end of two years from that time.* The Ministerial party contended that the Bank was able at any time to resume cash payments; but that it would be inexpedient that it should do this until peace.

Thus stood, in 1810, the opinions, declarations, and propositions of the two parties in Parliament. Each party had its partizans out of doors. More than two hundred pamphlets were published on the subject; I stood alone, and, in my work written at that time, entitled *Paper against Gold*, I asserted, and I think I proved to demonstration, this position: "that cash payments never could be resumed, without a large reduction of the interest of the debt, or, without the utter ruin of all persons actively engaged in trade of every description, and in agriculture."

In repayment for this new and extraordinary effort of mine, I had to receive a fresh and extraordinary quantity of the foulest abuse that ever was poured forth upon mortal man; but, as I have most satisfactorily experienced, abuse, misrepresentation, calumny, have no effect in enfeebling the body, or in relaxing the efforts of the mind, especially when the latter is supported by a consciousness of its rectitude. I knew I was right: I knew that time was constantly working for me and against my calumniators: in that knowledge I was gay, while I knew that their bosoms were filled with apprehension, or, at least, were the habitations of uncertainty.

Peace came; that long-looked-for peace; that peace which was to remove every obstacle to the resumption of cash payments, and upon the arrival of which, even the law positively said, cash payments were to be resumed! Now was the time when that which one party had proposed to adopt, and which the other party had said would at once take place in peace without any danger; now was that long-looked-for time arrived, and it came too with the unexpected

good luck of the restoration of the Bourbons, and of the chaining of the "arch enemy of our finances" to a rock! Now, then, arrived the time for the cash payments to be resumed, or for me to exult in my triumph, and to repay my calumniators with scorn! Were cash payments resumed, my lord? Oh! no! my prophecy was fulfilled. An act was passed to continue the suspension for a year. When that year expired another act was passed to continue it for another year. When that year was expired, another act was passed to continue cash payments for two years longer! I could hold no longer! Triumph would burst forth, whether I would or not, and out it came in the following words, which I insert here, however, not so much in justice to myself, as in the way of present warning to my country, every man in which country I beseech to pay attention to these words, for I am sure every one of them has full as much interest in the thing as I have myself.

"The Parliament, and, indeed, the country, were, as to this question, divided into two parties: one said, that the Bank would be able to pay in specie in two years:

X Lord Castlereagh's expression in the regard to the imprisonment of Napoleon at St. Helena. — Ed.

" the other said, that the Bank  
 " was *always* able to pay, but  
 " that it would not be *prudent*  
 " to suffer the Bank to pay, till  
 " peace came. I gave it as my  
 " opinion, that peace would not  
 " enable the Bank to pay; or,  
 " at any rate, that her ladyship  
 " would not pay in gold and sil-  
 " ver when peace should come.  
 " Thus far, then, time has  
 " proved me to have been right.  
 " We must now wait for TIME  
 " again; but, happily, we shall  
 " not have to wait *long*. Peace  
 " is now again come; and come  
 " in a way, too, that seems to  
 " defy even chance to interrupt  
 " it's duration. Not only is Na-  
 " poleon down, but he is in our  
 " hands; he is banished to a  
 " rock, of which we have the  
 " sole command and possession;  
 " he is as completely in the  
 " power of our Government as  
 " if they had him in the Tower  
 " of London. Therefore, this  
 " great obstacle to gold and sil-  
 " ver payments is swept away:  
 " The Capets, or the *Bourbons*,  
 " as they call themselves, are  
 " restored. Spain has regained  
 " that beloved Ferdinand, in  
 " whose cause we were so zeal-  
 " ous, and he has restored the  
 " Inquisition and the Jesuits.  
 " The Pope, to the great joy of  
 " loyal protestants, is again in  
 " the chair of Saint Peter; has  
 " again resumed his keys and  
 " his shepherd's crook. In short,  
 " our government, so far from  
 " dreading any enemy, is in  
 " *strict alliance* with every  
 " sovereign in Europe.  
 " Now, then, are come the  
 " halcyon days. Now John Bull  
 " is to sit down in peace under

" his own vine and his own fig-  
 " tree with no one to make him  
 " afraid. Now there will be,  
 " there *can* be, no need of ar-  
 " mies or navies. Now, then,  
 " my good neighbours, we shall,  
 " surely, see gold and silver re-  
 " turn. Which of you will bet  
 " any thing on the affirmative of  
 " this proposition? My opinion  
 " is, that we shall not see it re-  
 " turn; that we shall not see  
 " the Bank pay in gold and sil-  
 " ver; that we shall not hear  
 " the Minister say, that the Old  
 " Lady is ready with her cash.  
 " In short, my opinion is, that  
 " another and another Act of  
 " Parliament will convince even  
 " the most stupid and credulous,  
 " that, as long as the dividends  
 " on the National Debt are paid,  
 " so long will they be paid in  
 " Bank Notes, so long will the  
 " law protecting the Bank  
 " against demands in real money  
 " remain in full force: for, the  
 " man that needs more than two  
 " more Acts of Parliament to  
 " produce this conviction in his  
 " mind, must be an *idiot*.  
 " Let us wait, then, with pa-  
 " tience for two years more;  
 " but, let us keep our eye stea-  
 " dily fixed on the movements  
 " of the Ministry and the Bank.  
 " Let us listen quietly to all  
 " they say, without seeming to  
 " take any notice of what they are  
 " about. If they *do* pay in cash  
 " at the end of two years, and  
 " still continue to pay the divi-  
 " dends, or the interest of the  
 " debt, I will frankly acknow-  
 " ledge, that I ought to pass  
 " for an ignorant pretender all  
 " the remainder of my life. If  
 " they *do not* pay in cash at the

"end of two years more, then, what *they* ought to pass for I shall leave my readers to decide.

"As to giving them a longer, tether, that is wholly out of the question. Twelve years, is the average length, it is said, of the life of man. I have already given them *four*. I will allow them two more; but, as the grey hairs begin to thicken very fast upon my head, as my sons and daughters begin to walk faster than their father and mother, I certainly shall not lengthen the tether; but, at the end of two years from this first day of the month of September, 1815, I shall, if I still hold a pen, and the Old Lady does not pay the dividends in cash, assume it as a notoriously admitted fact, *that she never will and never can.*"

I must confess that I did *revel* a little upon this occasion; but, if I had revelled ten times as much as I did, I should have been fully justified in so doing. I laughed at the confusion of my enemies, of my stupid and base traducers; but I had a right to laugh. It was, after all, but a moderate satisfaction for the sarcasms of the Edinburgh Reviewers and for the revilings of the London press.

Well, my Lord! The two years expired, and this new prophecy was fulfilled. No cash payments came, but another

Act was passed to continue the suspension for another year; however, this Act provided that the Bank *might* resume! Yes, this Act graciously *permitted* the Bank to resume, upon giving due notice of its intention, to the Speaker of the House of Commons. This Act was to expire in July, 1819; but, alas! before that time arrived, another Act was passed continuing the suspension until the first of May, 1823!

Oh, delusion! Was there ever delusion like this since the world begun? Twenty-six years of putting off, and twelve Acts of Parliament appointing the time of resumption! Call the Reformers a set of *deluded* people, indeed! Have their leaders ever been deluded themselves, or have they ever attempted to delude others to an extent like this!

So much for the *past*, my Lord; and now we come to the *present* and the *future*. The last of the twelve Acts was what is called Mr. Peel's Bill; and this Bill, in only four pages, decides the fate of England, if it be persevered in; and it does as much for the public character of its rulers whether it be persevered in or not. This Bill is not like



the former Acts, merely to suspend the payment of cash at the Bank; but it provides for payments in bullion, between the time of passing it, and the first of May, 1823. The substance of the provisions are as follow. From 1st February to 1st October, 1820, the Bank is to pay its notes, in sixty ounce pieces of gold, at eighty-one shillings an ounce. From 1st October, 1820, to 1st of May, 1821, it is to pay in sixty ounce pieces at seventy-nine shillings and sixpence an ounce. From 1st May, 1821, to 1st May, 1823, it is to pay in sixty ounce pieces, at seventy-seven shillings and ten-pence halfpenny an ounce. From the 1st May, 1823, it is to pay in specie as it did in former times!

The moment I saw a newspaper account of this Bill, I said, and I put the saying into print, that if this Bill were carried into complete effect, without a reduction of the interest of the debt, *I would suffer myself to be broiled alive.* I now deliberately repeat the saying. To carry this Bill into effect, is even physically impossible; and yet if a stop be put to its progress, where will then be those two Houses of Parliament who passed it by an *unanimous vote*?

Here is the cause, my Lord. Here is the great cause of the distresses of the country. Here is the cause of the falling off in the means of the land-owner; of the ruin of the farmer and the trader; of the swelling of the poor-rates and the filling of the poor-houses; and of the starvation in the midst of plenty of the journeyman and the labourer. It

is to be observed, however, that the distress begun before the passing of this Bill. It begun the moment that peace was seen to be certain; and it did so begin because the paper money makers knew that they would be called upon, or that they would be liable to be called upon for cash, when the peace arrived. The renewal of the Suspension Act, from time to time, did not give them sufficient confidence to enable them to keep their paper out in the former quantity, and, therefore, the distress begun long before the passing of Mr. Peel's Bill. But this Bill has insured a *regular increase of the distress*, until the month of May, 1823; and when that time arrives, if the Bill be not before repealed, it has insured the blowing up of the system, if not a convulsive revolution. It is not necessary for me to explain to your Lordship the manner in which this Bill operates. Not that I should be afraid of offending you by going in to such matter; because your Lordship would well know that I meant the explanation for others and not for you. It will be sufficient just to state some of the effects of this Bill. Before this Bill arrive at the termination of its provisions, it will cause wheat to sell for four shillings a bushel or less. It will ruin every man who has borrowed money even to the fourth part of the amount of his property. It will ruin every man who trades, to any considerable extent, on borrowed capital. It will ruin every man who has taken a lease of a farm for three

years to come. It will ruin a great many thousands of persons who have annuities, rent charges, ground rents, marriage settlements, and other things to pay. It will disable the government from raising taxes sufficient for more than half the demands upon it. It will totally ruin commerce and manufactures. It will convey three-fourths of the estates of the nobility into the hands of fundholders and stock-jobbers.

Now, my lord, I was very confident in my predictions in 1810 and in 1815. I am not less confident now. But, *I never shall see this Bill carried into full effect.* Oh! no! This is one of the things that a parliament, which has been called omnipotent, cannot do. This is one of the things that it cannot do, though it passed the bill by an unanimous vote. It can do many things that I shall not take the liberty to mention. It can pass a law to prevent the people hearing even my prophecies; but it cannot prevent the prophecies from being fulfilled.

Gagging Bills, and Dungeon Bills, and Banishment Bills, and even Censorship Bills, it can cause to be carried into effect; but to cause to be carried into effect Mr. Poel's Bill, is beyond the stretch of its power. Before I come to speak of the difficulties which this Bill presents to a change of the Ministry, give me leave, my lord, to draw your attention for a few minutes to the American President's speech, which has just been received and pub-

lished in this country. In my last letter to your lordship, I took occasion to assure you, that, what was called *distress* in that country was by no means removed, nor, upon the point of removal; and that I imagined that loans in time of peace would, in that country, as well as in this, be resorted to.

In another part of this number, your lordship will find the whole of the President's speech, or message. You will find that the American debt amounts to about a *hundred millions of dollars*, which requires about *six millions of dollars* to pay the interest of it. You will find, that last year, they made a loan of *three millions of dollars*; and that the whole of the income (including the three millions borrowed) was *sixteen millions seven hundred thousand dollars*, while the expenditure was *sixteen millions eight hundred thousand dollars*. Here is a deficiency of more than *three millions of dollars* upon an expenditure of *sixteen millions*. How different is this state of things from that of 1817! In that year, there was a large surplus, and the President then announced his intention to recommend to the Congress to shew its generosity towards the old men who had served in the war of the revolution.

Having thus stated the simple facts, let me now beseech your lordship's attention for a moment to the manner in which the President endeavours to plaister them over; and I think

\* President James Monroe. We do not insert the whole message, but there is an

you will find, that, when republican rulers do take the trowel in hand, they can plaiser as well as the rest of us. The passage which I am about to quote, is rather long; but, if the instruction it gives do not compensate for its length, a man must have very little laughter in him that does not find his trouble of reading repaid by the diversion he will receive.

*(malk)*  
 "In communicating to you a just view of public affairs, at the commencement of your present labours, I do it with great satisfaction; because, taking all circumstances into consideration which claim attention, I see much cause to rejoice in the felicity of our situation. In making this remark, I do not wish to be understood to imply, that an unvaried prosperity is to be seen in every interest of this great community. In the progress of a nation inhabiting a territory of such vast extent, and great variety of climate, every portion of which is engaged in foreign commerce, and liable to be affected, in some degree, by the changes which occur in the condition and regulations of foreign countries, it would be strange, if the produce of our soil, and the industry and enterprise of our fellow citizens, received, at all times, and in every quarter, an uniform and equal encouragement. This would be more than we have a right to expect, under circumstances the most favourable. Pres-  
 "sures on certain interests, it is

"admitted, have been felt; but, allowing to these their greatest extent, they detract but little from the force of the remark already made. In forming a just estimate of our present situation, it is proper to look at the whole; in the outline, as well as in the detail, a free, virtuous, and enlightened people know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends; and even those who suffer most, occasionally, in their transitory concerns, find great relief under their sufferings from the blessings which they otherwise enjoy, and in the consoling and animating hope which they administer. From whence do these pressures come? Not from a Government which is founded by, administered for, and supported by the people. We trace them to the peculiar character of the epoch in which we live, and to the extraordinary occurrences which have signalized it. The convulsions with which several of the Powers of Europe have been shaken, and the long and destructive war in which all were engaged, with their sudden transition to a state of peace, presenting, in the first instance, unusual encouragement to our commerce, and withdrawing it in the second, even within its wonted limit, could not fail to be sensibly felt here. The station, too, which we had to support through this long conflict, compelled, as we were finally, to become a party to

"it with a principal Power,  
 "and to make great exertions,  
 "stiffer heavy losses, and to  
 "contract considerable debts,  
 "distributing the ordinary  
 "course of affairs, by augment-  
 "ing, to a vast amount, the cir-  
 "culating medium, and thereby  
 "elevating, at one time, the  
 "price of every article above a  
 "just standard, and depressing  
 "it at another below it, had  
 "likewise its due effect.

"It is manifest, that the pres-  
 "sures of which we complain  
 "have proceeded, in a great  
 "measure, from these causes.  
 "When, then, we take into  
 "view the prosperous and  
 "happy condition of our coun-  
 "try, in all the great circum-  
 "stances which constitute the  
 "felicity of a nation—every in-  
 "dividual in the full enjoyment  
 "of all his rights—the union  
 "blessed with plenty, and ra-  
 "pidly rising to greatness,  
 "under a national government,  
 "which operates with com-  
 "plete effect in every part,  
 "without being felt in any, ex-  
 "cept by the ample protection  
 "which it affords, and under  
 "state governments which per-  
 "form their equal share, ac-  
 "cording to a wise distribution  
 "of power between them, in  
 "promoting the public happi-  
 "ness—it is impossible to be-  
 "hold so gratifying, so glorious  
 "a spectacle, without being  
 "penetrated with the most pro-  
 "found and grateful acknow-  
 "ledgements to the Supreme  
 "Author of all good for such  
 "manifold and inestimable bles-  
 "sings. Deeply impressed with  
 "these sentiments, I cannot re-

"gard the pressures to which I  
 "have adverted otherwise than  
 "in the light of mild and in-  
 "structive admonitions; warn-  
 "ing us of dangers to be shun-  
 "ned in future; teaching us  
 "lessons of economy, corres-  
 "ponding with the simplicity  
 "and purity of our Institutions,  
 "and best adapted to their stip-  
 "port; evincing the connec-  
 "tion and dependence which  
 "the various parts of our happy  
 "union have on each other,  
 "thereby augmenting daily our  
 "social incorporation, and ad-  
 "ding, by its strong ties, new  
 "strength and vigour to the po-  
 "litical; opening a wider range  
 "and with new encouragement  
 "to the industry and enterprise  
 "of our fellow-citizens at home  
 "and abroad; and more es-  
 "pecially by the multiplied  
 "proofs which it has accumulat-  
 "ed, of the great perfection of  
 "our most excellent system of  
 "government, the powerful in-  
 "strument, in the hands of an  
 "all-merciful Creator, in secur-  
 "ing to us these blessings."

You see, my lord, that though  
 the President is aware that he is  
 about to announce the existence  
 of distress, he begins by saying  
 that he has much cause to re-  
 joice in the felicity of the nation,  
 which is so much like something  
 that I have frequently read in  
 our king's speeches, that I really  
 thought at first that I was get-  
 ting amongst the documents of  
 St. Stephen's. However, he  
 gets on; and out it comes that  
 pressures have been felt. I did  
 not know before that pressure  
 had a plural. Let that pass,  
 however, and now we come,

after some high compliments to the people, to the ticklish point, namely, "from whence do these pressures come?" Aye! Aye! I say; whence do they come?— And now hear him, my lord; you will certainly think it is Lord Liverpool, that is speaking.—"Not from the government,"

oh! no, no, no! Not from the government, to be sure!—"Not from the government, which is founded by, administered for, and supported by the people."

Come, come, Mr. President! This is being "a little tricky,"

as they call it in your country. This is shocking logic. It

amounts to the full of our doctrine, that the King can do no

wrong, and it goes a great deal further, too, for it does not leave

the people even a nominal responsibility in any set of persons

whatever. But, let us hear now, whence the "pressures"

have come: "we trace them to the peculiar character of the

epoch in which we live, and to the extraordinary occurrences

which have signalised it. The convulsions with which several of the powers of Europe

have been shaken, and the long and destructive war, in

which all were engaged, with their sudden transition to a

state of peace." Who would not imagine that it was Lord

Castlereagh himself that was speaking? Here is all the old

empty stuff, that has long been worn out here, gathered carefully

up to deck out a presidential speech on the other side of

the Atlantic. By and bye, however, Mr. Monroe comes to some-

thing like common sense, and

speaks of the vast increase of the circulating medium that took place at one time, and of its great subsequent diminution.

This is sense; and why could it not have been uttered clearly and simply, and not be attempted to be buried in a heap of nonsense.

The last part of the above quoted passage is one of the

most complete instances that ever came under my view of

the art of bewildering. The solemn acknowledgments to God

do very little credit to the President's taste; while the whole

piece presents a confusion of ideas, a defiance of logic and of

grammar, such as I find it impossible to pass over unnoticed,

though I have very great respect for the character of Mr.

Monroe.

The truth is, that he is a very honest man; much too honest

ever to have approved of a funding system; but that he is

fairly entangled in it; and that, meaning to be President a second

time, he dares not speak of it in the terms which it merits,

for, if he were to do this, that caucus, on whom his re-election

depends, would take care that he should never fill the President's

chair again.

It is from the government, then, that the "pressures" have

come; and it was the government that, by establishing the

National Bank in 1816, entailed the curse of paper money upon

America. At the conclusion of the war, the whole might have

been swept away. That was not only my advice, but the advice

of many most enlightened

men in that country. Instead of getting rid of the plague at once, it was rendered permanent by the establishment of that Bank; and in spite of the President's flowery picture, my opinion is, that that very paper money will finally produce a dissolution of the union. The American farmers will not, I am convinced, suffer themselves to be robbed in order to fill the pockets of stock jobbers. The interest of the debt has hitherto been paid out of the proceeds of the Custom House. The taxes so raised fall indirectly in part upon the farmers; but if they attempt to go to the Homesteads of the farmers to get the money to pay the interest of that debt, away goes in one instant all security for the existence of the general government. Indeed, the thing will never be attempted. It is unjust in itself, and it will have to meet with an opposition, of which no one not well acquainted with American farmers can have the smallest idea. ✕

But, my Lord, the interesting point for us is the proof that we here have of the fatal effects of *paying in gold what was borrowed in paper*, even in a country like America. They do there actually pay in specie now. There are no internal taxes worth notice. All the taxes of a considerable farm, including poor-rates, road-rates, and school-rates, amount, in a whole year, to not more than seven or eight days wages of a common labourer; and yet, in a country thus situated, with a superabundance of land; with a degree of

ease and comfort amongst the common people unknown in any other country; with an orderly, peaceable, sensible population: with all these advantages, and with only a debt of about twenty-eight millions sterling, the change from paper to gold has produced what the President calls "pressures." Yet, this unjust, this unnatural, this really wicked compulsion to pay in gold what was borrowed in paper, has produced pressures even in America; and, if the loaning system be persevered in, instead of resorting to a reduction of the debt, and especially if an attempt be made to make the American farmers pay the interest of that debt, my opinion is, that this accursed system will produce a dissolution of the union. †

However, there is another view to take of this matter, and a view which, to us, is of very great importance. Your Lordship has doubtless attended to the curious notion of the promoters of Mr. Peel's Bill, *that commerce would revive*, and that the revival of commerce would be one of the means of enabling the Bank to pay in specie without injury to the country. A notion may be so completely absurd, as to set all commentary at defiance. And this is precisely one of that sort. But, though we cannot comment upon the thing, we sometimes find the means of shewing the contrary of its assertion by facts which transpire: Now, my Lord, please to observe, that, a few years ago the revenue of the American Custom-

\* The struggle here anticipated is actually going on at this time (Mar 1837). — Ed.

house amounted to nearly a third more than it does now; and I believe that more than five-sixths of it arose out of imports from England, Ireland and Scotland. The cause of the diminution has been the diminution of the imports; and that has arisen principally from the rising of the value of money in England; or, in other words, from the increasing inability in English merchants to give credit to merchants in America; which inability in English merchants has principally arisen from the drawing in of the paper of the Bank of England, which paper was drawn in preparatory to the return to cash payments! And, therefore, this Bill of Mr. Peel, which was to be rendered harmless partly by the revival of commerce, contained within itself the efficient means of preventing that revival!

So happy are we, my Lord, in heads to guide us in the conducting of our affairs; and so true it is, that it is sheer power, and not wisdom, by which, in general, mankind are governed! Loan-jobbers and stock-jobbers, and brokers in silver and in gold are very clever in managing their affairs, and in the making of money; but of all the scourges that God, in his wrath, ever permitted to be laid upon the back of a nation; the severest, the most odious and most degrading, is, the suffering of its affairs to be placed, even in the smallest degree, in the hands of persons of this description. Princes and Nobles may be blunder-headed; may com-

mit hundreds of follies; but the effects of these are open, visible, they strike all eyes, they give offence, the errors are corrected, and the nation is to rights again; but the minings, the sappings, the under-minings of the muck-worm are carried on unseen and unapprehended, till all is hollow, all is false, all is treacherous to the feet: the hour of destruction suddenly comes, and learning, wisdom, patriotism, loyalty and valour are all unavailing.

If I have succeeded in convincing your Lordship that the attempts to return to cash payments have been the cause of the ruin and misery; and that those attempts, if they be persevered in, must increase that ruin and misery, you will agree with me, of course, in opinion, that one of two things must be adopted: the repeal of Mr. Peel's Bill; or, a reduction of *the interest of the debt.* End

Now, then, which of these shall be adopted? Shall it be the former? What tongue or pen can describe the shame, the disgrace, attendant on such repeal! Talk of mortification, indeed, in restoring her Majesty's name to the Liturgy; talk of mortification at placing that illustrious and gallant lady in a palace! Talk of humiliation in bending to the Radicals! What is any one, or what are all of these compared with the repeal of this Bill? This Bill was preceded by voluminous reports of Committees of the two Houses: to those reports were subjoined a detail of the evidence of all the most ex-

perienced merchants, money-dealers, bankers and political economists, several of whom were also Members of the Parliament. The Bill underwent the fullest discussion in both Houses, where it received improvements and additions; and where it finally passed by an unanimous vote of the whole legislature; and was sent forth as a thing to set the question at rest, to tranquillise the minds of the people, and to give to foreign nations an assurance of England's return to cash payments. It was to put an end to all fluctuations in prices, to all uncertainty in pecuniary transactions, to all danger in the making of contracts for the future. When the Regent came to prorogue the Parliament, the Speaker addressed him upon the subject of this great work of the session, of which work he spoke in terms of lofty eulogium, and tendered the Bill to the Prince as a signal proof of the wisdom, the foresight, and the providential care of his Parliament!

Why, my Lord, to repeal this Bill would be an act to make every Member of the Parliament ashamed to show his face. It is impossible to conceive how the Members could sit and look at one another during the progress of such repeal; and especially when they reflected that they had recently passed a law for the banishing of any one doing any thing tending to bring either House of Parliament into contempt. But, shame and disgrace would be very far indeed from being the most serious part of the

consequences that would attend the repeal of this Bill. The repeal would cause money to fall in value and prices to rise. The injury which would hence arise to those who had recently lent money or let lands, or contracted to receive annuities, is manifest enough. It would lower the value also of every debt due to tradesmen, manufacturers and merchants. It would rob, for one year, all yearly servants of a considerable portion of their wages. Your Lordship will bear in mind that the merchants of this country are great creditors to foreigners, who probably owe them, upon an average, forty or fifty millions of money. Let this Bill be repealed, and they will receive about three-fourths of what is now due to them. All these, however, though they are evils, and though the catalogue of them might be greatly augmented, are nothing at all when compared to this; *that the repeal of this Bill would be an open declaration of national bankruptcy, and a sentence passed upon us of perpetual paper-money.*—Away would go not only the hopes but the possibility of a return to cash-payments. Every creature would perceive the rottenness of the system. No man would put by a bank note even for a month. The Bank would not dare to offer bullion at almost any price. A fondness for real money, and an eagerness to get at it, would instantly seize upon every mind; *two prices* would be the not distant consequence; and the moment they became only a little in vogue,



the whole fabric would crumble into dust. In the meanwhile, no foreign effort could this nation make; against no power, however puny; and however outrageously insolent or unjust, would it dare to raise its arm. It would be stricken with feebleness in every limb and in every muscle; and while it was despised abroad, it would contain within itself all the elements of strife, confusion and violent revolution.

This measure, therefore, though I really think it will be adopted, in one shape or another, is *certain destruction*. The other measure, *that of reducing the interest of the debt*, is one of greater difficulty in the adoption; but, it would in the end be efficient, and productive of the best possible consequences. Yet, when men talk of reducing the interest of the debt, few of them, it appears to me, consider sufficiently all the effects of such a measure, and all the minor provisions with which it must be accompanied. To speak of these in the manner in which it would become me to speak of them, if I professed to be promulgating a plan, would require more time and space than I have now to spare. It is sufficient for

the present to observe, that, to adopt this measure without a *Reform of the Parliament*, would be utterly impossible.

The number of persons, whose interests would be deeply affected by such a measure; the agitation which the bringing forward of such a subject would occasion, would call forth so much feeling, would occasion such a stir, would excite so much passion, that confusion must instantly succeed, unless the measure were adopted with the sanction of men sent into the Parliament by the great masses of the people. The measure is absolutely necessary. This nation cannot be saved from revolution without it; but never can it be adopted unless the great and active masses of the people be previously conciliated and tranquillised. This is a measure where particular interests must give way to the general good and security. There will, in fact, be two great bodies contending one against the other. If the people join with the one, all will be safe, all will be right. If they join with the other, combustion and revolution are the consequences; and join with that other they will, unless they be first repre-

sented in Parliament to their satisfaction.

Any Ministry who will adopt this measure, accompanied with a Reform of the Parliament, will have the cordial support of the whole nation, an insignificant few only excepted. For my own part I should like to see it done by the present as well as any other Ministers; and, indeed, I should prefer it; and for this reason, that the change would be more marked as a change of *measures*, and would take away the confusion that would arise from a change of men. I allow that it is an undertaking of immense difficulty. I have never represented it as an easy matter. I spent nearly a whole year in Long Island, putting together my thoughts upon the subject—When I came to place them upon paper, I found the difficulties much greater and more numerous than I had anticipated. Yet I arrived at the conclusion that the measure, all precautions being duly taken, was perfectly practicable and destitute of every tinge of injustice or harshness. That I might not have to accuse myself of reproaching others with not doing that which I myself with all my lei-

sure was unable to discover the means of doing, I wrote down in the shape of a single Bill, the means of quietly effecting a *Reform*, of securing the people's concurrence in a reduction of the debt, and of restoring tranquillity and prosperity to the country. I had no other object, in endeavouring to obtain a seat in Parliament, than that of *laying this Bill before the country*. I failed in that endeavour, and, therefore, I have been unable to do that which it was my intention to do; and for not doing which I certainly have no blame to take to myself. Had that measure been proposed, I verily believe that the people of this country would now have seen their way through the dismal gloom in which they are enveloped. I have done my duty: If my country owes nothing to me, I, at any rate, owe it nothing. The people have from me all that I am able to perform "*out of doors*." Within doors they have others to serve them; to give them the use of their industry, their zeal, their knowledge and their talents. There they have . . . . . not Moses and the Prophets, indeed, . . . . . but, they have Peter Moore and Edward El-

lies! They have *Pascoe Grenfell*, *John Maberly*, *Alexander Baring*, and *David Ricardo*! When zeal and courage, united with disinterestedness and fidelity, are required, they have, for the "well-foughten field," Messrs. *Brougham* and *Denman*, to "keep together in their chivalry;" and, in cases of extraordinary emergency and peril, they have the *Westminster Don* (with true and trusty *Sancho* at his heels); spoll-bound at present, indeed, by the potent Magicians in big wigs and ermined robes, but, always, at other times, ready to receive the homage due to "England's Glory!" With these to watch over their interests, to devise means for their relief, to carry those means into execution and to provide for their prosperity and their honour, how can the people of England imagine that they have any want to lament? The wonder is, my lord, that fitted out with such guardians and such guides, the people should ever have experienced injury in any degree, or have wandered one single step from the path of political felicity.

It is curious enough to observe, that I, who have been obliged to bear a very large

portion of the charge of revolutionary designs, should have been constantly labouring to produce that which is absolutely necessary to prevent revolution. I have no particular interest to prevent the overthrow of the Nobles and the confiscation of their estates; and yet I have been constantly labouring to prevent that overthrow and that confiscation; and they have all the while been treating me as an enemy while they have hugged to their bosoms the audacious stock-jobbers, who have, at last, actually proposed to divide their lands; and, indeed, as I have clearly shown, to take the whole of their lands away. Most other men in my place, situated as I am, treated as I have been, seeing approaching that which I see approaching, would say not a word about the matter, deal like others in unmeaning generalities; let the storm come on, and be ready for a share in the scramble, being, as I am, quite as well qualified for taking part in a scramble as the rest of my neighbours. But, I do not wish to see a scramble.

I wish to see my country preserved, to be great, happy, and secure. I have, besides, the natural desire to see my opinions

prevail and my doctrines adopted. The remedies, I have long recommended. I have often said, that to *my shop* the Ministers, be they who they may, must come; or the thing must go on to revolution. The fulfilment of this saying, I must naturally wish for; I do wish for it; and if there be any sin in the wish, let it rest upon my head.

Provided that the proper measures be adopted, what is it to me who are the men? I have often been stricken with wonder, that the Ministers themselves should wait for others to propose to adopt the remedy; seeing that they themselves at all times possess the power of adoption. They are fallen now into very deep disgrace with the country at large; but all they want to retrieve themselves in an instant is, to retrace their steps with regard to her Majesty the Queen, and to use the language of conciliation towards the people. In general, it is a sound maxim, that power is to be preserved by the use and exertion of itself; but, conjunctures arise when this maxim becomes inapplicable; and the present is a conjuncture of that kind. This is a time of great

distress amongst the people; a time of great difficulty to the government. The load which power has to bear is greater than it can bear; and carry on, at the same time, a conflict with public opinion. Common prudence, therefore, calls upon the Ministers to give way. And what dishonour would there be in giving way? Can ten or twelve men be dishonoured in yielding to a whole nation? Can a king be dishonoured in yielding to the prayers of his people; and especially at a time, when that people, after more than twenty years of the most generous sacrifices, are plunged into a state of the deepest distress?

Who can behold, without feeling shame for his country, the contest, the strife, the conflict, the war of addresses that is now carrying on in this kingdom! On the one side we see, generally speaking, persons in authority, and; lamentable to relate, the Clergy in particular; and, on the other side, we see the great mass of the people! Here is a division enough to terrify rulers of the stoutest nerves; and yet not one step is taken to put an end to this unnatural, this ill-boding

strife, which proclaims to the world that the precept, "to honour and obey the king, and all that are put in authority under him;" that this precept, so necessary to the preservation of peace and harmony in the community, and heretofore so cheerfully obeyed in England, is, at last, and almost by sheer force, to be erased from the minds of the people. Yet, again I say, my lord, how is harmony to be restored by a mere change of men at the head of the government? The cause of her Majesty was well calculated to excite great feeling; but that feeling would have been of short duration had it not found constant food in the numerous other grounds of discontent. This is so manifest that no one can deny it. It is proclaimed by the friends of the Ministers, and it is acknowledged by ourselves. - This clearly shows that a mere change of men is not what is wanted. And it admonishes every man who may aspire to the Ministry, that the possession of power is impossible to be contrasted with the Reform of the Parliaments, with one which Reform is for: peace upon the head of the times; gives

it as my decided opinion, that England never can again enjoy one day of tranquillity.

I cannot conclude this letter without frankly stating to your Lordship, that viewing the two parties in Parliament in their relative industry and talent, and even in their relative integrity as public men, I can see nothing to make me wish for a change of mere men. If I see no great mass of talent on the side of the Ministers, I look in vain for it on your side, if I except your Lordship, and not more than two other persons. As to general views upon the great subject which has occupied the chief part of this letter, I find no difference in the two parties, if I except yourself and my Lord King. As to the eagerness for power and emolument, and disregard of the complaints of the people, can I wish to change, can I wish to displace any set of men, who are likely to be supplanted, in part, at least, by Mr. Brougham, Sir James Macintosh, Mr. Searlett, and Mr. Abercrombie? If I see scammers on the ministerial side; if that terrify me, in them, what am I to hope for in a change such as that which alone presents itself to me? Oh, no! I

have no hope but in a change of the *system*, and if the *system* be to go on, in God's name, let it come to its natural termination without the tormenting scarifications of a batch of Edinburgh Reviewers!

I remain,

Your Lordship's most obedient,

And most humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

P.S. The *going-out* of Mr. Canning may have in view nothing more than a repetition of the trick that he played off in 1814! He was not in, when he played that trick.

### "PLACARD CONSPIRACY."

I did not much like the idea of prosecutions upon this subject at the first; and certainly my liking has not been increased by the progress of the affair. I am ready to do justice to the motives of the gentlemen with whom the inquiry originated; but I not only do not approve of, but am decidedly hostile to, the prosecution of a man for high treason, for being the author of a placard! This is a most dangerous precedent; and if printers and publishers will swear in the manner that I have heard

some of them swear, it is very hard to say what man's life is safe; what man may not have his head cut off, and his carcass cut into quarters! You have only to be in the habit of having things printed by a man, or published by a man, who has motives sufficient to induce him to swear away your life. Let but this precedent be established, and who will dare not to trust his manuscript in the hands of a printer, but who will dare even to enter a printing office?

But, if a bill be found against Franklin, or Fletcher, or whatever be his name; if a bill for high treason be found against him, is the printer to escape? I have always understood, that, in the crime of high treason, accessories were principals. And, pray, was not the printer an accessory? Aye, and the compositor and the pressman, too! Here is a pretty scene opening to our view! Here is a something which the Government and the Attorney-General never appear to have thought of. If it be proper to charge this offence of Franklin as high treason, mild, indeed, have been the proceedings of the Government! I have read what is

called the "*Treasonable Placard*." It was inflammatory, to be sure; but if it were *high treason*, there is not a week passes over our heads the publications of which would not bring some man to the block. The offender is, it appears, gone away; and, therefore, his *life* may not be in danger; but, the *precedent* will be the same; and if, unfortunately, a *conviction* should take place, writers against the Government may begin to look sharply about them; and, at any rate, this prosecution, by popular subscription, will have made a most terrible scourge to be shook over their backs.

There is another singularity in this strange series of proceedings. There is something about a *conspiracy* in the printing and publishing of these Placards. The charge of *libel* has generally been thought to be sufficiently *comprehensive*. We have long been complaining, and justly complaining, of the monstrous extension and capacity of its jaws; but the ingenuity of our *friends* has now discovered a mode of giving a stretch even to those jaws. *Composing, printing and publishing; and causing to be*

*printed and published*: these have hitherto been thought sufficient to do the business; but, good God! what is to protect us, if *conspiring* to do, or to cause any of these to be done, is to become a crime, and a crime, too, *obscure*, which may be punished even by *banishment*!

When people are striking at their enemies, they should take care that the blow does not recoil upon themselves. Unquestionably all this has been *well meant*; but I am satisfied that it is one of the most dangerous steps that ever was taken. If the conviction take place upon the charge of high treason, a charge preferred by the *friends of Reform*, and the expences borne by public subscription, who in future shall dare to complain of any degree of severity that may be exercised by the Government against the press?

Of the Placards I said; and I say still, that, as far as I have read of them, I have no fault to find. They were calculated to do no good to the Ministry, certainly; but it is not for me to quarrel with them for that! They were inflammatory, and is it for me to dislike them on that

account? Some of them were calculated to throw imputations on the gentlemen of the *Queen's Plate Committee*; but could not those gentlemen have followed the example of her Majesty herself? Could they not have imitated her magnanimity? Could they not endure in silence a thousandth part as much as she suffered to pass without a word of complaint? They did not, I think, sufficiently reflect on the *possible consequences*. I hope they will reflect before it be too late.

However, I seriously object to the prosecution of Franklin for High Treason. It appears to me a most monstrous stretch of the law; and I do most earnestly hope that a judge and jury will be found to prevent the horrible precedent from being established. It is a point of importance, too, to ascertain what part the *printer* is to act here! This is a matter of very serious weight. Here is a great question of morality as well as of law; a question of good faith, a question of fidelity, a question of private confidence; and if all these are to be set at nought for the sake of arriving at a suspicion (for it seems to amount to no more) of Franklin having

been set on, or employed by persons in high public authority; if all these sacred obligations are to be set at nought for the obtaining of this object, I must confess that I shall think the object much too dearly purchased.

I have made these remarks for the purpose of putting all gentlemen connected with the *Press* upon their guard, and awakening in their minds, before it be too late, a due sense of the dangers to which we are all likely to be exposed by this strange, this wild, and I must say, unnatural proceeding. Again, I give full credit to the motives of the gentlemen, with whom these proceedings originated; but again, I beseech them to consider whether they will persevere until they have established precedents calculated to render insecure the life of every man that shall venture to trust himself in the hands of a printer.

Whenever these trials come on it will be necessary for us to pay particular attention to the *witnesses* and the *nature of the evidence*. Franklin has, it seems, *absconded*. Greater care, therefore, is necessary in endeavouring to ascertain the truth of



the charges against him. Above all things I hope that no eagerness to give a blow to persons in authority will make the prosecutors overlook the mischief they may do to others. Let them bear in mind the homely old proverb: "*sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander.*"

### TO TRUNK MAKERS.

A GREAT BARGAIN!!!

"Published this day, Remarks  
"on *Lord John Russell's Bill*  
"for the Disfranchisement of  
"the Borough of Grampound.  
"By a Member of the last Par-  
"liament, price 2s. ; and *Lord*  
"*John Russell's Letter to Mr.*  
"*Wilberforce*, and a Petition to  
"the King; with a Preface,  
"price 1s. 6d. Printed for J.  
"Ridgway, Piccadilly."

Extract from *M. Chronicle*, 10th Dec.  
1820.

### A PEEP AT THE PEERS.

A new and complete edition of the above work is now published, containing more than a hundred corrections, printed in a new form, the form and size of the *Political Register*, and is sold at the same price, by W. BENBOW, 269, Strand.

### COBBETT'S GRAMMAR.

Just Published, Price 2s. 6d.  
The fourth edition, carefully corrected, and dedicated to her Majesty, the Queen, of this work,

which, as its title expresses, is intended for the use of schools and of young persons in general, and more especially for the use of *Soldiers, Sailors, Apprentices* and *Plough-Boys*.

Sold by W. BENBOW, 269, Strand.

### PROPOSED DINNER.

I insert below the proposition about a dinner. In consequence of letters received from several gentlemen in the country, I have determined to put it off to some little time after New Year's Day, because I find it would be inconvenient for them to come up to London in the Christmas week. Probably, therefore, it will be in the second or third week in January, due notice will be given of the precise day. Some persons appear to have imagined that I propose a sort of Meeting of *Delegates*. I assure them I mean no such thing! I mean merely a Meeting of persons to dine together, for the purpose of discussing the propriety of their views and wishes with regard to Reform. The subject has been a good deal *mistified*. I wish to see it shortly treated of in a declaration. And though I by no means pretend to dictate or prescribe to the country, or to any part of it, I am one man, at least, and have a right to offer my opinion. If numbers join me in those opinions, the joint and deliberate expression of the opinions may do good; and, at any rate, it appears to me impossible that it should do harm.

## TO THE REFORMERS.

## COUNTRYMEN AND FRIENDS,

The time seems to be arrived for *us* to make to the nation an explicit, a solemn, and a formal *Declaration* of our views and intentions. It is impossible for any man in his senses to believe, that the present state of things can last long. Indeed the very supporters of corruption avow, that a *great change* of some description must speedily take place. But, while all agree, that there must be a *change*, very few are found ready to declare what it is that they expect, or indeed, that they wish.

It is true, that *we*, the Reformers, have repeatedly expressed by petitions, and by other means, what are our *wishes*. But, this expression, though sufficiently plain, has been buried under a mass of co-temporary matter, and our views have been disfigured by the misrepresentations of the agents of our malignant and powerful enemies. Besides, the statements in support of our claims, the several writings in which our principles and designs have been sent forth, lie scattered here and there, and are nowhere embodied in one single piece of reasonable bulk. Many who are now *young men*, were *boys* four years ago when our struggle first began to assume a really serious aspect. Such of us as have long been engaged in the struggle, are apt to imagine, that, because we clearly understand the nature of the cause, the whole nation must

clearly understand it; which, though an error natural enough, is still an error.

For these reasons, and many others that might be stated, it appears to me, that we now ought to send forth a *Declaration* of the description above given; and, if any considerable number of you concur with me in opinion, the following is the means that I shall adopt for effecting that purpose.

Circumstances may arise to prevent what I now intend; but, at present, my intention is to invite all who may choose to join me, to *dine* at some convenient place in London, on, or some day before *New Year's Day*.

It is my opinion, that from this meeting, a *Declaration* might at *this time*, be sent forth with great advantage to the cause of *Parliamentary Reform*, which, indeed, is the *cause of the kingdom*. It is now clear to most men, and, I believe, to *all men*, that to change the Ministry without changing the nature of the Representation in the Commons' House, would produce no *possible good*. And, yet, is it not indescribable disgrace to this great country that this present Ministry should remain in power? Those, who, from their rank and talent, might be naturally looked towards as the successors of the Ministers, know, and, indeed, *acknowledge*, that they could not *remain* in power without the support of the *Reformers*; and yet, to have that support they affect to *fear* to adopt the means; they

affect to fear, that the adoption of those means would be *dangerous to the whole fabrick of the government.*

This, therefore, is the time for us to *appeal to the nation*; and to shew, as we easily can, that those *fears*, real or pretended, are not only wholly groundless, but that to reform the Parliament is the only means of preserving the fabrick.

Such is the object which I have in view; and such the mode in which I propose to effect it. I by no means wish to put *myself forward* on this or on any occasion; but, when we *went a thing done*, the example of the American Farmers has taught me that, "*come boys!*" and not "*go boys!*" is the word.

If any Gentleman, in country or town, has any improvement to suggest, as to the manner of accomplishing the object, I shall be happy to attend to such suggestions. If the meeting take place, I shall hope to see at it many Gentlemen from the Country. We must all be anxious, that what we do, upon this great occasion, may be able in the manner as well as sound in the matter; and, therefore, it is desirable to draw together a mass of knowledge and talent worthy of the goodness of our cause.

If it were thought desirable to *circulate the Declaration widely*, a *hundred thousand* might be distributed for a sum which we could certainly raise for such a purpose. Perhaps, however, the best way will be to publish it without any sub-

scription, and to sell it *very cheap* indeed to persons who may be disposed to hand it about amongst their neighbours, especially in the country.

I shall be glad to receive communications upon the subject, *by post* (No. 269, Strand); but the *postage must be paid*; or, I shall be, as I already should be, exposed to enormous plunder.

WM. COBBETT.

#### TO THE PEOPLE OF BOTLEY.

Though the *Parson* took away the keys of the Church to prevent you from ringing in honour of the *Queen's triumph*, you are, I understand, to have a *Christmas Gambol* on account of a *lady*. Whether you will be allowed to *ring the bells*, upon that occasion, I know not. It will, doubtless, be a subject of great rejoicing; and, if the *Papa* accept of my offer, I shall certainly be down to *stand god-father*. I have already got a *whistle* and a *rattle* for the *baby*, as I dare say it will be very fond of *clack* and *clatter*. I shall send those play-things to be deposited with the *Churchwardens*, who, considering all the circumstances, will, doubtless, think themselves honoured in the charge. I hope that there will be a *grand brewing of candle* for all the gossips in the village, and I will subscribe ten shillings towards it. More particulars in my next.

# AMERICAN PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

Washington, Nov. 14, 1820.

[We cannot insert this document without observing, that it is the *very worst* piece of writing that, in the shape of a public-paper, ever met our sight.]

*Fellow Citizens of the Senate, and of the House of Representatives!*

In communicating to you a just view of public affairs, at the commencement of your present labours, I do it with great satisfaction; because, taking all circumstances into consideration which claim attention, I see much cause to rejoice in the felicity of our situation. In making this remark, I do not wish to be understood to imply, that an unvaried prosperity is to be seen in every interest of this great community. In the progress of a nation inhabiting a territory of such vast extent, and great variety of climate, every portion of which is engaged in foreign commerce, and liable to be affected, in some degree, by the changes which occur in the condition and regulations of foreign countries, it would be strange, if the produce of our soil, and the industry and enterprise of our fellow citizens, received, at all times, and in every quarter, an uniform and equal encouragement. This would be more than we have a right to expect, under circumstances the most favourable. *Pressures on certain interests, it is admitted, have been felt; but, allowing to these their greatest extent, they detract but little from the force of the remark already made. In*

forming a just estimate of our present situation, it is proper to look at the whole; in the outline, as well as in the detail, a free, virtuous, and enlightened people know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends; and even those who suffer most, occasionally, in their transitory concerns, find great relief under their sufferings from the blessings which they otherwise enjoy, and in the consoling and animating hope which they administer. From whence do these pressures come? *Not from a Government which is founded by, administered for, and supported by the people. We trace them to the peculiar character of the epoch in which we live, and to the extraordinary occurrences which have signalized it. The convulsions with which several of the Powers of Europe have been shaken, and the long and destructive war in which all were engaged, with their sudden transition to a state of peace, presenting, in the first instance, unusual encouragement to our commerce, and withdrawing it in the second, even within its wonted limit, could not fail to be sensibly felt here. The station, too, which we had to support through this long conflict, compelled, as we were, finally, to become a party to it, with a principal Power, and to make great exertions, suffer heavy losses, and to contract considerable debts, disturbing the ordinary course of affairs, by augmenting to a vast amount, the circulating medium, and thereby elevating, at one time,*

*the price of every article above a just standard, and depressing it at another below it, had likewise its due effect.*

It is manifest, that the *pressures* of which we complain have proceeded, in a great measure, from these causes. When, then, we take into view the prosperous and happy condition of our country, in all the great circumstances which constitute the felicity of a nation—every individual in the full enjoyment of all his rights—the Union blessed with plenty, and rapidly rising to greatness, under a national government, which operates with complete effect in every part, without being felt in any, except by the ample protection which it affords, and under state governments which perform their equal share, according to a wise distribution of power between them, in promoting the public happiness—it is impossible to behold so gratifying, so glorious a spectacle, without being penetrated with the most profound and grateful acknowledgments to *the Supreme Author of all good* for such manifold and inestimable blessings. Deeply impressed with these sentiments, I cannot regard the pressures to which I have adverted otherwise than in the light of *mild and instructive admonitions*; warning us of dangers to be shunned in future; teaching us *lessons of economy*, corresponding with the simplicity and purity of our Institutions, and best adapted to their support; evincing the connection and dependence which the various

parts of our happy Union have on each other, thereby augmenting daily our social incorporation, and adding, by its strong ties, new strength and vigour to the political; opening a wider range, and with new encouragement to the industry and enterprise of our fellow-citizens at home and abroad; and more especially by the multiplied proofs which it has accumulated of the great perfection of our most excellent system of government, the powerful instrument, *in the hands of an all-merciful Creator*, in securing to us these blessings.

Happy as our situation is, it does not exempt us from solicitude and care for the future. On the contrary, as the blessings which we enjoy are great, proportionably great should be our vigilance, zeal, and activity to preserve them. Foreign wars may again expose us to new wrongs, which would impose on us new duties, for which we ought to be prepared. The state of Europe is unsettled, and how long peace may be preserved is altogether uncertain; in addition to which, we have interests of our own to adjust, which will require particular attention. A correct view of our relations with each Power will enable you to form a just idea of existing difficulties, and of the measures of precaution best adapted to them.

Respecting our relations with Spain, nothing explicit can now be communicated. On the adjournment of Congress in May last, the Minister Plenipotentiary

of the United States at Madrid was instructed to inform the Government of Spain, that if his Catholic Majesty should then ratify the Treaty, this Government would accept the ratification, so far as to submit to the decision of the Senate the question whether such ratification should be received in exchange for that of the United States heretofore given. By letters from the Minister of the United States to the Secretary of State, it appears that a communication, in conformity with his instructions, had been made to the Government of Spain, and that the Cortes had the subject under consideration. The result of the deliberations of that body, which is daily expected, will be made known to Congress as soon as it is received. The friendly sentiment which was expressed on the part of the United States, in the Message of the 9th of May last, is still entertained for Spain. Among the causes of regret, however, which are inseparable from the delay attending this transaction, it is proper to state, that satisfactory information has been received that measures have been recently adopted by designing persons to convert certain parts of the province of East Florida into depots for the reception of foreign goods, from whence to smuggle them into the United States. By opening a port within the limits of Florida, immediately on our boundary, where there was no settlement, the object could not be misunderstood. An early accommodation of differences will, it is hoped, prevent all such

fraudulent and pernicious practices, and place the relations of the two countries on a very amicable and permanent basis.

The commercial relations between the United States and the British colonies in the West Indies, and on this Continent, have undergone no change; the British Government still preferring to leave that commerce under the restriction heretofore imposed on it, on each side. It is satisfactory to recollect, that the restraints resorted to by the United States were defensive only, intended to prevent a monopoly under the British regulations, in favour of Great Britain; as it likewise is, to know that the experiment is advancing in a spirit of amity between the parties. The question depending between the United States and Great Britain, respecting the construction of the first Article of the Treaty of Ghent, has been referred, by both Governments, to the decision of the Emperor of Russia, who has accepted the umpirage. An attempt has been made with the Government of France, to regulate, by Treaty, the commerce between the two countries, on the principle of reciprocity and equality. By the last communication from the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at Paris, to whom full power had been given, we learn that the negotiation had been commenced there, but serious difficulties having occurred, the French Government had resolved to transfer it to the United States, for which purpose the Minister Plenipotentiary of France had been ordered to re-

pair, to this city, and whose arrival might soon be expected. It is hoped that this important interest may be arranged on just conditions, and in a manner equally satisfactory to both parties. It is submitted to Congress to decide, until such arrangement is made, how far it may be proper, on the principle of the Act of the last Session, which augmented the tonnage duty on French vessels, to adopt other measures for carrying more completely into effect the policy of that Act.

The Act referred to, which imposed new tonnage on French vessels, having been in force from and after the 1st day of July, it has happened that several vessels of that nation which had been dispatched from France before its existence was known, have entered the ports of the United States, and been subject to its operation, without the previous notice which the general spirit of our laws gives to individuals in similar cases. The object of that law having been merely to countervail the inequalities which existed to the disadvantage of the United States in their commercial intercourse with France, it is submitted also to the consideration of Congress, whether, in the spirit of amity and conciliation which it is no less the inclination than the policy of the United States to preserve in their intercourse with other powers, it may not be proper to extend relief to the individuals interested in those cases, by exempting from the operation of the law all those vessels which have entered our ports without

having had the means of previously knowing the existence of the additional duty.

The contest between Spain and the Colonies, according to the most authentic information, is maintained by the latter with improved success. The unfortunate divisions which were known to exist some time since at Buenos Ayres, it is understood, still prevail. In no part of South America has Spain made any impression on the Colonies, while, in many parts, particularly in Venezuela and New Granada, the Colonies have gained strength and acquired reputation, both for the management of the war, in which they have been successful, and for the order of the internal administration. The late change in the Government of Spain, by the re-establishment of the Constitution of 1812, is an event which promises to be favourable to the Revolution.—Under the authority of the Cortes, the Congress of Angostura was invited to open a negotiation for the settlement of differences between the parties, to which it was replied, that they would willingly open the negotiation, provided the acknowledgment of their independence was made its basis, but not otherwise. Of further proceedings between them we are uninformed.

No facts are known to this Government to warrant the belief that any of the powers of Europe will take part in the contest; whence it may be inferred, considering all circumstances which must have weight

in producing the result, that an adjustment will finally take place, on the basis proposed by the Colonies. To promote that result, by friendly counsels, with other powers, including Spain herself, has been the uniform policy of this Government. In looking to the interior concerns of our country, you will, I am persuaded, derive much satisfaction from a view of the several objects to which, in the discharge of your official duties, your attention will be drawn. Among these, none holds a more important place than the Public Revenue, from the direct operation of the power by which it is raised on the people, and by its influence in giving effect to every other power of the Government. The Revenue depends on the resources of the country, and the facility by which the amount required is raised, is a strong proof of the extent of the resources, and of the efficiency of the Government. A few prominent facts will place this great interest in a just light before you.

On the 30th of Sept. 1815, the funded and floating debt of the United States was estimated at 119,635,568 dollars. If to this sum be added the amount of 5 per cent. stock subscribed to the Bank of the United States, the amount of Mississippi Stock, and of the Stock which was issued subsequently to that date, the balances ascertained to be due to certain States, for military services, and to individuals for supplies furnished, and services rendered, during the late war, the public debt may be estimated as amounting,

at that date, and as afterwards liquidated, to one hundred and fifty-eight, millions seven hundred and thirteen thousand forty-nine dollars. On the 30th of September, 1820, it amounted to ninety-one millions nine hundred and ninety-three thousand eight hundred and eighty-three dollars having been reduced in that interval, by payments, sixty-six millions eight hundred and seventy-nine thousand one hundred and sixty-five dollars. During this term, the expenses of the Government of the United States were likewise defrayed, in every branch of the civil, military, and naval establishments; the public edifices in this city, have been rebuilt, with considerable additions; extensive fortifications have been commenced, and are in a train of execution; permanent arsenals and magazines have been erected in various parts of the union; our navy has been considerably augmented, and the ordnance, munitions of war, and stores, of the army and navy, which were much exhausted during the war, have been replenished.

By the discharge of so large a proportion of the public debt, and the execution of such extensive and important operations in so short a time, a just estimate may be formed of the great extent of our national resources. The demonstration is the more complete and gratifying, when it is recollected that the direct tax and excise were repealed soon after the termination of the late war, and that the revenue applied to



these purposes has been derived almost wholly from other sources.

The receipts in the Treasury from every source, to the 30th of September last, have amounted to sixteen millions seven hundred and ninety-four thousand one hundred and seven dollars and sixty-six cents; whilst the public expenditure, to the same period, amounted to sixteen millions eight hundred and seventy-one thousand five hundred and thirty-four dollars and seventy-two cents, leaving in the Treasury on that day a sum estimated at one million nine hundred and fifty thousand dollars. For the probable receipts of the following year I refer you to the statement which will be transmitted from the Treasury.

The sum of three millions of dollars, authorized to be raised by loan, by an act of the last Session of Congress, has been obtained upon terms advantageous to the Government, indicating not only an increased confidence to the faith of the nation, but the existence of a large amount of capital, seeking that mode of investment, at a rate of interest not exceeding five per centum per annum.

It is proper to add, that there is now due to the Treasury, for the sale of public lands, twenty-two millions nine hundred and ninety-six thousand five hundred and forty-five dollars. In bringing this subject to view, I consider it my duty to submit to Congress, whether it may not be advisable to extend to

the purchasers of these lands, in consideration of the unfavourable change which has occurred since the sales, a reasonable indulgence. It is known that the purchases were made when the price of every article had risen to its greatest height, and that the instalments are becoming due at a period of great depression. It is presumed that some plan may be devised, by the wisdom of Congress, compatible with the public interest, which would afford great relief to these purchasers.

Considerable progress has been made, during the present season, in examining the coast and its various bays, and other inlets; in the collection of materials, and in the construction of fortifications for the defence of the Union, at several of the positions at which it has been decided to erect such works. At Mobile Point and Dauphin Island, and at the Ripleys, leading to Lake Pontchartrain, materials to a considerable amount have been collected, and all the necessary preparations made for the commencement of the works. At Old Point Comfort at the mouth of James' River, and at the Riprap, on the opposite shore, in the Chesapeake Bay, materials to a vast amount have been collected; and at the Old Point some progress has been made in the construction of the fortification, which is on a very extensive scale. The work at Fort Washington, on this river, will be completed early in the next spring; and that on the Pea-patch in the Delaware, in

the course of the next season. Fort Diamond at the Narrows, in the harbour of New York, will be finished this year. The works at Boston, New York, Baltimore, Norfolk, Charleston, and Niagara, have been in part repaired; and the coast of North Carolina, extending south to Cape Fear, has been examined, as have likewise other parts of the coast eastward of Boston. Great exertions have been made to push forward these works with the utmost dispatch possible; but when their extent is considered, with the important purposes for which they are intended, the defence of the whole coast—and, in consequence, of the whole interior—and that they are to last for ages, it will be manifest that a well-digested plan, founded on military principles, connecting the whole together, combining security with economy, could not be prepared without repeated examinations of the most exposed and difficult parts, and that it would also take considerable time to collect the materials at the several points where they would be required. From all the light that has been shed on this subject, I am satisfied that every favourable anticipation which has been formed of this great undertaking, will be verified; and that, when completed, it will afford very great, if not complete, protection to our Atlantic frontier, in the event of another war:—a protection sufficient to counterbalance, in a single campaign, with an enemy powerful at sea, the expense of all these works, without taking

into the estimate the saving of the lives of so many of our citizens, the protection of our towns and other property, or the tendency of such works to prevent war.

Our military positions have been maintained at Belle Point, on the Arkansas, at Council Bluff, on the Missouri, at St. Peter's, on the Mississippi, and at Green Bay, on the Upper Lakes. Commodious barracks have already been erected at most of these posts, with such works as were necessary for their defence. Progress has also been made in opening communications between them, and in raising supplies at each for the support of the troops, by their own labour, particularly those most remote.

With the Indians peace has been preserved; and a progress made in carrying into effect the act of Congress, making an appropriation for their civilization, with the prospect of favourable results. As connected equally with both these objects, our trade with those tribes is thought to merit the attention of Congress. In their original state, game is their sustenance, and war their occupation; and, if they find no employment from civilized powers, they destroy each other. Left to themselves, their extermination is inevitable. By a judicious regulation of our trade with them, we supply their wants, administer to their comforts, and gradually, as the game retires, draw them to us. By maintaining posts far in the interior, we acquire a more thorough and direct control over

them; without which it is confidently believed that a complete change in their manners can never be accomplished. By such posts, aided by a proper regulation of our trade with them, and a judicious civil administration over them, to be provided for by law, we shall, it is presumed, be enabled not only to protect our own settlements from their savage incursions, and preserve peace among the several tribes, but accomplish also the great purpose of their civilization.

Considerable progress has also been made in the construction of our ships of war, some of which have been launched in the course of the present year.

Our peace with the powers on the coast of Barbary has been preserved, but we owe it

altogether to the presence of our squadron in the Mediterranean. It has been found equally necessary to employ some of our vessels, for the protection of our commerce, in the Indian Sea, the Pacific, and along the Atlantic coast. The interests which we have depending in those quarters, which have been much improved of late, are of great extent, and of high importance to the nation, as well as to the parties concerned, and would undoubtedly suffer, if such protection was not extended to them. In execution of the law of the last Session, for the suppression of the Slave Trade, some of our public ships have also been employed on the coast of Africa, where several captures have already been made of vessels engaged in that disgraceful traffic.

JAMES MONROE.

Printed and Published by W. BARNOW, 269, Strand;

Price Sixpence Halfpenny in the Country.

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 37.—No. 24.] LONDON, SATURDAY, Dec. 30, 1820. [Price, 6d.

## TO THE REFORMERS.

*On the WHIG-MANIFESTO, just issued from their Headquarters at Edinburgh; and on the precautions which ought to be taken by us in order to defeat the objects of that faction.*

London, Dec. 30, 1820.

### BROTHER REFORMERS,

The Whigs have issued their Manifesto. A Manifesto is a paper, or writing, containing an exposition of the designs of any one person, or of any body of persons, relating to any matter with regard to which he or they are about to act. Of this nature is the paper which I am now about to lay before you, and upon which I shall afterwards make some comments. Let me first observe, however, that the words *Whig* and *Tory* are now made use of merely as a cheat. They are in no wise applicable to the present times and circumstances, any more than the words frost and snow would be applicable under the

scorching sun of Demarara. Those were called Tories who remained attached to the House of Stuart; and those were called Whigs who were opposed to the restoration of that House. The things exist no more, to which those words were applicable; and, therefore, they are now the mere watch-words of faction, made use of to mystify the minds of the people; to amuse them with sounds; to draw them off from taking a true view of their situation and their interests; and, in short, still to coax them along in the road of ruin.

No man now calls himself a Tory. There is no such thing as Toryism; but, since there are men to call themselves Whigs, we, in order to save time in describing, are compelled to call them what they call themselves. This being the case, let us, then, inquire a little, what the Whigs, those who had some claim to the title, did for this nation in their time: they made the Bank of England; they created the national debt; they

passed the riot act; they (having been elected for *three* years) passed an act to enable themselves to sit for *seven*; they passed an act to deprive the people of triennial parliaments; and they *established a system of Excise!* If these be blessings, then let the name of Whig be pronounced with blessings upon it. But, if these be the greatest curses with which England was ever affected; if these have been the great cause of all the evils which we now have to deplore: then let us not, at any rate, look upon a thing to be good merely because it is proposed to us by persons calling themselves Whigs. If we look back into the records of grasping, who shall we find equal to the Whigs? At, and soon after, the glorious Revolution, the Whigs divided amongst them no very inconsiderable part of the lands of the whole kingdom. In the reign of Queen Anne, a Bill was brought in to take these lands away again. Most lustily did the Whigs clamour against this Bill. It finally was not passed, and the Whigs kept the enormous grants that they had obtained.

There is nothing, therefore, to my ears, at least, so very

sweet in the sound of the word WHIG. And, if I look at the Whigs of the present day, what do I find to make me in love with the name? Are there no Borough-mongers amongst the Whigs? Or, are there any so great in that way as men who call themselves Whigs? While, therefore, we make use of the word Whigs, let us not forget that it is a mere name of a faction; and that there is nothing belonging to it, which entitles it to the love or respect or confidence of the people. Bearing this in our mind, we shall come upon plain ground, and with a clear conscience, to a combat with a Whig Manifesto.

With respect to this Manifesto, also, a few words, in the way of preface, are necessary. It has been issued in the shape of an *address and petition to the King*. Edinburgh, the place where it was issued, is the station of a set of men, who are the authors of what is called the Edinburgh Review, the whole of whom, or nearly the whole, are lawyers at the Scotch Bar; and Mr. BROUGHAM, the late Mr. HORNER (who was a member of the House of Commons), and some others in England, belong and did belong to

the same body. Upon the present occasion, a Mr. MONCREIFF, a lawyer, was the chairman, the thing was moved by Mr. JEFFREY, and seconded by Mr. HORNER, both of them of the same body. Now observe, this band of men have been constantly writing and publishing on the side of the Whigs, ever since the year 1803. When the Whigs came into place in 1806, they brought in Messrs. BROUGHAM and HORNER; that is to say, they brought them into Parliament, and Mr. HORNER they put into place. If the Whigs had remained in power, the whole of the band would have been quartered upon us; and this was amongst the reasons for my doing my best to get the Whigs out of power. At the very time, when PERCEVAL, making use of the then Princess of Wales, worked out the Whigs, I was in daily expectation of seeing a BERWICK smack come to London laden with Statesmen from the office of the Edinburgh Review; and, all that we have felt is mercy compared to what we should have felt, if that smack had arrived safe, and seen its cargo deposited in the buildings at Whitehall. Now, by pulling out the windows and

unroofing the buildings, the tenants of those buildings may possibly be removed; but, if the Edinburgh cargo had once got possession, nothing short of a second deluge, or a general conflagration, could have ousted them from their abodes.

This is, too, an extremely ignorant set of men. How clever they may be in what is called *classical* literature; in chemistry, or in other matters, of which I know nothing, I cannot tell, but, as far as their writings have related to political institutions, and to questions of national economy, though their pens have been continually in movement, in no one single instance have I observed them to be right. Any one that has the time, may look back to their Review of the latter part of 1815, and the early part of 1816, for instances of the most profound ignorance that ever disgraced the human mind.—They have, in short, all along, been preaching upon paper precisely that which Mr. HORNER, Mr. BROUGHAM, Mr. TIERNEY, Lord GRENVILLE, and others of the Whigs, have been preaching in speech. Mr. PERL's Bill, which is now drawing the blood out of the fingers' ends of the

people, was much more the work of these men than it was of the Ministry; and as to the subject of Reform of the Parliament, this whole band have always been amongst its most determined and most spiteful enemies; and for this simple reason, that they have always been in hopes of getting into power through the means of Whig Borough-mongers; while they well knew that a real Reform of the Parliament would leave them little chance of gratifying their ambition.

Their present manifesto came forth, it seems, from a room. They did not dare to meet the people in the open air. If they had met the people fairly, they could not have carried this manifesto even in Edinburgh. It is the manifesto, therefore, of this faction. The people have nothing to do with it; in this light the King will doubtless consider it; and will, accordingly, treat it with contempt; but it becomes us to examine it rather minutely; to enquire into the truth or falsehood of its statements: to see whether the offences imputed to the Ministers have not been amply participated in by the patrons of this manifesto. To compare

the principles and conduct of these latter with the principles and conduct of the Ministers whom they wish to remove: and to settle in our minds the point, whether evil instead of good, would not be likely to arise to us from his Majesty's listening to this prayer which has been sent him from Edinburgh. You will please to bear in mind, that it is of the greatest importance to the cause of Reform, that Reformers should not be drawn in to take part in the struggles of one faction against another, when that struggle is merely for power and emolument. These gentlemen reviewers profess to be actuated by no views of self-interest, in calling for the dismissal of the Ministers; but it is for us to be very cautious how we believe them in such a case as this; and to abstain from every thing which shall give them the smallest degree of encouragement in their enterprises, until we arrive at a conviction that those enterprises tend to the producing of a Reform. *This is the point.* Their silence upon this subject amounts to a declaration of hostility. It is a matter upon which men cannot be silent if

they mean well; but, as you will presently see, this manifesto is worse than silent; for that, it almost openly countenances the accusations which have been preferred against us by the Ministers themselves. With these preliminary remarks, we may now proceed to a regular examination of this document, the paragraphs of which I have numbered, for the sake of rendering repetition less necessary, and for securing facility in the work of reference.

" TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

" The humble Address and Petition of the undersigned Inhabitants of Edinburgh.

" MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

1. " We, your Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects, the undersigned Inhabitants of Edinburgh, convened by public advertisement, beg leave to approach your Majesty's Throne with the assurances of our sincere and unalterable attachment to your Majesty's person and government, and to the principles of that happy Constitution which placed your illustrious family on the Throne of these realms; and also to express our determination to repel and resist, to the utmost of our power, any attempt that may be made to invade that Constitution, or

" to impair, in any degree, the respect that is due to all and each of its branches.

2. " Under the influence of these sentiments, and considering the circumstances in which this country is now placed, we feel it to be our indispensable duty, most respectfully to represent to your Majesty, that it is our firm conviction and belief, that your Majesty's present Ministers have entirely lost the confidence of the great body of your people, and by a series of injudicious and reprehensible measures have deservedly become the objects of such general distrust and aversion, as to be no longer capable of conducting the affairs of the nation with safety or advantage.

3. " That they have, for many years, persisted in a course of most improvident and wasteful expense, and, in times of unexampled distress, have obstinately rejected every proposition for effective retrenchment, or economy.

4. " That they have, in like manner, pursued an ignorant and illiberal system of policy, as to the laws and regulations of trade, by which the national distresses have been aggravated, or the means of relieving them withheld, or intercepted.

5. " That, at the close of a war, the professed object of which was to vindicate and restore the independence of the European community, and which had been brought to a



“successful termination chiefly  
 “by the distinguished valour  
 “of our *free British sol-*  
 “*diers*, they lent themselves  
 “to a policy inconsistent with  
 “the best principles of national  
 “liberty, and so conducted  
 “themselves towards various  
 “independent States, as not  
 “only to tarnish the honour of  
 “the nation in the eyes of the  
 “world, but to bring such sus-  
 “picion on our good faith as  
 “must be productive of great  
 “practical embarrassments in  
 “our foreign relations, both  
 “political and commercial.

6. “That they have mani-  
 “fested, at all times, an un-  
 “constitutional and distempered  
 “aversion to all popular rights  
 “and privileges, and have, on  
 “many occasions, *imposed un-*  
 “*necessary restrictions on their*  
 “*exercise and enjoyment.*

7. “That, in order to effect  
 “this object, and to maintain,  
 “if possible, their own power  
 “and influence in the country,  
 “they have ascribed the dis-  
 “contents, which arose chiefly  
 “from their own misgovern-  
 “ment, to a prevalence of a  
 “spirit of disloyalty and dis-  
 “affection which has had no  
 “natural or extensive existence  
 “among the people.

8. “That they have struck  
 “an alarming blow at the mo-  
 “rals of the people, and have  
 “invaded the private security  
 “of every class of your Majes-  
 “ty’s subjects, by employing,  
 “encouraging, and protecting  
 “an *unprecedented number of*  
 “*spies and informers*, who are  
 “proved, in many cases, to  
 “have been themselves the in-

“stigators of those disorders  
 “for which others have been  
 “exposed to prosecution and  
 “punishment.

9. “That, in pursuance of  
 “the same objects, they have  
 “taken advantage of the *peace-*  
 “*ful and loyal dispositions*  
 “which prevail generally in  
 “this country, to persuade  
 “many well-meaning persons  
 “of the truth of their *calum-*  
 “*nious misrepresentations*, and  
 “have thus excited among them  
 “grievous and groundless  
 “alarms, while, at the same  
 “time, the severe measures and  
 “reproachful language, which  
 “were consequently adopted,  
 “have occasioned much fear  
 “and irritation among those  
 “who were the objects of their  
 “calumnies, and disposed the  
 “less instructed among them  
 “to listen more readily to the  
 “seductions of *THE FEW*  
 “wicked and designing per-  
 “sons who were hostile to our  
 “free Constitution, or who  
 “expected to make profit of a  
 “season of tumult and dis-  
 “order.

10. “That, with a view to  
 “deter persons of rank and con-  
 “dition from concurring in the  
 “reasonable complaints of the  
 “people, they have advised  
 “the adoption of the most  
 “harsh and insulting measures  
 “towards *individuals of the*  
 “*highest station*, the most  
 “unquestioned loyalty, and the  
 “most approved public ser-  
 “vices, whose presence at pub-  
 “lic meetings was at once the  
 “surest pledge of the mode-  
 “ration of the measures to be  
 “adopted, and the best means

" of repressing any tendency  
 " to excess or intemperance that  
 " might otherwise have been  
 " apprehended.

11. " That, by these and  
 " other means, *they have dis-*  
 " *fused a spirit of discord*  
 " through the body of our po-  
 " pulation, and ultimately pro-  
 " duced a most alarming *dis-*  
 " *union between those classes*  
 " of the community, without  
 " whose cordial co-operation  
 " there can no longer be peace  
 " and prosperity for the country.

12. " That, by the late pro-  
 " ceedings against her Majesty  
 " the Queen, of which they  
 " have been the avowed and  
 " responsible advisers, they  
 " have not only manifested  
 " such an utter disregard for  
 " the sense and wishes of the  
 " nation, the dignity of the  
 " Crown, the honour and inter-  
 " rests of the House of Bruns-  
 " wick, and the peace and  
 " safety of the country, as to  
 " have subjected them to *ge-*  
 " *neral contempt and repro-*  
 " *bation*, but have, at the same  
 " time, displayed such a signal  
 " incapacity and indecision, as  
 " must be alone sufficient to  
 " demonstrate their *unfitness*  
 " *for administering the affairs*  
 " *of a distressed and divided*  
 " *people.*

13. " That they have finally  
 " advised the Prorogation of  
 " Parliament at a period when  
 " the agitated state of the pub-  
 " lic mind, the recent issue of  
 " the extraordinary discussions  
 " above alluded to, and the un-  
 " usual pressure of business oc-  
 " casioned by the long depend-  
 " ence of these discussions, re-

" quired, more than at any other  
 " time, the vigilant and unre-  
 " mitted attention of the Great  
 " Council of the Nation.

14. " We consider it, there-  
 " fore, to be a duty irresistibly  
 " imposed upon us, in this con-  
 " juncture of affairs, most hum-  
 " bly, but most earnestly, to en-  
 " treat of your Majesty, that  
 " your Majesty may be gra-  
 " ciously pleased *forthwith* to  
 " remove from your Majesty's  
 " Presence and Councils those  
 " individuals by whose sugges-  
 " tions your Majesty, and the  
 " great body of your Majesty's  
 " subjects, have been involved  
 " in so many calamities.—And  
 " your Petitioners will ever  
 " pray, &c."

Taking these paragraphs in  
 the order in which they lie be-  
 fore us, and beginning with the  
 first, I am almost tempted to  
 say that these Lord Chief Jus-  
 tices in the Court of Criticism  
 are not less incapable, as writers,  
 than they are feeble, confused,  
 and ignorant as politicians. By  
 casting your eye over this para-  
 graph, you will perceive that  
 the words, "*the assurances,*"  
 taken together with the rest of  
 the sentence, amount to some-  
 thing very little short of non-  
 sense; and you will be very  
 much puzzled, I believe, to  
 make out the sense of the  
 words, "*also to express,*"  
 which you will find in the se-

cond member of this sentence. It may be a very "happy constitution;" but how do these gentlemen make it out, that the King's family was "*placed*" on the Throne by this Constitution? Surely the Constitution had some existence before the House of Brunswick came to the Throne! Or, if it had not, we have no Constitution other than that which puts down one family and rises up another. So much for the nonsense and absurdity of this first paragraph; and I do not very clearly see the fitness of expressing, upon this occasion, so strong a determination "*to repel and resist*" attempts to invade the Constitution, or "*to impair, in any degree, the respect due to all and each of its branches.*" To resist, is to *stand up against an attack*: to repel, is to drive the assailant back. The resistance comes first, and is followed by the repulsion: therefore, these critics should have said to resist and repel, and not to repel and resist. But, I am not, as I said before, aware of the propriety of expressing, upon such an occasion, such a determination; seeing, that the main purport of the Petition was something very much like, an attempt

to impair the respect due to the King himself; and because no persons were pointed out as being engaged in making the attempts which the Petitioners express their determination most manfully to repel.

In the *second paragraph*, we find that the Petitioners have not only a firm conviction of a certain thing, but, *also*, a firm belief. Writers less privileged than Edinburgh Reviewers, would have transposed these two substantives; seeing, that belief awaits for proof to make it amount to conviction; and, that, therefore, conviction is, belief confirmed by proof. However, were I to stop to quarrel with a want of grammar, or a want of logic, I should waste a great deal more time than I have to throw away. Let us come, therefore, to the substance. The King is told, in this second paragraph, that his Ministers have entirely *lost the confidence of the great body of the people*. How do these Edinburgh Reviewers know this? How have they arrived at the conviction or belief of it? What reason have they to suppose it, even? Whence have they derived their knowledge, through what channel has it

reached them? Have they seen any official communication to this effect? If they have, why do they talk of belief and conviction? Why not refer to the document at once? They go further than this, however: they assert that "*the Ministers have become objects of general distrust and aversion*," and are no longer capable of conducting the affairs of the country with "*safety or advantage*." These two last are very strange words to be put together in this way. But where have the gentlemen found any thing to justify these assertions? Now, mark me well, my friends, in the 13th paragraph these same Petitioners call the Parliament "*the Great Council of the Nation*;" and they find fault of it's being prorogued, because it's vigilance was so necessary under the present circumstances. Well! Now then, gentlemen Reviewers and Petitioners, have you learnt from this great Council of the Nation; have you learnt from this enlightened and vigilant assembly, that this assembly has withdrawn it's confidence from the Ministers, and that it beholds them with distrust and aversion? No: you know well that "the Great

Council of the Nation" still give their confidence to the Ministers; you know well, that, in that Great Council, they have a decided majority; and, while you assert that the Ministers have lost the confidence of the great body of the people, you see the Ministers supported by a great majority of the Parliament; and yet you affect to lament, and you actually complain, that this very Parliament has been prorogued! Such is the inconsistency, and such must ever be the inconsistency of selfishness and insincerity.

The *third paragraph* accuses the Ministers of *profuse expenditure*, and of having obstinately rejected every proposition for effective retrenchment or economy. These two last words have long been placed in the slang-dictionary. As used by the opposition, they mean nothing. But, to come to the point, will these gentlemen tell me of any proposition for *effective* retrenchment that has ever been made to the Ministers by the Whig party? I remember, indeed, a motion of Lord MILTON for docking Mr. CROAKER in the amount of 300 pounds a-year. I remember a motion for getting rid of the salary of the

third Secretary of State, whose office and functions are almost as necessary as those of the Lord Chancellor, or one of the Judges. But I remember no motion of Lord Milton for putting a stop to the payment of 2,500 pounds a-year to the Executors of BUNKS; and I remember that the very first Bill (or at least, the second) which the Whig Ministry passed, was to enable Lord Grenville to hold his sinecure of 4,000 pounds a-year as Auditor of the Exchequer, and to hold the place of first Lord of the Treasury, at the same time; those offices being, until then, legally incompatible, in the same person! But, I remember still more (and the pension list will tell the story), that the Whigs granted several pensions to *foreigners*, and I know that these were granted in direct, flagrant, daring violation of the law; and of that very law, too, which really did place his Majesty's family upon the Throne. And yet, oh! shocking inconsistency, these very persons, who complain of the wasteful expenditure of the present Ministers, profess to call this violated law, that Constitution, the invaders of which they express their determination to resist and

repel! However, to pass over particular instances of wastefulness, let me again ask these gentlemen what man amongst all the high and mighty Whigs ever tendered to the Ministers a proposition for *effective* retrenchment. At no time have they proposed to lessen the interest of that Debt, which interest forms more than three-fifths of the expenditure. At no time have they proposed to take from all the other branches put together, more than one million of money. I shall suppose, however, that their loose talk, taken for propositions, might embrace the sum of five millions. Would this afford relief? Would even this do any thing towards relieving the nation? It is notorious that it would not. It is notorious that such a reduction could be attended with very little benefit, while loans are annually contracted to double the amount. It is, therefore, not true that propositions for effective retrenchment have been made to the Ministers, and, of course, it cannot be true that they have resisted such propositions.

The *fourth paragraph* is in such loose and general terms as to elude every thing narrower

than mere conjecture. From the words which close it, we may presume, however, that it would, if it had *dared*, speak of the Corn Bill. It was not bold enough to do this in plain words; for it is notorious that the *Corn Bill was a measure of the Whigs*; that the Ministers resisted it and repelled it during one Session of Parliament; and that they were compelled to yield to it during the next Session! This *fourth paragraph*, therefore, is the offspring of a sad want of memory, joined to that sickly taste, which induces men to seek, in the number, that which they cannot find in the strength of their items of accusation.

The *fifth paragraph* is worthy of remark only for the very silly phrase of "*free British soldiery*," and for the flagrant falsehood, that the *independence* of Europe was restored *at all*; and especially that it was restored "*chiefly by that soldiery*;" when it is notorious, as an historical fact; and when the dismal truth is written in our ruin and starvation, that it was brought about "*chiefly*," or, at least, that France was subdued chiefly; that the Bourbons, the Pope, and the Inquisition were restored, chiefly, not by British

soldiery, but by British money; by that system of paper coin; that system of anticipation; that system of entailment of ruin, beggary, and feebleness, the effects of which system we now so sorely feel; and which system, let it never be forgotten, was upheld and carried on by "that Great Council of the Nation," to call for a Reform in which, is to merit, from these Reviewers, the appellations of *designing* and *wickedness*. The rest of this *fifth paragraph* is mere loose accusation, conveyed in equivocal expressions; and its amount is neither more nor less than talking for talk sake. Both parties in the Parliament approved of the war against Napoleon; both parties exulted in the termination of the war; both parties rejoiced at the restoration of the Bourbons; and what right have those who approved of this act of force against the people of France to complain of any act of force towards any other people!

In the *sixth* and *seventh paragraphs*, we find a parcel of words, which amount to a charge against the Ministers of having a dislike to see the existence of popular rights and privileges, and of having imposed unneces-

sary restrictions on their exercise and enjoyment; we find, also, that the Ministers are here accused of having ascribed to disloyalty in the people, discontents, which arose chiefly from their own mis-government. It would lead us very far, indeed, if we were to follow the Whigs through all the transactions of 1817 and 1819. But, since the Edinburgh Reviewers chuse to allude, in their *tenth* paragraph, to Lord FITZWILLIAM, and since Mr. JEFFREY, in his speech, named that nobleman, in particular, as a person to be placed in contrast with the present Ministers, it may not be amiss to observe that Lord FITZWILLIAM was one of the Committee in the House of Lords, who proposed the Dungeon Bill of 1817, who voted for that Bill, and for the Gagging Bill also; that his son, Lord MILTON, was one of the Committee, in the House of Commons, who proposed both Dungeon Bill and Gagging Bill; that this Lord himself voted for the Gagging Bill; that certain Members of the Lower House, very intimately connected with Lord FITZWILLIAM, not only voted for both Bills, but really seemed to wish for Bills still more harsh. Since the Edinburgh Reviewers will force these observations from us, while their main object is to get a change of the Ministry, it is perfectly right that they should have the benefit of such observations. But, is it not monstrous for the Whigs to accuse the Ministers of imposing these restrictions on the exercise of popular privileges, when it is well known to every one that the Whigs, in virulence of language towards those who were the objects of these restrictions, have far surpassed even the most virulent of the Ministers? *Arch imposter, wretched scribbler, blasphemous demagogue, deluded wretches, designing knaves, inflammatory villains, bankrupt in character and in fortune:* these are amongst the phrases that came so glibly from the lips of the gentle, the just, the manly, the liberty-loving Whigs. To reproach the Ministers, therefore, with the measures here alluded to, without, at the same time, reprobating the conduct of the Whigs, is an act of the greatest injustice. And, base, indeed, as well as foolish, is the man that would pray to his Majesty to make any change which should do no more than put one set of these men in the places of the

other. There is a fact connected with this subject, which, though I have cursorily noticed it before, is deserving of more particular attention; namely, that *Sir James Mackintosh*, during the debate on the Banishment Bill, proposed a clause which would have made a terrible addition to the dangers created by that Bill. He proposed to make it sedition, and to bring the offender within the scope of the Bill, if such offender wrote or published any thing "*tending* to excite his Majesty's subjects to do any act, which, if done, would, by the existing law, be treason or felony." This proposition was rejected, not by the Whigs, but by the Ministers themselves. Now, if this clause had made part of the Bill, every proprietor of a newspaper would, every day of his life, have been rendered liable to banishment! There is scarcely a Morning Chronicle that issues from the press which does not contain something, which might be so twisted as to be interpreted to have this *tendency*. The word *tendency* is quite sufficient. When the report of a speech is published, the speaker of which plainly compares the King to *Nero*, is it possible to

say, that this has not a tendency to make somebody commit treason? When articles are published reprobating in the severest terms, the punishment of certain felonies, can any one deny that this has not a tendency to make men commit *felony*? In short, if the Ministers had consented to pass the Act in this form there must have been an end of the press altogether. If I say that it is cruel to hang a poor starving wretch for stealing victuals, or for stealing a sheep, which I have said a hundred times, and according to which saying I have always *acted*, never having even looked after any of the stealers of my sheep; if I say this, my words have certainly a *tendency* to cause these acts to be deemed not very criminal, and have therefore a *tendency* to cause felony to be committed. But am I to be banished for this? if I am, Sir James Mackintosh ought to be banished also, instead of receiving the nauseous adulation of fools, for what are called his humane endeavours to *soften the criminal code*. It is in this work of softening that we discover the true spirit of the Whigs. Sir James Mackintosh was at the head of a committee



of the House of Commons, who made a report upon this subject; and, in its very first sentence, that report says, that the Committee have not thought proper to meddle with offences like that of *sedition*, or others committed *against the State*. So that all the long train of new penalties and new punishments, with regard to the press, enacted within the last thirty years, though they must have been seen by Sir James Mackintosh, were, doubtless, regarded as not being at all too severe! This is in the true spirit of the Whigs, who are always running about to ameliorate the condition of thieves, pick-pockets, house-breakers, highwaymen, strumpets, and bawds; but who never think of taking off punishment, even to the weight of a feather, against political offenders. During the last session of Parliament, they could see the jails full of these; they could hear of their manifold sufferings and the sufferings of their wives and children; but the only object that could warm their humanity into action was Sir Manassah Lopez, for whose pardon they could sue with all the tenderness of philanthropy and with all the ardor of friend-

ship! In some of their publications they have now declared, that, *if they get into place*, they will empty the jails of these political offenders. Let those that choose believe them. I do not. Indeed the man is an idiot who can believe them. If I am to judge from their past language, they would be far more bitter towards the friends of Reform than the Ministers themselves have been. To carry on the present system they must make use of the present means. The thing would be the same in substance; only it might be rendered more odious by the brutality of its manner. Having mentioned Sir James Mackintosh by name, I will just add a word or two relating to him, in the way of *biography*. He was, at the beginning of the French Revolution, a loud eulogist in favour of that change. But, he unfortunately became an *author*. He wrote a book, in answer to Burke; but, just afterwards, out came another answer to Burke, called the *Rights of Man*, which sent Mackintosh's book to the Trunk-maker's! No feelings are so tender as those of a dull author. Mackintosh was stung to the soul at seeing this infant of his overlaid

in this way by PAINE, of whom he became, henceforth, a mortal enemy, and, for Paine's sake, an enemy of Reform. He has, accordingly, merited the friendship and confidence of the borough-whigs, and sits in Parliament in one of the snug seats of the Borough of Knaresborough. This man's speeches far surpass in bitterness against the Reformers, any thing ever uttered by the Ministers, or, even by the most virulent of their partizans.

The eighth paragraph treats of spies and informers, a subject which the Edinburgh Reviewers have, indeed, treated with great caution, but which they might as well, all circumstances considered, not have treated of at all. They seem to have been aware that they were treading upon tender ground; and well they might; for they could hardly have forgotten the memorable declaration of Mr. Brougham, which, that I may escape the charge of garbling, I will here insert, at full length, as I find it reported in the Parliamentary Debates; and, my friends, I request you to give it your particular attention.

"He by no means blamed  
"Government for employing

"Edwards as a spy, or for acting on his information; or for withholding him as a witness; or for abstaining from prosecuting him. For those four things he did not blame them. As long as such men as Thistlewood and the others existed, Government were in his opinion not only justified in employing persons to watch their proceedings, but would be highly culpable if they neglected to do so. The necessity for the employment of spies was lamentable; but so was the employment of the executioner of the law. As long as crimes continued to be perpetrated, so long must they continue to be punished. Both occupations were odious; but in his opinion no man was entitled to blame Government for employing the odious informer who was not prepared to blame them equally for employing the odious executioner. There was, however, one limitation to this doctrine. He who employed spies took upon himself a most difficult, delicate, and responsible office. He was deeply answerable to the country and to the administration of justice, if he did not take the greatest care to select such men as would only give information, and not instigate to the commission of crime. The existence of such wretches as Thistlewood and Ings rendered the employment of spies necessary; but let it be at the same time remembered, that the existence of such wretches as Thistlewood and Ings rendered the em-

"ployment of instigators to  
 "crime equally unnecessary.—  
 "Having explained himself so  
 "far, the House would perhaps  
 "permit him to add, that al-  
 "though he *did not blame* Go-  
 "vernment either for having  
 "employed *Edwards as a spy*—  
 "for having *acted on his infor-*  
 "*mation*—for having *with-*  
 "*drawn him as a witness*—or,  
 "for having *abstained from*  
 "*prosecuting him*—yet, if it did  
 "appear from the evidence now  
 "adduced that that individual  
 "went beyond his commission  
 "as an informer, that he em-  
 "ployed himself as an insti-  
 "gator, and that he incited  
 "others to the perpetration of  
 "a separate and grave offence,  
 "not comprehended in the acts  
 "which had been the recent  
 "subject of criminal investiga-  
 "tion, justice would not be  
 "satisfied unless he was brought  
 "to trial for such new and seri-  
 "ous offence, or unless *very*  
 "*ample grounds were stated to*  
 "*the House for waiving such*  
 "*a proceeding.*"

It is not worth while to be-  
 stow much time upon this.—

"Such men as *Thistlewood and*  
*Ings*" must *always* be presumed  
 to be in existence. No one will  
 deny that; and, therefore, ac-  
 cording to Mr. BROUGHAM, who  
 is both a Whig and an Edinburgh  
 Reviewer, spies and informers  
 ought always to be employed.  
 The attempt to confound the  
 spy with the executioner of the

law, and even, by implication,  
 with the judge, is so offensive  
 to common sense as to be un-  
 worthy of serious exposure.  
 However, to do justice to these  
 petitioners, I ought to observe,  
 that they do not, by any means,  
 pronounce an unqualified con-  
 demnation of a *spy system*.—  
 They complain merely of the  
 employment of "an *unprece-*  
*dented number* of spies and in-  
 formers!" Thus, you see, it is  
 not of the establishment itself  
 that they complain: they only  
 complain that the establishment  
 is too high! Hence we are to  
 conclude, of course, that they  
 would keep up the establish-  
 ment by all means, only upon  
 a reduced scale! A *reduction*  
 of the standing army of spies  
 and informers: and really I  
 should not be at all astonished  
 to meet with this item in their  
 next string of propositions for  
 "*economical reform!*" Doubt-  
 less a reduction to any amount,  
 of this establishment, would be  
 a benefit; but, I take it, that  
 such benefit is not sufficient to  
 make us join in a clamorous  
 demand to the King to turn out  
 his Ministers, and to put the  
 Whigs in their place.

In the *ninth* paragraph we  
 come into the thick of that

"*triumphant Whigism*," which was said to prevail at Edinburgh upon this occasion. There is a little of incomprehensibility, (not to accuse such grave gentlemen of shocking nonsense) in this paragraph; it being, in my mind, very difficult to see how a "*peaceful and loyal disposition*" should tend to make people readily listen to "*calumnious representations*." This appears to be a new discovery in morals. If the Edinburgh Reviewers had said that *folly*, that *timidity*, that *selfishness* had rendered people ready to listen to such misrepresentations, there would have been sense in the assertion; but, as the thing now stands, it well merits the contempt of his Majesty; because it is a downright insult offered to his understanding. However, in the tail of this paragraph we have Whigism in its full swing. Here is the old charge, so often preferred by the Ministers; namely, "that the *less instructed* of the people have listened to the *seductions of the few wicked and designing persons*, who were hostile to our free constitution, or who expected to *make profit* of a season of *tumult and disorder*." Here

is all the old sum of accusation against the Reformers. Here it is without the deduction of a single fraction; without the omission of one jot of the falsehood or the malevolence. Here we are again asserted to be a few; and again as seeking for profit from tumult and disorder. This, however, is no more, or rather it is less than we have been accused of by Lord John Russell, and that, too, under his own hand, and with his own name signed to the accusation. He accuses us of a design to put those at the *top* who are now at the *bottom*; and of putting those at the *bottom* that are now at the *top*; a design which I believe has had an existence in none of our minds; and which is a phantom conjured up, probably by Lord John's consciousness, that he himself would be likely to derive little advantage from being placed fairly on the race course of talent. But, my friends, not to waste words upon petulance and impertinence like this; does not this part of the petition give full sanction to the measures of the Ministers against the Reformers? And does it not tend to shew his Majesty that the petitioners have in view nothing but the possession of

power and emolument? And, what are *we* to get; what is the great mass of the *people* to get by the introduction into office of a set of men, who, even before they enter office, hold the very language of those who would become their predecessors? They have the audacity here to accuse us of seeking *plunder* in a season of tumult and disorder. Is this false, or is it true? If false how can we sufficiently express our contempt of these place-hunters? If true, what ground have they to find fault with the measures of the Ministers? For, can any measures be too severe towards us, if we be actually seeking to plunge the nation into *tumult and disorder*, with a view of *making profit* of such a state of things? This petition, therefore, which affects to find fault with the measures of the Ministers, contains, if those petitioners be not the foulest of calumniators, the best of eulogiums on those very measures.

The *tenth paragraph* alludes to the dismissal of *Lord Fitzwilliam* from his office of Lord Lieutenant. Mr. *Jeffrey* did, as I observed before, mention this particularly in his speech. And, now let us see, what the

charge amounts to, and upon what it is grounded. It is said that this dismissal took place, on the part of the Ministers, in order to deter persons of rank and condition from "concurring" in the *reasonable complaints* "of the people." Now, then, what are the complaints of the people? They have all been summed up in this one phrase; *the want of a Reform in the Commons' House of Parliament*. Here are all the complaints. If the Ministers were to bring in a Bill to give this Reform, would there then be any complaint at all? Is it not *reasonable*, that those millions of men, arrived at full age, paying their full share of the taxes, and called upon to come forth in arms and fight for the defence of the country: is it not *reasonable* that these men should have a voice in the choosing of those who are to form one of the three branches, who make the laws, imposing taxes upon them, and calling them forth in arms to render services and risk life? Is this not reasonable? If this be denied them, is not that denial matter of *reasonable complaint*; and if it be matter of reasonable complaint, has *Lord Fitzwilliam*, or has any

Whig Lord, or any Whig of any size, "*concurrerell*" in that complaint? My friends, you know well that the contrary is the case, and you must perceive clearly enough, that, in the dismissal of *Lord Fitzwilliam*, there was nothing for the *people* to complain of, any more than there was in the dismissal of the Duke of Norfolk *from this very office*, only because that Noble Duke gave, as a toast at a dinner, "*the sovereignty of the people!*" Let the Whigs chew this. Let them furbish up their memories; and when the keen-set Mr. Jeffrey is going a Borough-hunting again, let him, before he bursts into full cry on the "*approved public services*" of Lord Fitzwilliam, reflect that Lord Fitzwilliam *was one of the Ministry who thus dismissed the Duke of Norfolk!* In short, there was nothing in this dismissal of Lord Fitzwilliam which was unjust or improper, according to Lord Fitzwilliam's own principles and practice. It was merely a matter of party policy and power. It was legal; and it was in no wise interesting to the people.

The *eleventh paragraph* accuses the Ministers of having diffused a spirit of *discord*, and

produced *disunion*. It is very certain that discord prevails; that there is disunion between the privileged classes and the non-privileged. It is also very true that concord and co-operation between these classes, are necessary to the peace and prosperity of the country; that these things are so, nobody can deny; but I deny most positively that the discord and disunion have arisen from any causes not created by the Whigs as much as by the Ministry. The cause of the discord is, that the people have not what they deem their share in the choosing of Members of Parliament. And again I ask, are the Whigs ready to give them that share? No; and Mr. Canning very truly said at Liverpool, that the Whigs would be the last to consent to the giving of such share. The Ministers merely carry on the system. It is a system which has two great branches, *funding* and *boroughs*; and have the Whigs ever proposed to change this system? By no means; and they do not propose it now. They like the system; and merely want to take the management of it out of the hands of others; and, while this is the case, is it not impudence unpar-

rallied for them to accuse the Ministers of diffusing discord and of preventing the restoration of peace and prosperity.

In the *twelfth* paragraph comes the charge with respect to the prosecution of her Majesty the Queen. The proceedings that have been carried on against her Majesty are pretty accurately characterised; but we perceive that, even here, to oust the Ministers is the thing chiefly at heart. They are accused of "*incapacity*" and "*indecision*," as discovered in this affair. This is just the tone of the Whigs (with the exception of Lord Grey and one or two others) in Parliament. According to these gentlemen, it was not the thing itself that was so very bad as the manner of doing it. Mr. Jeffrey, in his speech, said, "*that he would not enter upon the question of guilt or innocence of the Queen.*" He had not had leisure, he said, to wade through the mass of pollution and obscenity which had occupied the attention of the House of Lords! Very strange, indeed: Not a word does he say in defence of the Queen, and not a word does the petition say in her defence. The proceedings are

considered as a matter of mere policy; and the petitioners complain, that the policy of the Ministers in this case was bad; that they discovered great *incapacity* and *indecision*; and that, therefore, they are unfit "to administer the affairs of a *distressed and divided people.*" Now, surely, this last assertion must be a great mistake; for, if what the petitioners have before said of the Ministers be true, these latter are the fittest in the world to manage the affairs of a distressed and divided people. To retrieve such a people's affairs, the Ministers may be unfit: to change distress and disunion into prosperity and concord, they may be unfit; but surely they must be the fittest men in the world for carrying on affairs in such a state. But how is it we here find a divided people, when the petitioners had before told us that the Ministers had lost the confidence of the *great body of the people*; that they had become objects of *general distrust and aversion*, and also objects of *general contempt and reprobation*? This is very much like blowing hot and cold with the same mouth. Mr. Brougham, who recently took upon himself

to catechise me for what he called inconsistency, may, I think, bring his brother reviewers into his "Dame Schools," and give them a short lecture upon the same subject. However, this is only another instance of the great difficulty of being consistent in words and sincere in professions. If the thoughts be sincere and true, the words will flow along with consistency; but when men invent as they go, it is something next to miraculous if you find agreement between the beginning and the end of their statements and representations.

The *thirteenth* paragraph complains of the prorogation of the parliament, which these petitioners call the great council of the nation. The word "*dependence*" is used here instead of the word *duration*, and critics by trade might have known a great deal better than to do this, which savours too much of affectation to be relished by men of plain and sound understandings. But, to the substance. This paragraph merely repeats the complaint contained in the late public letter of Lord Polkstone. The unreasonableness of which complaint I did, I think, clearly ex-

pose. However, as this repetition of the complaint again calls our attention to the great subject, it shall have bestowed upon it a few additional remarks. By their calling the parliament the great council of the nation, we are to conclude, of course, that, in complaining of its prorogation they would have us to understand that it might have done some good if it had remained assembled. Doubtless, a body to attempt to bring which into contempt may subject the offender to banishment for life; doubtless, such a body can hardly sit for a single hour without doing good of some kind or another. But, it is not to be seditious, I presume, to give it as one's opinion, that it would be difficult to discover the precise good which this body could have effected if it had remained assembled; and, it would require faith more than sufficient to remove mountains to believe that it would have effected *any thing in opposition to the Ministers!* For what purpose, then, would the Edinburgh Reviewers have had the parliament remain assembled? But, what a monstrous absurdity is this upon the very face of it! Is it not notorious that the great council of



the nation was privileged because it wished to be privileged? Is it not notorious that it would not have been privileged, if there had not been a decided majority for the prerogative? No more is necessary to be said upon this piling paragraph; but I cannot help noticing the mention of "pressure" of public business." This is the miserable cant of hunters after office; of would-be statesmen and financiers. "Public business," indeed! What has a Parliament to do with public business? The public business ought to be carried on in the public offices and by the public officers, to be sure, and not by legislatures. It is one of the great evils of the country, that the House of Commons meddle with things which they ought never to meddle with; and make a session six months long, when six weeks ought amply to suffice. The sessions have grown longer and longer; the mass of speeches has gone on augmenting; trifles now occupy so much of the time, that really if there were a good Ministry, they must resign their places; for they never could submit to the toil which the present men undergo; but, the worst of it is, that this greatest

ing interference of the parliament; its carrying on what the Reviewers call public business, really takes from the Ministers all responsibility. This is the worst part of the "public business," and, at last, it is a mass of measures proceeding from Committees of the parliament rather than from the Ministers themselves. I endeavoured, during one session, to keep something like an account of the distribution of the time of the House of Commons; and, with all due respect be it spoken, I think that more than two thirds of it was spent in questions and cavillings; and, especially, about Exchange Bills and Bank Accounts; and other matters, the very mention of which ought never to have taken place. The consequence of all this is, that a Minister's attention must be occupied by trifles; he must be a scrupulous clerk instead of a statesman; he must consider what a figure a measure will cut in a debate rather than whether it be wise or unwise in itself. Of all governments in this world, a government administered by a numerous assembly is the worst; and the next worst is a government, whose public business is carried on by Committees. This

phrase, "public business" which every young lord-lings the moment he enters the House of Commons, has long been disgusting to me; and therefore I am not at all surprised to meet with it in a petition from the Edinburgh Reviewers. It came from Charles A. May, and it will take its departure with the full and entire execution of Mr. Peel's Bill.

We now, thank God! come to the last paragraph. This paragraph contains the prayer of the petition. Which prayer is, that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to dismiss his Ministers. Now, generally speaking; this is a subject with regard to which the people ought not to petition. It is for the King to choose his own Ministers; and it is for the people to choose men to represent them in the parliament. If the Ministers do wrong, it is for the parliament to proceed against them. Not by hanging; nor, at least, not in the way of "England's Glory." Hangtag them when it is neither proper nor necessary to impeach them. It is for the parliament to proceed against them by impeachment; or, by way of ~~dismissing~~ to the King

to remove them. If the parliament will do neither of these, one of two things must be; namely, the Ministers have done nothing for which they ought to be removed; or, the parliament must be a bad parliament. The Edinburgh Reviewers may choose between these. They are not for ~~the~~ forming the Parliament; how ever, and they lament that it was not kept assembled. They think it, therefore, good; and look upon it as the representative of the people. This being the case, how impertinent and how impudent is it for these Reviewers to come forward and ask of the King the dismissal of his Ministers? They say the parliament is good; they call it the Great Council of the nation; they do not wish to see it reformed; and yet they step forward to do that, when, if it were proper to be done at all, such an excellent body of men; such faithful representatives of the people, would certainly do! Let these second-sighted gentlemen chew the cud over this a little. Let them lay aside, for a moment, their deep and dark philosophy. Let them, if they can, get clear of the lime twigs which I have here hung about their wings.

Leaving them to extricate themselves as well as they can, let us see how the matter stands with regard to ourselves. We, whom these greedy place-hunters designate as "wicked and designing persons; intent on seeking profit of tumult and disorder;" we, who are thus condemned by these Whigs, know how to distinguish between petitioning and insulting our Sovereign. We recognize, in his rights, that of freely choosing his own Ministers, and of retaining them in his service, as long as he pleases, unless in cases of a very peculiar nature. We can perceive, that his authority would be a mere shadow, and his life, the life of a slave if he were to have Ministers forced upon him, or forced from him. We can perceive that, of all possible requests, on our part, the most unpleasant to him must be that of requesting him to dismiss servants of his own choice, persons so closely connected in all important transactions with himself. We can perceive that this is a step that we ought not to take without due consideration, without long forbearance; and, after all, never without reluctance and pain. Yet, circum-

stances may render it a duty towards himself as well as towards us, to make to him such request. But then, the grounds of the request ought to be so clear and so strong; the justice and necessity of it, so manifest, that it shall be impossible for him to trace the request to any thing short of a sense of imperious duty on our part. It being proper, with all these circumstances and precautions, to make the request; care being taken to avoid even the possibility of his ascribing the request to an indulgence of faction or insolence, the next question is, through what channel are we to make it? Why, certainly, through our faithful representatives; through the men that we have chosen to represent us. Now, have we such men at present? the Edinburgh Reviewers say that we have; and the Parliament have passed a law to banish us if we deny the fact! Well, then, what are we to do? Not petition at all upon this subject; not make the request at all; not pray his Majesty to make any change of his servants; but, if we find the Parliament so constituted, as not to become our organ in this respect with his Majesty, to pay

his Majesty to be graciously pleased to order his servants to bring forward a proposition for altering the mode of constituting that Parliament; or, in other words, to propose a *Reform in the Commons House*. Thus, reason as long as we will, to this point we always come. The Whigs may snipe and cavil as long as they please. They may blind-fold us, and twist us about: but never will they make us budge beyond the boundaries of this circle.

Thus have I, with patience, little less than that of Job, gone through this long-winded and ill-written petition, the authors of which have no other object in view than that of getting into place, and securing for themselves and their families honours and emoluments. Mr. JEFFERY, in his speech, seemed to anticipate this charge, and, therefore, observed, that "for his own part, he solemnly declared, that he would not accept place or emolument, to which he had not a fair and just claim." Ah! sayest thou so! Indeed! But, then, you are to be the sole judge, of course, of the fairness and justice of your claim! You would be a very upright judge in such a

case, without doubt! You remember the story of the tiger who went a hunting: with the wolf, the fox, and the dog. The tiger was the sole judge; and you remember how justly he distributed the fruits of the chase! They divided the animal in the first place into four quarters: "This," says he, laying his paw upon one quarter "I take as my share as a co-partner, the second I take in my quality of King of the Forest, the third I take because my name is tiger, and if any one of you dare to touch the fourth, I will that instant tear him to pieces!" Thus it was that the tiger preferred his fair and just claim; and I should be a shocking hypocrite if I affected to expect greater moderation from an Edinburgh Reviewer.

My good friends, Reformers, in every part of the kingdom; listen not to these greedy hunters after place. This is their game; the scent is set against strong; they take it broad high, and are making a fine bust. Follow them not; do not cheer them not, assist them with neither view nor words; they will soon be at fault, and staring about them, the contempt of all beholders.

Be assured that they care nothing about the Queen? If they could sell her, indeed, they might and they would; but when once their hopes of place are blasted, they will soon show us, as they showed us upon her arrival, that they care no more for her than they do for a stump or a stone. Recollect how still they were for six long months; how they shunned her as pestilence and famine were her attendants. Recollect, that regardless of the people, at the head of whom were those very persons, whom these insolent Reviewers stigmatise as wicked and disgusting men seeking to make profit of turn-out and dis- order; recollect, that, it was not till the people with those very men at their head had rescued her Majesty from her enemies, that the Whigs ventured even to halt at her miserable dwelling to ask whether she were dead or alive. The triumph of her Majesty, therefore, is indebted to the Whigs for nothing, save and except the speech of Lord Grey, who, you will observe, is neither a strength-holder nor an upholder of the tremendous system of sinning; the Queen's lawyers, or, at least, her Attorney

and Solicitor-General are Whigs. Remember the conduct of Mr. Brougham; remember the pro- ceedings; remember the miserable defence which they made for her Majesty; remember how pitiful, how childish their con- duct, compared with the steady, strenuous, and most able exer- tions of the King's Attorney and Solicitor-General. My real opi- nion is, that, if these two latter had had the management of the Queen's cause, the Bill never would have gone to a second reading; and this you will ob- serve was a great point, the want of securing which will still be the cause of great annoyance to her Majesty.

What I imagine is likely to take place is this, that the Whigs will endeavour to make an instrument of the Queen to effect their own selfish pur- poses; that they will stir in their projects owing to the want of support on the part of the people; that her Majesty will discover that there is no reliance to be placed upon them; and that, after a great deal of weariness and disgust, she will be disposed to seek tranquillity in some foreign land. There are, to be sure, numerous circum- stances which may arise, and

against which the keenest, most, main, steady, to our principles: no  
 emulation cannot provide. But, but, if we suffer them, to do so  
 this is what I contemplate as pro- shaken for the sake of a momentary  
 bable, and this, in justice to her, tary triumph, over the present  
 Majesty, as well as, to the servants of the King, we shall  
 people, will, in all likelihood, be secure to ourselves degradation  
 once more defeated by the self that will probably descend upon  
 fishness of this faction, and our children, to do so, and to do so  
 especially by the determination, of its leaders to see every thing  
 destroyed, rather, than give up their boroughs.

In conclusion, let me express a hope, that it is unnecessary to caution you against giving the smallest countenance to petitions for the mere dismissal of the Ministers; which, as I have shewn, is at once foolish and mischievous. I think that, on the contrary, such petitions ought to be opposed by us with all our might; for, and I hope you to mark this well, not to oppose such petitions, is tacitly to acknowledge that we want merely a change of men, merely a change of the King's servants, and no change at all of the system; and while such acknowledgment would be a complete abandonment of our cause, it would render ourselves contemptible, and our sufferings unworthy of commiseration. To secure our final triumph, we have nothing to do but to re-

P. S. I read, in public and private, which appears to have the interest of the Queen and the country very much at heart, stirring recommendations to the people to petition the House of Commons against further proceedings in the case of her Majesty, saying that House, to cause her rights to be restored to her; and especially praying that some name may be placed in the charge; none yet in all regard to Nobody can more sincerely wish to see these things accomplished than I do; but I am, for, no petition to the House of Commons, to the Lords, or to the King, even upon this subject, unless the petition include a prayer for a Reform of the Parliament. Nay, I will frankly declare that, unless accompanied with a Reform of the Parliament, I do not wish to see accomplished.

ed any of the proposed objects of such petitions. I know too well what the Whigs have in view. They wish to *play off the Queen against the Ministers*; but not to make the Queen's cause conducive to the restoration of the rights of the people. I told them from the beginning that they would not succeed in this. They would have done well to listen to my advice; but, at any rate, let the Reformers take care, not only not to join in any petition, but to oppose every petition *which shall not include a prayer for Reform*. Let them take care of this, and all will be right in the end: Queen and people will both triumph.

The Whigs, not daring to speak out upon the subject, amuse themselves with indirect appeals to the Reformers. They call upon them for union; for a *combination* of their moral powers against the Ministers. But, *for what?* For what, I want to know! The whole thing would be settled in an instant, if only one single Whig Lord, with half a dozen Boroughs would step forward and call for petitions for Reform! This is the way to put out the Ministers. This is the way to unite the people. This is the way to combine their

moral force. Let such a Lord only give notice, that he will bring in a Bill for a Reform of the Commons House, and he may send, if he will, to the House of Commons the petitions of the whole body of the people in favour of her Majesty's rights, together with the rights of the people. But while no one will take a step so very easy to be taken, the Reformers (who are sufficiently united already) will remain glum and sulky and will *wait for events*.

It is possible (and I have more than once hinted at the thing) that the Queen may become disgusted at perceiving that the Whigs have got about her merely for the purpose of making her the instrument of their ambition. A man of greedy and unsparing ambition, having been foiled in his projects of satisfying that ambition by keeping her or getting her out of the country; having next endeavoured to accomplish the same selfish object by making use of her popularity as an instrument in the hands of his party; and having now found himself foiled here also, and having arrived at the conviction that even the Queen's popularity will give a passport to no one who is not an advocate for Reform: such a man of greedy and unsparing ambition may now, again, per-

haps; have returned to his primitive means, and may once more be hard at work to effect what the interview at St. Omer's and the London Protocols failed to bring about: but let him work away; I know enough to convince me that the wisdom of her Majesty will make her deaf to all counsels tending to her dishonour as well as to her ruin in all other respects. Such intriguer will, at last, find himself foiled and defeated; and the people of England, if they steadily resist every thing tending to inveigle them into the schemes of the Whigs, will see accomplished that Reform, for which they have been so long contending. All that they have to do is, to give countenance to nothing, whether address, petition, or remonstrance, which does not include a prayer for Reform.

### "PLACARD CONSPIRACY."

This subject was mentioned in the last Register; and, perhaps, enough was said there to induce the reader to believe, that the prosecutions which had been commenced for Treason and Conspiracy, cannot, if they be persevered in, be unattended with great danger to every man who meddles with the press. The matter is, however, so deeply interesting, that it seems necessary to direct the reader's attention to some of the publications which have taken place relating to it. Therefore, hereunto are subjoined four documents, which appear in the public papers:

*first*, the advertisement for a subscription to carry on these prosecutions; *second*, Mr. O' Bryen's advertisement, giving an account of the nature of the prosecution against him, and requesting information respecting the witnesses whose names are indorsed on the bill of indictment; the *third* is a letter of Mr. Charles Pearson; and the *fourth* is a communication from Mr. O' Bryen. All these are taken from the Morning Chronicle.

It is not for me to enter into the little squabbling contained in these communications; but I again call the attention of the public, and particularly that of every one connected with the press, to the danger of the precedents, which must be established if this prosecution should unfortunately succeed. The prosecution for High Treason is monstrous; but, as the alleged Traitor has absconded, we are likely to have the benefit of the precedent (if we have it at all) without the cutting off of heads, or the quartering of bodies. High Treason, in the publishing of a placard, is, at any rate, a novelty; and, I dare say, that, having been discovered by *Reformers*, it will be hailed as something extremely valuable by Borough-mongers and their satellites. Printers, compositors, pressmen, bill-stickers; all these are traitors, too; and, if they be spared, it must be by the recommendation of the Ministry; that very Ministry, to disgrace whom, has necessarily been the main object of these



proceedings. However, I look upon the Treason part of the project to be too wild and monstrous to be suffered to make its appearance before a Judge and a Jury. Indeed, the advertisement for a subscription speaks only of a *Conspiracy*; and, now, let us take a look at the nature and probable consequences of such a prosecution.

Until I saw, in the *Chronicle* of the 9th instant, the advertisement of Mr. O'Brien, I was as a loss to imagine upon what grounds such a charge could rest. In that advertisement is contained a statement of the substance of the charge, taken, as appears, from the words of the Bill of Indictment. The charge consists of two parts, first, "conspiring to bring the measures of his Majesty's Government into hatred and contempt, and to excite unlawful opposition to it." Now, let any one look at this charge, and he will at once see that every opposition newspaper is guilty of it every day that it comes from the press. Does the *Times*, does the *Morning Chronicle*, ever miss a single day to describe the measures of the Government as being "hateful and contemptible"? Are there any terms of hatred and contempt which they do not bestow upon those measures? With regard to exciting unlawful opposition, the phrase is not so very equivocal; but, still, to reprobate the acts of the government; to call those acts atrocious, detestable, tyrannical; and to accuse the

Ministers of setting at defiance every principle of law, and of justice; may not this be interpreted as exciting unlawful opposition to the Government? And yet, such is the language of every paper that is opposed to the Government; or rather, to the Ministry. So that, if a conviction take place upon this charge, the jailors all over the kingdom, should have timely notice to clean out the dungeons, and get them well aired for the reception of tenants!

The second part of the charge is of a still more dangerous tendency. It leaves us not a single loop-hole to creep out at. It is this: "intending to cause it to be believed, that the receivers of the Queen's plate subscription are hostile to his Majesty's person and government." Did ever mortal man hear of a charge like this before? What! am I to be indicted; am I to be laid by the heels; am I to be put into a dungeon; because I may have intended to cause it to be believed that a certain man is hostile to his Majesty's person and government? Why, is there a day passes over our heads, do we ever look into a newspaper without seeing the Ministers themselves accused of being enemies to their master and to his kingly government? Have not I said that they were this sort of enemies; have not I said this, at least, once a week, for seventeen years. Does not the *Morning Chronicle* say it five hundred and thirteen times, at least, every year. I'll make

any bet that the Times newspaper has said it above five thousand times since her Majesty arrived in England. It is said in almost every address presented to the Queen; and if the charge before us be a charge which ought to be prosecuted, the writers of those addresses, the movers of them, the seconders, the signers, the bearers, the presenters, the printers and publishers, may, every mother's son of them, be prosecuted as conspirators! Here is a goodly company of culprits! Nay, all those that have marched up with the addresses are *conspirators also*; and thus, at last, we get into downright farce. But, though it may be a farce with the drawers of such a bill of indictment, a verdict upon such a bill would be no farce to us who hold a pen in our hands.

Suppose me to put a manuscript into the hands of a printer, after reading it in his presence to three or four friends. Suppose another friend to talk to the printer about it in terms of approbation; and to urge him to make dispatch in getting it out. Suppose a prosecution for conspiracy to take place upon the subject of this manuscript when it becomes print; and suppose the printer (than which nothing is more likely) to turn evidence against his employer; I am soused into jail, with all my friends along with me! Therefore, this is as pretty a scourge as ever a set of friends of liberty prepared for the backs of those, without whose assistance they cannot get on one

single inch. If a conviction take place upon these charges, who will dare set his foot in a printing-office; who will dare to correct a proof-sheet for a friend; who will dare to look even at the manuscript of a friend; nay, who will dare to speak in approbation of it?

We have long been talking about a censorship. Let this prosecution succeed, and there will be no need of censorships; for no man will dare to write and publish any thing in disapprobation of the conduct of any person in power. When I consider who the Members of the Queen's Plate Committee are, and when I see Major CARTWRIGHT's name and that of Mr. NORTHMORE in the *Subscription List*, I cannot doubt of the rectitude of their intentions; but, at the same time, I must express my conviction that they have proceeded upon erroneous information; and I cannot refrain from expressing my hope that they will take care to stop in time before they have secured the tenantry of a dungeon to every man of us.

There is one thing more. Mr. O'BRYEN complains of *breach of private confidence*, in the communication of his narrative to Mr. PEARSON. If he approve of the employment of Spies, he has no right to make this complaint; but I, who disapprove of the employment of spies, must say that I never wish to see the cause of Reform tarnished by practices, which no honest man can ever think of adopting, and which strike at the root of all confidence between man and

man. No, no! Let such practices be resorted to by such as are capable of seeking revenge by means which shall not expose themselves to the fair chances of open hostility. Let such mean wretches empty out their purses into the hands of base betrayers of private confidence and promulgators of private papers; but let not us, who seek, by fair and honourable means, the restoration of our rights, tarnish our cause by resorting to similar practices. Mr. O'BRYEN slashes away at the Radicals. He makes a liberal use of all the cant of corruption. We can answer him. We can easily put him down by fact and argument. If we cannot, we never shall do it by the assistance of perfidious printers, or that of any wretch capable of promulgating a private paper, the parties to such a promulgation being much more worthy of the name of *conspirators*, than any persons, be they who they may, who aid and assist in "*bringing the measures of the government into hatred and contempt*," or in "*intending to cause it to be believed*" that any set of men are "*hostile to his Majesty's person and Government*." These things are alleged to have been done by *printing and publishing*; whereas, the other practices are carried on in a *base, malignant, and covert* manner. One would think, that the public had seen enough, lately, of this latter species of conspiracy, to make them hold in abhorrence every thing resembling it.

### Subscription Advertisements.

The Placard Conspiracy.—The Treasurers of the Fund for the Prosecution of Mr. Franklin, alias Fletcher, & Denis O'Bryen, Esq. for a Conspiracy, annex a List of the Subscriptions which they have received, and beg to inform the public, that the amount of the expences already incurred in the pursuit of Franklin, and the law charges of the prosecutions for high treason and that for the Conspiracy, amount to 259*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.*, leaving a deficiency of 165*l.* 14*s.*—The Treasurers hope that a sufficient sum will now be subscribed to carry on these important prosecutions *with vigour and effect*. The attention of Englishmen was; perhaps, hardly ever directed to a subject *so important to the honour of the nation, to the rights and liberties of the people, and the tranquillity of the State.*

|   |     |   |   |
|---|-----|---|---|
| His Grace the Duke of Bedford           | £25 | 0 | 0 |
| His Grace the Duke of Leinster          | 5   | 5 | 0 |
| Alderman Wood, M. P.                    | 5   | 5 | 0 |
| The Rt. Hon. A. B. C.                   | 10  | 0 | 0 |
| John George Lambton, Esq. M. P.         | 5   | 0 | 0 |
| Joseph Hume, Esq. M. P.                 | 5   | 0 | 0 |
| Godfrey Higgins, Esq.                   | 4   | 0 | 0 |
| Sir C. Monck, Bart.                     | 10  | 0 | 0 |
| The Hon. D. Kinnaird                    | 3   | 5 | 0 |
| E. Ellice, Esq. M. P.                   | 5   | 5 | 0 |
| Major Cartwright                        | 5   | 0 | 0 |
| F. Moore, Esq. M. P.                    | 5   | 0 | 0 |
| T. T. Clark, Esq.                       | 5   | 0 | 0 |
| Messrs. Strutt, Derby                   | 10  | 0 | 0 |
| D. Ricardo, Esq. M. P.                  | 5   | 0 | 0 |
| Sidney                                  | 5   | 0 | 0 |
| Ch. Beckanson, Esq. Farly Hall          | 2   | 0 | 0 |
| H. E. S. and W. C. Oxon                 | 2   | 0 | 0 |
| C. Martin, Esq. Putho                   | 2   | 0 | 0 |
| Guild, Stewards, and Burgesses of Calne | 5   | 5 | 0 |

|                                |   |    |     |
|--------------------------------|---|----|-----|
| A Friend to the Constitutional |   |    |     |
| Press                          | - | £5 | 5 0 |
| T. Northmore, Esq. Cleve       | - | 2  | 0 0 |
| — Lucas, Esq.                  | - | 1  | 0 0 |
| John Gosling, Esq.             | - | 3  | 3 0 |
| Sundry Friends, per do. in     |   |    |     |
| crowns and half-crowns         | - | 2  | 2 0 |

Subscriptions will be received by the Treasurers, Peter Moore, Esq. M.P. 73, Gloucester-place, Portman-square; Joseph Hume, Esq. M.P. 38, York-place; and by Dr. Gilchrist, 15, Arlington-street, Piccadilly; and at Mr. Hume's bankers, Messrs. Ransom and Co. bankers, Pall-mall.

#### Mr. O'Brien's Advertisement.

'I th' elden time,' the Tribunals of Law in this country were not approached through newspapering.—Such appealings would (in times, too, not long passed) have excited prejudice against, if not brought punishment upon a suitor. It is now the approved habit of Radicalism to break its mind to Courts and Juries through the regular precursorship of a newspaper article. Antique errors, however, are commonly obstinate. Though suffering from this novelty, I continue so contumacious as not to yield to what I deem a bad example—however sanctioned by impunity. I scarcely ever see any thing in print, touching myself, which is not either 'a lie direct,' or a misrepresentation—whilst I (trusting to time and to truth for all rectifications) remain studiously silent—leaving the tellers and believers of falsehood to their common luxury.

Previously to the late Term, I retained Messrs. *Scarlett, Gurney, and Bolland*, with a view to the legal redress of my countless wrongs. Until the 15th ult. the duration of divers ailments disabled me from attending to any duty beside my health. In the interval since that period, my utmost power, with a pen in my hand, has hardly accomplished an object, in my estimation, more important than the legal punishment of all my non-parliamentary persecutors. Unavoidably, therefore, I lost the last term. My vigilant adversaries, aware that a prosecution for conspiracy was among my legal contemplations, anticipated my taste, and briskly furnished me with one, at their hands. On the 27th ult. the last day but one of Term, at five in the evening, just (as I understand) before the Grand Jury were discharged, a Bill of Indictment for conspiracy was found against *myself*. Though bailed by nine o'clock on that evening, I am told that the incident gave vent to some fine lying in certain quarters, where genius happily supplies the place of fact.—The civility to me of Mr. *Pearson*, on the night alluded to, I really should gravely eulogise, only that I fear my encomium may not aid him, in the division of the booty, upon the quickly expected arrival of the political millennium, when Spencean Philanthropy and Radical Reform, like twin angels, shall dispense their beatitudes over the face of this land—which never is, but always to be bliss.

*Pendente lite*, nothing can be said (by me I mean) regarding the truth or falsehood of this charge. No objection, however, can lie against stating the substance of it. That substance is, that I am a person "of evil and seditious disposition, disaffected to his Majesty's person and government, conspiring to bring the measures of his government into hatred and contempt, and exciting unlawful opposition to the Governments of his late and present Majesty." So far as to the King. As to the Queen, I am charged as "a vilifier and defamer of the Trustees and Receivers of her Majesty's Plate Subscription, by intending to cause it to be believed that the Receivers of the said Plate Subscription are hostile to his Majesty's person and government, to the great disgrace and scandal of the said Trustees and Receivers."

From all which it appears that the worthy persons, maliciously nick-named Radicals, are not only loyal to his present, but pious to his late, Majesty; and, at the same time, not so entirely absorbed by the Queen's virtues, as not to afford their protection to the King and his Government, from my seditious, treasonous, disaffection.

In support of this indictment, a list is inscribed of 13 names. With the exception of the two first of the said 13, viz. of Joseph Hume, Esq. (with whom I have never yet exchanged one word) and of my friend Mr. Pearson (whose face I never beheld until, on the 10th of

October, he accompanied Vicary to this house, in search of Mr. Fletcher, under the name of Franklin), with these two exceptions, I know no more of this corps of 13 swearers, than of so many of the inmates of Noah's ark. But though entire strangers to me, these persons must be known to others; and, of this advertisement, the main purpose is to supplicate, from truth tellers, some real information respecting the character and credibility of the under-named.

It may be guessed, that this my present use of the Liberty of the Press, can be neither prodigal, at first, nor often repeated. Genuine intelligence, therefore, will be doubly valuable, by being speedy.

DENIS O'BRYEN.

21, Craven-street, Strand,  
Dec. 8, 1820.

The following are the 13 names—

|                   |               |
|-------------------|---------------|
| Joseph Hume, Esq. | John Hockley  |
| Charles Pearson   | Ann Jones     |
| * Arthur Scoble   | John Harris   |
| William Turner    | Martha Shear  |
| † John Jones      | Andrew Shear  |
| Joseph Martin     | Richard Wild. |
| James Brown       |               |

\* Probably the positive swearer to have traced Mr. Fletcher to my hotel, after remaining two hours at the Foreign-office in the dead of the night.

† Probably the conjuror's swearer, upon whose speculative oath the warrant, upon the 17th. of October, was made out at Bow-street, and afterwards cancelled; all alike hatched to me.

[The rest of these documents, for want of room, must stand over to the next week, when the whole will be inserted.]



ble, that it may be practicable to publish it in *both forms* at one and the same time. But the thing requires preparation.—At present it is intended to begin this mode of proceeding with the *first Number in February*. The experiment is, at any rate, worth trying.—Those gentlemen, in Ireland, or in places where it is difficult to get the unstamped Register, will please to bear in mind, that orders for it *must reach their newsmen in London before the first of February*. The newsmen are the persons to apply to in this case, as in the case of the newspapers, the channel and the mode of doing the business being the same.

WM. COBBETT.

The *New Edition* of PEEP AT PEERS is printed in *form of the Register*, so as to be bound up with it. This work the Authors have now made *very complete*. The Authors deserve, in my opinion, the thanks of the whole country. Their work is one of the most valuable possessions of the nation.—The Authors inform me, that their other work, the “LINKS OF THE LOWER HOUSE,” is in the press. They say it will be out in *ten days*, and in the *same form* as their other work.

*Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates*.—This work, which began with the *last Session*, contains, up to the prorogation, *two volumes*; the first ends with the proceedings up to the adjournment in July, and the last ends with the close of the Session, and contains the *Trial of the Queen* complete.—The

work will be resumed when the Parliament again meets, and will be continued with great care and punctuality.—It needs only to be looked at to ascertain how far preferable it is to any other work of the kind.

*Cobbett's English Grammar*, a new edition, made, as it is believed, perfectly correct. Wholesale and retail by W. Benbow.

*Cobbett's Year's Residence in America*.—Three parts, price 10s. bound neatly in boards.—The agricultural part of this work would be useful, at this time, to those who may wish to preserve turnips and cabbages till Spring.—It teaches how to get crops of cattle food; but, which is nearly as important, it teaches how to preserve them.

*To Correspondents*.—W. G. is informed, that neither I, nor any one whom I am connected with, has any thing to do with a work, called the “RADICAL MAGAZINE,” which, it appears, is coming out shortly.—If the work be a good one, it will receive our approbation; but we desire distinctly to disclaim all share in the merits of other people's labours.

#### DINNER.

The REFORM DINNER, mentioned in the three last Registers, is proposed to be held on *Wednesday*, the 17th of January.—It is high time for us to make something in answer to the railings of the greedy, insolent and malignant Whigs, who are very busy in putting forth their calumnies, especially in Scotland.

The Address of the Female Reformers of Coventry has been received, and will, with the answer, be inserted next week.

END OF VOLUME THIRTY-SEVEN.











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the Library on or before the last date  
stamped below.

A fine of five cents a day is incurred  
by retaining it beyond the specified  
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